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HISTORY OF THE IMÂMS AND
SEYYIDS OF 'OMÂN.

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OF THE

IÂMS AND SEYYIDS OF 'OMÂN,

BY

SALÎL-IBN-RAZÎK,

FROM A.D. 661-1856;

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL ARABIC,

AND EDITED, WITH

NOTES, APPENDICES, AND AN INTRODUCTION,

CONTINUING THE HISTORY DOWN TO 1870,

BY

GEORGE PERCY BADGER, F.R.G.S.,

LATE CHAPLAIN IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY.

With a Map.

LONDON:
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

after the death of the Seyyid Sa'îd-bi
ıe sovereign of 'Omân and its East Afric
cies, who died A.D. 1856, war became imm
ween his two sons, the late Seyyid Th
ho had succeeded to the Principality of 'Om
late Seyyid Mâjid, who claimed Zanzib
ghbouring islands, and the Arab settlemer
adjacent mainland. Actual hostilities we
ıded by the friendly intervention of the Gover
ment of Bombay, and the rival brothers eventua
agreed to submit their differences to the arbitrati
of Lord Canning, then Viceroy of India, and to abi
by his decision. As a preliminary measure, a Co
mission, composed of Brigadier, now Sir Willi
Coghlan, K.C.B., and myself, was appointed to rep
on the matters in dispute, a duty which involved p
sonal interviews with the Seyyids both at Másl
and Zanzibar. It was while so engaged at the f
mer place, in 1860, that the Seyyid Thuwainy p
sented me with the original manuscript of t
History.

The work embraces the annals of 'Omân from t
rise of Islâm down to a very recent period, and is
believe, unique in the continuity and fulness of

narrative. The native records from which [illegible] thin their portions are compiled, if they ever came wi[illegible]tilized by r[illegible] have never, to my knowledge, been u[illegible]t. More- [illegible]hors either in the East or Wes[illegible]r sources ever, the [illegible]arth of information from othe[illegible]ordinary. respecting 'Omân in bygone ages is extra[illegible]as Abul- The most eminent Arabian historians, such [illegible]Khaldûn, fedâ, el-Belâdzory, et-Tábary, el-Makîn, Ibn-[illegible]al notices and others, contribute little beyond incident[illegible]pendence of the country, either before or during its d[illegible] progress on the Eastern Khalîfate. Of its subsequent[illegible]d us no under an indigenous Imâmate they affor[illegible] glimpses whatever. [illegible]n scho-

It is not surprising, therefore, that Europea[illegible]iciency. lars have hitherto failed to supply the def[illegible]several Although the Portuguese held Máskat and [illegible]a half, other towns on the coast for a century and [illegible]ray of yet their annalists, as usual, throw scarcely a [illegible]ent of light even upon the contemporary governm[illegible]Carsten 'Omân, and we are indebted to the famous [illegible]he first Niebuhr, who visited Máskat in 1765, for t[illegible]tion of retrospective insight into the political condi[illegible]istory the 'Omânis. His *résumé* of its antecedent [illegible]ntury, from the commencement of the sixteenth c[illegible]rtially beyond which it does not extend, is substa[illegible]he in- authentic, and surpasses in general accuracy t[illegible]. The dependent researches of subsequent writers. [illegible]856, *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, for [illegible]nt: comprise several papers on 'Omân, past and pres[illegible]18, one prepared by the late Colonel Robert Taylor in [illegible]his- entitled *Extracts from Brief Notes containing*

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torical and other Information respecting the Province of Omân, opens with an account of the early immigration of the Arab tribes from Ye[illegible] the process of extraction which appear to have undergone has de[illegible] real value which they may have tribution to the ancient history of Omân. The [illegible] *Extracts*, in a very diluted form, with a few glosses designed to be explanatory but positively erroneous, re-appear in the same volume of the *Selections*, dated four years later, under the signature of Mr. Francis Warden, Member of Council at Bombay. In 1835-6, Lieutenant J. R. Wellsted of the Indian Navy visited a considerable portion of 'Omân, and has given us in his *Travels in Arabia* the only trustworthy delineation which we possess of the geography of the interior. Unfortunately, Wellsted's acquaintance even with colloquial Arabic was very limited, and he frankly avows that the difficulties which he had to encounter in the attempt to draw up an historical account of the province were insurmountable. The brilliant pages of Mr. William Gifford Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia* supply the latest addition to our scanty knowledge of 'Omân and the 'Omânis. Well-read in Oriental literature, thoroughly conversant with Arab customs, a shrewd observer and an accomplished writer, it is to be regretted that his experience of the Principality was confined to a short sojourn at two or three towns on the coast. Equally is it to be deplored that, with such qualifications, he had no authentic records at

hand to aid him in compiling his comprehensive sketch of its history. He candidly tells us that he recounts the tale as he heard it from the inhabitants, and therefore it is no disparagement to him personally to say, that it is a tissue of fallacies from beginning to end, proved to be such by the whole tenour of this work, the general authenticity of which is admitted by the intelligent of all parties in 'Omân.

Respecting the Principality during the last half century, especially in its relations with the neighbouring Arab tribes and also with the Wahhâbis of Nejd, the volume of the *Selections* above referred to contains much miscellaneous information, communicated to the Indian Government by successive Residents in the Persian Gulf. Some of these papers are admirable as records of current events along the coast, but they are either conspicuously meagre or decidedly misleading as regards the domestic concerns and institutions of the country. For instance, it is impossible to learn from the entire collection what were the functions and prerogatives of the Imâmate; and until within the last ten years the order of succession to the sovereignty over 'Omân was still a moot point with our politicals, which required to be determined by special investigation. Even the native nomenclature is generally so distorted that it is frequently impossible to identify the transliteration with the original. In this respect the latest official dispatches are even worse than those of an earlier date, and betray an utter ignorance of the elements of the Arabic language.

The course which I have taken with the author's narrative is this :—In the first place, I have omitted the opening Book, which upon examination was found to consist mainly of elaborate genealogies of the Arab tribes of Yemen, interspersed with o[illegible] of their migrations and subsequent [illegible] copied for the most part from sc[illegible] European Orientalists. From these [illegible] ever, I have carefully culled every notice relating to the origin of the tribes now occupying 'Omân, and have availed myself of them in the Introduction to connect the period at which the author sets out with the antecedent history of the country, as far back as documentary evidence carries us.

With the exception of the above named omission and a few irrelevant episodes and laudatory poems, I have given a translation of the whole work. Many readers will probably be wearied with the details of petty wars and intestine broils, which constitute the main feature of the narrative ; on the other hand, however, it is only by a close study of a people, as they describe themselves, that a trustworthy appreciation of their modes of thinking and acting, of their social economy, and of their way of conducting themselves toward other people can be formed. Incidental remarks and coincidences in connection with such matters, however trifling they may at first sight appear, on reflection are frequently found to shed light by which we are enabled to solve satisfactorily more important questions. To the true inquirer with a political or historical object, particulars of the

kind referred to are always valuable, for on them alone, in Lord Bacon's phrase, can he safely proceed to generals. Nevertheless, to assist those who prefer reading Oriental history relieved of its native tediousness, I have compiled in the Introduction to the translation a tolerably full analysis of the original, together with the conclusions which a careful collation of the different portions of it has enabled me to arrive at.

In the next place, I have availed myself of all the materials within reach, both ancient and modern, to corroborate, modify, or illustrate the author's statements. These will be found in the foot-notes; and I have thrown into Appendices three dissertations, also a genealogical table of the ruling Âl-Bû-Sa'îd dynasty, and a Postscript, in which the Persian Gulf terminus of the Eastern trade, prior to the capture of the Island of Hormûz by the Portuguese, is discussed. The first Appendix, on the *Imámate*, will, I flatter myself, dispel the many fallacies which are still entertained respecting that institution as it existed in 'Omân. The second, on the *Ibâdhiyah*, contains a more satisfactory account of their creed than any hitherto published, and will serve to correct Mr. Palgrave's serious misconceptions of their origin and doctrines. I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Frederick Ayrton, Esq., of Cairo, for having procured for me, from an authentic source, a summary description of their peculiar tenets. The document is the more valuable owing to the rare mention of the sect even by standard Muslim schoolmen and divines.

I am under obligation to the same gentleman for the comprehensive narrative given in Appendix C, of the *Murder of the Khalîfah 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, Muhammad's Cousin and Son-in-law*, the event above all others in the history of Islâm which gave rise to the primitive *Khawârij*, or Schismatics, of whom the Ibâdhiyah are an offshoot. A right conception of these several topics is so indispensable to a clear understanding of the politico-religious system of the 'Omânis, that the reader is advised to peruse the first three Appendices before taking up the narrative.

I have endeavoured as far as possible to identify the localities occurring in the author's narrative; but our very limited knowledge of the geography of the interior has obliged me to pass over, without comment, very many of which even the names are new to us. It is remarkable, and by no means creditable to the British Government in India, that notwithstanding our intimate political and commercial relations with 'Omân for the last century, we know actually less of that country, beyond the coast, than we do of the Lake districts of Central Africa. Wellsted's is the only map of the province which we possess, drawn up from personal observation; and although he has incorporated into it two separate land journeys made by his companion, Lieutenant Whitelock, from Barkah to el-Masna'ah and from Shinâs across the promontory to Shárjah, it affords little or no certain indication of the numerous towns and villages beyond the restricted routes of the travellers. Its value, however, as a guide to the relative position

of important places mentioned in these annals is considerable, and the latter have enabled me to make some additions to the native nomenclature of the provincial subdivisions. I have also revised Wellsted's very imperfect spelling of the Arabic names throughout, and have comprised in the revision the littoral of the Persian Gulf and the parts adjacent included in the map accompanying this work. Some improvement in that respect over the "Chart of the Persian Gulf," constructed by Captain Brucks of the Honourable Company's Marine, was made in the chart published by the Admiralty in 1860, which embodies the more recent surveys by Commander C. G. Constable and Lieutenant A. W. Stiffe, both of the Indian Navy; but a great many of the names remain uncorrected, which if pronounced as transliterated into English would not be recognized by the Arabs. It is to be regretted that the Admiralty have omitted the names in the Arabic characters, which in Brucks's chart are printed together with the English. The view of Máskat on the map is from a photograph by the late Surgeon Welsh, who was attached to the Máskat-Zanzibar Commission.

A few words respecting the translation: the Arabic copy from which it is made is written in a legible hand and in an easy style, which I have striven to preserve. The general absence, however, of vowel-points has rendered it very difficult to ascertain the correct pronunciation of names, especially those of obscure localities. The original is undoubtedly the work of Salîl-ibn-Razik, but several addi-

tions appear to have been made to it by a different hand—notably the proem to the Biography of the late Seyyid Sa'îd—which I am inclined to attribute to the Muhammad-ibn-Razîk, probably the author's brother, mentioned in the first colophon at the end of the volume. The concluding colophon gives the name of the transcriber, who has been very careless about dates.

As a recognized transliteration of the Arabic into Roman characters is still a desideratum, I have eschewed any attempt at etymological exactness in that respect, and have simply endeavoured to convey the correct sound of the original as nearly as possible, without resorting to expedients unfamiliar to the general reader. I give to the *consonants* the same power as in English; to the *vowels* the same sound generally as in Italian: *a* as in *far*; *e* as in *beg*; *i* as in *pit*; *o* as in *store*; *u* as *lunar*. The diphthongs *ai* and *ei*, like the *ie* in *pie* and the *ei* in *rein* respectively. The vocal sound of *ow* in *how* I express by *aw*; when doubled in the same word, by *awe*, as in *Tawwâm*.

The Arabic suffix when used to denote an ordinary or gentilic adjective I have represented by *y*, which somewhat in the same way constitutes the formative of many of our English adjectives, *e.g.*, *windy* from *wind*, *stormy* from *storm*, etc. This terminal *y* should be pronounced with a ringing Italian *i* sound.

The acute accent (´) over a vowel denotes the syllable to be accentuated; attention to this expedient

will prevent such mispronunciations as Maskát instead of Máskat. The circumflex (^) over a vowel prolongs it: *î* is equivalent to ee, *û* to oo. The apostrophe before a vowel is intended to express the guttural *'ain*; before a consonant the ellipsis of a preceding vowel.

I have retained the prefix demonstrative article *el* wherever it exists as a substantive compound of the designation. Inattention to this peculiarity on the part of Europeans has frequently led to their being misunderstood by the Arabs. As no Arab would say el-Máskat or el-'Aden with the article, so neither would he say Rastâk or Bahrein without it.

The word *Âl* before a proper name is not the Arabic article, but a noun signifying family or progeny, e.g., *Âl-Wahîbah*, the Family of Wahîbah. *Bin*, son, is an ellipsis for *Ibn*; thus, *Sa'îd-bin-Ahmed*, Sa'îd the son of Ahmed. *Benu*, the plural of *Ibn*, prefixed to a proper name, means the children or descendants of the person indicated, and is moreover equivalent to our *tribe* or *clan*. *Bû*, father, an ellipsis for *ábu*, is sometimes prefixed to the name of a man's son, and applied to the father instead of his own, (see notes, p. 156), and sometimes apparently when the pedigree is not well ascertained, or not supposed to be eminent beyond the name given, which I conceive to be the case as regards the reigning dynasty of 'Omân, the *Al-Bû-Sa'îd*, the Family of the Father of Sa'îd.

G. P. B.

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his map is meagre and distorted. He mentions a *Moscha portus* in latitude 14 deg. N., one degree and a half to the westward of his *Syagros extrema*, and an *Omanum Emporium* in lat. 19 deg. 45 min. These localities are also mentioned by the author of the *Periplûs*, who says: "Adjoining to *Suágros* there is a bay which runs deep into the mainland [of] Omana, 600 stadia in width; after which there are high mountainous rocks, steep to and inhabited by a [wild] race that live in caverns and hollows of the cliffs. This appearance of the coast continues for 500 stadia more, at the termination of which lies a harbour called *Moscha*, much frequented account of the *Sachalitic*[2] incense which is imported there."[3] According to this statement, *Suágros* was at one end of the bay and *Moscha* at the other, 1,100 stadia farther north, or rather north-east, the two places being separated by the mainland of *Omana*. As the *Syagros extrema* of Ptolemy and the *Suágros* of the *Periplûs* undoubtedly represent the

[1] The natives usually pronounce the word "'Amân," and Palgrave says that "'Omân" is "our customary European misnomer;" but he is wrong. Ibn-Batûta, it is true, writes it "'Ammân;" but the author of the *Marâsid-ú-'Ittila'*, and Arab lexicographers generally, vocalize the name thus: "'Omân," with a *dhâmmah* over the first letter.

[2] Obviously a Greek form of the Arabic *Sawâhily*,—literally, belonging to the coast,—a designation still commonly applied by the Arabs to the residents on the east coast of Africa.

[3] Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 344.

modern Râs-Fartak, it is clear that the *Moscha* of neither can be Máskat,[1] which is at least 480 miles to the north of that cape. There is no port answering to Ptolemy's *Moscha* where he locates it; but the *Moscha* of the *Periplus* may stand for Bunder-Reshr, with which Mr. H. J. Carter identifies it.[2]

Dean Vincent was puzzled at the occurrence of the names Omanum and Omana on that part of the coast. Mr. Carter, also, who describes a remarkable natural division in the bay of el-Kámar[3]—the two mountainous tracts there being separated by forty miles of low land—is not surprised that the northern district should bear a specific designation, but inasmuch as the territory now called 'Omân lies so much farther north, he is at a loss to account for the ancient name so low down on the coast. This difficulty disappears when we come to the old Oriental geographers, who make 'Omân conterminous with Hadhramaut, just as Ptolemy makes his *Syagros Extrema* the northern boundary of his *Adramitarum regio*. So el-'Idrîsy:—"and next to the land of Hadhramaut, on the east, is the land of Shâjar, in which are the Máhrah tribes. Next to the land of Máhrah is the country of 'Omân, which adjoins it on the north."[4]

'Omân, then, according to this statement, extended as far ... h as lat. 16 deg. or 17 deg. N. Following the same ... ority, it was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, ... e north by the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and on the west by the province of el-Yamâmah, and therefore comprehended the territory of el-Bahrein, on the mainland; hence its boundary in that direction may be fixed approximately at longitude 50 deg. 30 min. E. A translation of the

[1] Máskat, with the accent on the first syllable, not on the second, as Englishmen generally pronounce the word.

[2] See an excellent paper of his, drawn up from personal observation of the coast, and published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1851.

[3] For the probable origin of this name see note 4, p. 57.

[4] *Geographia*, Second Climate, section vi. *Romæ*, 1619.

original by el-'Idrîsy from which these deductions are made is given in a foot-note:[1] he describes 'Omân more in detail

[1] "Of the country of 'Omân are the two towns, Sûr and Kalhât, on the shore of the Persian sea; and between Sûr and Kalhât it is a long day's journey by land, less by sea. Between Sûr and Râs-el-Mâhjamah is a distance of five days by land and two days by sea. Râs-el-Mâhjamah is a lofty mountain on the coast, and at Râs-el-Mâhjamah there are pearl-fisheries. From Kalhât by the shore to the town of Sohâr is a distance of two hundred miles, and close to it, on the shore, is the village of Damâr. And from Mâskat to Sohâr, which are both flourishing towns, is four hundred and fifty miles. The town of Sohâr is on the coast of the Persian sea, and it is the most ancient of the towns of 'Omân. In olden times the China ships used to sail from thence, but they ceased to do so. The cause of their discontinuing to sail from the town of 'Omân was this: In the middle of the sea of Persia, which is before Mâskat, is an island called the Island of Kish [or Kaish]; it is a square island, twelve miles wide, and twelve miles long. From Sohâr to this island is two days' run. This island is opposite to the land of el-Yemen, separated from it by a day's run; and on the coast of Kermân are et-Tâiz and Shatt. Opposite to Sohâr, on the mainland, at a distance of two days, are two neighbouring districts, near to which is a Wâdi, called Wâdi-el-Falh [Falj, (?) the common designation of a stream or aqueduct in 'Omân]. One is called Sa'âl and the other el-'Afr; they are a couple of small but flourishing districts, with palm-trees, cultivation, fruit, and dates. They are about equal in size, and they procure water from the stream of el-Falh [el-Falj]; and the country in which they are situated is called Jezwa [Nezwa?]. And at about half a day is the town of Manj [Manh?]; it is a small town, and below it is the mountain called Sharm, with date-trees and springs of water, and it is situated on the banks of the stream of el-Falh [el-Falj]. And from Manj [Manh] to Sirr of 'Omân, west-ward, is two days' journey. It is situated at the foot of Jebel-Sharm, where the stream of el-Falh [el-Falj] takes its rise. It is a large stream, and on it are villages and continuous dwellings, until it falls into the sea near Julfâr. Most of the inhabitants of 'Omân are *Khawârij* [schismatics]. Between Nejd and the country of 'Omân is an extensive desert. From Sohâr to the territory of el-Bahrein is a journey of about twenty days. Adjoining the land of 'Omân to the west and to the north is the land of el-Yamâmah, one of the towns of which, ... now in ruins."

It seems strange, at first sight, that el-'Idrîsy ... land opposite the island of Kaish, (Kishm ... "Yemen;" but several of the old ... whole of 'Omân within that pro... his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, un...

than any of the old Arabian geographers, but, as the extract will show, his information, especially with regard to the relative position of places in this part of Arabia, is most inaccurate.

'Omân, as a principality, was sometimes co-extensive with the aforesaid limits, sometimes it comprised more and sometimes less territory, the boundaries within their jurisdiction depending in a great measure upon the personal character of the native rulers and the success or failure of their policy towards the turbulent outlying tribes. At the present day the principality of 'Omân extends, on the east, from Râs-el-Hadd to Cape Musándim,[1] but a very small portion of the western coast now recognizes its authority. Westward, inland, it may be said to stretch as far as the great Arabian desert. Its sovereign dependencies on the coast of Mekrân are Guâdel and Sharbâr, and it farms the littoral from Râs-Jashk to Bunder-el-'Abbâs—part of the ancient Caramania—together with the islands of Hormûz and el-Kishm,[2] from the Shâh of Persia. The islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia, with their dependencies on the east coast of Africa, from Cape Delgado to Mukdishu, (Magadoxo), constituted a part of the 'Omân state up to 1861, when they were formed [illegible] separate principality under Mâjid, a younger son of [illegible]e Seyyid Sáid.

[illegible]t according to local native geography 'Omân is merely one of five districts into which the principality is subdivided.

styles the sea near and south of the island of el-Bahrein the "sea of Yemen." (See Lee's Translation, p. 65.) The name "el-Bahrein"—[illegible]rally, the Two Seas—probably owes its origin to the notion that two [illegible]mely, that of Yemen or 'Omân, and that of Fars or Kermân, [illegible] locality. The designation is not unlike that of the τόπος [illegible] xxvii. 41.

[illegible]hic of Brucks's chart of the Persian Gulf.

[illegible]d "Kish," or "Kaish;" the author of this [illegible] and Palgrave makes it "Djishm." The [illegible]bove.

A glance at the map will show that a range of mountains traverses the province from south-east to north, nearly parallel to the coast, throwing off in its course northward a branch or arm which extends to Râs-el-Khaimah, on the Persian Gulf. The lowland on the eastern shore is called *el-Bâtinah*, or the Inner; the opposite side of the mountain range, between latitude 23 deg. 50 min. and 24 deg. 50 min., goes by the name of *ezh-Zhâhirah*, or the Outer; *es-Sirr*[1] is the designation given by the Arabs and *Julfârah* by the Persians to the littoral on the west of the promontory, and to its extension, westward, as far as longitude 53 deg., including the ports of the Benu-Yâs. The midland district, from about the latitude of Makniyât on the north to Sémed on the south, and conterminous with el-Bâtinah on the east and the desert on the west, is the district of *'Omân* proper; and adjoining 'Omân on the south and south-east is *Ja'alân*. Sometimes a different nomenclature is adopted, and the territory comprised within the upper districts of ezh-Zhâhirah, es-Sirr, and Rûûs-el-Jebel,—the rocky promontory—is styled *esh-Shamâl*, or the North; the north-eastern portion of 'Omân proper, including the towns of Nezwa and Behlâ, *esh-Sharkiyyah*, or the East; and the district of ezh-Zhâhirah as far as el-Bereimy, and westward even as far as Nejd, *el-Gharbiyyah*, or the West. By keeping this terminology in mind the reader will be the better able to comprehend the geographical and other details contained in the following History, from which it has been mainly compiled.

It is to be regretted that the same authority affords scarcely any information respecting the original colonization of 'Omân by the Arabs. The opening part of the which at first sight promised to supply speci the subject, was found on further examinat elaborate genealogies of the el-Azd t their renown in olden time, wit

[1] Sometimes es-Sirr is used, la
see p. 157.

there that certain families of that stock settled in 'Omân. Strange to say, it makes no direct reference whatever to the immigration of the el-Yaârubah, whose presence in 'Omân at a very early period is attested by concurrent tradition, and who supplied a succession of Imâms to the country from A.D. 1624-1741, when they were superseded by the existing dynasty of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd. Yaârub, the descendant of Kahtân, (Joktan), is alleged to have reigned over the whole of Yemen, including 'Omân, about 754 years before the Christian era. He was succeeded by his son Jâshjub, and then by his grandson 'Abd-Shams-Sâba, who had two sons, Himyar and Kahlân, whose descendants undoubtedly intermingled, although those of the former became mostly *Hadar*, that is, resident in towns and villages, those of the latter, *Bédu*, or dwellers in plains and deserts. It is uncertain whether his brother Kahlân, or his son Wâthil, or his grandson Shammir succeeded Himyar, but as Wâthil is distinctly stated to have ruled over 'Omân we are justified in assuming the existence of the el-Yaârubah in that country. Shammir, on the other hand, is recorded to have recognized the authority of the Persians. "This last indication," remarks M. Caussin de Perceval, "suggests the idea that Shammir lived during the great monarchy of Cyrus, about 536 B.C."; [1] it also corroborates the local tradition of the early domination of the Persians over 'Omân, from which they were subsequently expelled by the aid of other immigrants from Yemen. These consisted of a number of the tribe of el-Azd, a descendant of Kahlân,—and therefore of the same stock as the el-Yaârubah,—who originally occupied the territory of ... and dispersed over different parts of Arabia at the ... rupture of the famous dyke there, about A.D. 120. ...r, the son of el-Azd, went into 'Omân, and

[1] *...slamisme*, etc., vol. i. p. 56. The editor ... for several of the preceding and ...istory of 'Omân.

were afterwards known as "the el-Azd of 'Omân." Seventy years later, another branch of the family settled in el-Bahrein, on the mainland, under Mâlik-bin-Fahm, a descendant of el-Azd, who took up his residence at el-Anbâr, near el-Hirah, in the 'Irâk-'Araby, and founded the kingdom of the Tanukhites, on the west of the Euphrates. The original historians consulted by the eminent French writer just quoted leave it doubtful whether these Azdites emigrated from Batn-Marr, in the territory of Mekkah, where they had formed a settlement about A.D. 180,[1] or whether they were a detachment of those who had located themselves in 'Omân upwards of half a century before. Be that as it may, our author states that the government of the [illegible] was held by this Mâlik-bin-Fahm, el-Azdy, and [illegible]ants; from which we may infer that 'Omân was probably comprised, at first, within the dominions of the el-Hirah sovereigns, and became independent subsequently under the resident princes of the same family. The historian Hamza records that Mâlik-bin-Fahm was accidently killed by his son Sulaimah, who thereupon fled into 'Omân, where he left a large progeny, which existed a long time after the rise of Islâm. This casual notice tends to confirm the inference that there was an intimate relationship between the el-Azd of 'Omân and those of the 'Irâk-'Araby.

Other so-called "Azdite" families appear to have migrated into 'Omân from Nejd, but at what period it is difficult to ascertain. Under the head of "the el-Azd, the descendants of Khatâmah," our author enumerates several branches of them as being settled in that country. But Khatâmah was not, strictly speaking, an Azdite. He was the son of [illegible] the son of Nizâr,[2] the son of Maâdd, the son

[1] Ahmed-bin-Yâhya, el-Beládzory, mention[illegible] Azd, and their subsequent migration into [illegible] p. 16. Edited by Goeje, *Lugd.*, 186[illegible]

[2] Hence the relationship betw[illegible] riyyah of 'Omân; see p. 3, [illegible]

the alleged descendant of 'Abir,[1] (the patriarch Eber), through Ishmael; whereas the el-Azd claim descent from 'Abir through his son Kahtân, (Joktan). 'Anmâr settled in the mountainous district of Yemen, where his sons Khatâmah and Bajîlah having intermarried with two families descended from Kahlân, the progenitor of el-Azd, their progeny were regarded as Azdites. They subsequently migrated into Nejd, and are named among the Arab hordes who ravaged the Persian territories during the minority of Sapor II., A.D. 310-330. Sapor landed an army some years after at el-Katîf, pursued the Arabs into el-Hâjar, and nearly exterminated them.[2] Among the branches of these Azdites whom our author locates in 'Omân are the Sâfir [illegible] Arâbah, Sâid, Râshid, Akhzam, Wahîb, and [illegible] towns and villages, Benu-'s-Sâmit, Hâdiyah, and Ashraf. The [illegible]ities of several of these tribes occur in the following History.

Under the title of the "Dispersion of Tai, the son [*i.e.* the descendant] of el-Azd," the author indicates the source of other immigrations into 'Omân. His conceit of the Azdites, however, has led him into a genealogical error, for Tai, though descended from Kahlân, did not belong to the family of el-Azd, but to that of 'Odad. Tai, the descendant of 'Odad, begat el-Ghauth, who begat 'Amr, who begat Aswadân, whose name was Nebhân. The Benu-Nebhân, as we shall see hereafter, held the sovereignty over 'Omân for two or three centuries. As the tribe of their progenitor, Tai, left Yemen about A.D. 250, and settled in the north of Nejd, in the mountains of Aja and Salmâ,[3] it is highly probable that the Benu-Nebhân came into 'Omân from that

[illegible]erally held by the Arabs to be the same person as Hûd, [illegible] the Kurân (*Sûrat-el-Aa'raf*, 63-70) as having been [illegible] the son of Aram, the son of Sem, the son of [illegible]olatry.

[illegible]186, 190; ii. pp. 48, 49.

[illegible] corroborated by several original [illegible], vol. i. p. 103.

Among other families of the same stock mentioned by our author as existing in 'Omân is that of Haniy,—sometimes written Hâna or Hina,—the brother of Nebhân.[1] His descendants are indiscriminately styled the Benu-Hinâh, el-Hinawiyyah, el-Hinâwy, and el-Hinâÿ, (the Hinavi of English writers), and constitute the majority of the Bédu inhabitants of 'Omân proper. They have always exercised considerable influence in the country, and in more recent times have come to be regarded as representing one of the two great parties —the other being the el-Ghâfiry—into which the population is generally said to be divided.

Several of the earlier Imâms are re[illegible] to the el-Yâhmad, but no partic[illegible] pedigree beyond the statement th[illegible] As just remarked, the principal ri[illegible] and it may be added of the Azd[illegible] Benu-Ghâfir, respecting whose desc[illegible]nor is absolutely silent. This may be accounted for on the ground that his avowed object was to write a laudatory history of the el-Azd of 'Omân, and that it was undertaken at the request of a member of the ruling dynasty, which claims to belong to that family. The cognomen "Ghâfir" afforded me no clue to the parentage of the 'Omâny tribes bearing that name, and I am still at a loss to account for its derivation; but the fact that they are also styled "Benu-Nasr" indicated the probability that they form part of the posterity of Nasr-bin-Mo'âwiyah—born about A.D. 315—one of the sons of Hawâzin, the son of Kais-'Ailân, the son of Modhâr, the son of Maâdd, the son of 'Adnân, and consequently of Ishmaelitic (?) not of Kahtâny origin, as Palgrave makes them.[2] This presumption is confirmed by the intimate rela-

[1] M. Caussin de Perceval mentions the Benu-Haniy and the Benu-Nebhân, the descendants of 'Amr-bin-Ghanth, as among the most considerable of the Tai tribes. *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. ii. p. 606.

[2] *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 256.

tions subsisting between the Benu-Ghâfir and the Jowâshim, the latter being generally considered as an offshoot of the former. Now, Mo'âwiyah had two sons, Nasr and Jósham, who became the heads of two tribes, called after them the Benu-Nasr and the Benu-Jósham.[1] Both are frequently mentioned, mostly together, in the early annals of Islâm, and they appear to have resided in the territory near Mekkah till about A.D. 590, when we read of them in Nejd.[2] This date corroborates the local tradition of their having come into 'Omân several centuries after the Azdites, by whom they were regarded as interlopers. They settled in es-Sirr and ezh-Zhâhirah, two districts still mainly occupied by their descendants,[3] and in the early part of the eighteenth century they had become powerful enough to secure the election of a chief of their tri Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, to the Imâmate.

The fo ing is the best account which I have been able to compile respecting the genealogy of the principal tribes of 'Omân and their original immigration into that country. In process of time other tribes followed them—chiefly from Nejd—and these gave birth to numerous branches which have assumed distinctive names, and it is now almost impossible to ascertain the correct parentage of each. Occasional additional information on the subject will be found in foot-notes appended to the text of the ensuing History.

One fact, however, admits of scarcely any doubt, namely, that the Yemeny Azdites were the predominant tribe in

[1] "Jowâshim" would be an equivalent plural, as I conceive it to be the correct form. Some, however, soften it into "Jowâsim," whilst others again, and among them our author, following the usage of the Persian Gulf Arabs, write it "Kawâsim."

[2] *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. i. pp. 307, 309; ii. 537; iii. 245, 258.

[3] The ignorance of Arabic and Arab genealogy occasionally manifested by some of our Indian officials is strikingly illustrated by the following extract from a paper on the "Joasmees," published in the *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 300.—"The Joasmees are a race of Arabs descended from the inhabitants of Nujd, and named Beni Nasir, as being on the left hand side of the Caaba, and called also Beni Ghafree."

'Omân up to the end of the sixth century,[1] when Chosroes Parwîz sent a large army into Yemen under Wahrâz, who subdued that country, and also annexed el-Máhrah, Hadhramaut, 'Omân, and el-Bahrein to the Persian dominions. Those provinces, however, did not continue long under a foreign yoke, for about A.D. 630, Muhammad, who by that time had consolidated his power by the subjugation of Yemen and Nejd, dispatched one 'Amr on an embassy to two brothers, Jaifar and 'Abd, the sons of Julánda, of the el-Azd tribe, who then ruled over 'Omân. He summoned them to embrace Islâm, which they appear to [illegible] by accepting as divine the mission of M[illegible] doning their idolatry. Among the [illegible] which broke out on the accession of Ab[illegible] successor, was that of 'Omân, where an [illegible] Tâj-Lakît, who prior to Islâm had soug[illegible] Julánda, set himself up to be a prophet, and having gained many partisans obliged the Muslims and their chiefs, Jaifar and 'Abd, to take refuge in the mountains. Hadhramaut, el-Máhrah, and el-Bahrein revolting about the same time, Abu-Bekr dispatched several of his generals against them. 'Ikrimah, who had been engaged on similar service in el-Yamâmah, having formed a junction with 'Arfajah-bin-Hárthamah, a Himyarite, and Hudhaifah-bin-Muhsin, an Azdite, proceeded towards a locality called Rijâm.[2] The Muslim commanders having apprised Jaifar and 'Abd of their presence, the latter left their mountain retreat and, together with their followers, took up a position at Sohâr, where 'Ikrimah and his colleagues soon joined them. Dzu'-t-Tâj-Lakît, on the other hand, massed his adherents at Dabâ,[3]

[1] El-Belâdzory, speaking of a period not long anterior to Islâm, says: "The el-Azd were the principal inhabitants of 'Omân, but there was a large population besides them." *Futûh-el-Buldân*, p. 76.

[2] Probably "Riyâm," or the Jebel-Akhdar, still the abode of a tribe of that name. See note 4, p. 57.

[3] El-Belâdzory writes this word "Dibba," but el-Yakût and et-Tábary spell it as above. For the position of the place see note 1, p. 24.

then the principal town and market of the province. Abu-Bekr's generals having succeeded in detaching several of the el-Azd tribes in and around Sohâr and Dalâ from the pretender, they started for the latter place and attacked the enemy. During the engagement, which was carried on with equal bravery on both sides, the Muslims were unexpectedly reinforced by a large body of the Benu-'Abdu-'l-Kais from el-Bahrein, and by the Azdite tribe, the Benu-Nâjiah. Ten thousand rebels perished on the field, and the town of Dabâ, together with its inhabitants and accumulated wealth, became the prey of the conquerors. The fifth part of the booty and the same quota of the prisoners being the legal share of the Khalîfah, 'Arfajah set out for Mekkah with eight hundred captives,—men, women, and children,—while Hudhaifah remained behind to extinguish all traces of the rebellion throughout 'Omân.[1]

A passage in the *Futûh-el-Buldân*[2] records that in A.H. 15 =A.D. 636, 'Omar, Abu-Bekr's successor, appointed 'Othmân-bin-Abi-'l-'Âsy governor over el-Bahrein and 'Omân, from whence the latter dispatched an expedition against Sind. It may fairly be assumed, therefore, that 'Omân was subject to the Arabian Khalîfate at that date, which further brings down the history of the country to within a few years of the period at which our author takes it up, namely, during the reign of the Khalîfah Mo'âwiyah, (A.H. 41-60=A.D. 661-680), the first of the Omeyyah dynasty; nevertheless, he expressly states at the outset that the authority of the Khalîfahs was merely nominal over 'Omân until the accession of 'Abdu-'l-Málik-bin-Marwân, A.H. 65=A.D. 684, when el-Hajjâj, the famous governor of el-'Irâk, determined to reduce it. The first attempts made by his generals were bravely resisted by

[1] See el-Belâdzory's *Futûh-el-Buldân*, p. 76. A fuller account of these transactions is given by Abu Jaa'far, et Tábary, in his *Tarîkh-el-Mulûk*, etc., vol. i. pp. 202-6. Kosegarten's edition; *Gryph.* 1831.

[2] In the chapter entitled the *Conquest of Sind*, pp. 132-5.

the 'Omânis, headed by their chiefs, the two brothers Suleimân and Sâîd, lineal descendants of the Azdite Julánda already mentioned, who repeatedly drove back the invaders. A subsequent expedition, consisting of a sea and land force of 40,000 men led by Mujjâa'h, one of el-Hajjâj's most experienced commanders, met with a similar fate; but, returning a second time with 5,000 cavalry, Mujjâah took possession of the country and treated it as a vanquished province. Thereupon el-Hajjâj placed it under a governor of his own selection, with subordinates to collect the revenue, responsible indirectly to the superior authority of the Khalîfate. Suleimân and Sâîd escaped the vengeance of the conquerors and emigrated to the "land of the Zanj," taking their families and a number of their tribe with them.[1]

As a rule the appointments to 'Omân were vested in the lieutenant over el-'Irâk, subject to the approval of the Khalîfah. In course of time, natives [illegible] promoted to collectorships, and eventually the office [illegible] was conferred on Janâh-bin-'Abbâdah, [illegible] Taking advantage of this concession [illegible] about A.D. 751, to elect a sovereign of the [illegible] of Julánda-bin-Mas'ûd, who is styled the "first of the rightful Imâms of 'Omân."[2] Their previous rulers do not appear

[1] This, as far as I know, is the most reliable record which we possess of the first emigration of the 'Omâny Arabs to the east coast of Africa. It serves also to elucidate and correct Dr. Krapf's account of the first settlements of these Arabs in that quarter, which, he says, "were made in various points of the East African coast in the year 740 by the Emosaids, or adherents of Said, a grandson of Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. Said, proclaimed caliph by the rebels, was defeated and slain, on which his adherents had to seek safety in flight; and it was in East Africa that they found refuge." *Travels and Missionary Labours*, p. 522. For "Said, the grandson of Ali," a mythical personage, read "Sa'id, the descendant of Julánda." *Emosaids* I take to stand for *'Ammu-Sa'id*, the People of Sa'id.

[2] For the full import of this title see Appendix A.

to have borne any distinctive title.[1] Religious influence seems to have stimulated this effort to throw off a foreign yoke, for the record of it is coupled with the remark that the *Ibâdhiyah*[2] had become the predominant sect in 'Omân. The same motives probably led them to change or to confer a fresh title upon their sovereigns. The Khalîfah, or *Successor* to Muhammad, is, *par excellence*, the Imâm or Pontiff of all Muslims; but it is a cardinal doctrine of the Ibâdhiyah to deny that 'Aly or his successors were legitimate representatives of the Prophet. In fact, they do not believe in the theological dogma of Succession, or spiritual descent, holding, on the contrary, that the Imâm should be the elect of the people, who are justified in deposing him, if adjudged guilty of malfeasance either in secular or religious matters.

Julánda's reign was cut short by an abortive expedition dispatched against 'Omân by the Khalîfah es-Saffâh, A.D. 749-754; but in the contest which took place between the two armies Julánda was slain. Thereupon followed an interregnum of several years, during which the country was a

[1] I am not quite certain on this point. From a sentence in page 2, where Suleimân and Sa'íd, the sons of 'Abbâd-bin-el-Julánda, are styled "of the lineage of its [Omân's] Sultâns," it may be inferred that "Sultân" was the designation previously borne by the rulers of that country. On the other hand, the term bears the common signification of ruler, or [illegible] in that passage. Abulféda uses it for the first time, in its restricted meaning, in his account of Rukn-ed-Daulah, the Khalîfah el-Mutî'-b'Illâh's nominal deputy over Fars, who, he says, bestowed upon his nephew 'Imâd-ed-Daulah, the title of "Sultân," placing him at the same time—A.H. 338=A.D. 949—upon his throne. But according to the generality of oriental authors the title was not directly applied to any Eastern prince till A.H. 393=A.D. 1002, when Mahmûd-el-Ghazny dignified Khalf-bin-Ahmed, the governor of Sejistân, with it. It soon superseded the designation of Amîr, or el-Amîr, which had before been used in the same sense, was subsequently assumed by the Mamlûks in Egypt, and is still used by the Ottoman emperor. See D'Herbelot, under *Solthan*. I may add that this title is also given to many petty chiefs in Yemen, who in other parts of Arabia would be styled Sheikhs.

[2] For a detailed account of this sect see Appendix B.

prey to "Tyrants"—local chiefs who perpetrated all kinds of excesses. Then "the learned elders of the people assembled at Nezwa,[1] under the presidency of Mûsa-bin-Abi-Jâbir, and they agreed to confer the Imâmate upon Muhammad-bin-'Affân," (p. 10). This is the first intimation given of the mode in which the election was conducted, and the great influence of the presiding member in such cases is illustrated by the instance referred to, for he succeeded by his own personal machinations in setting aside the choice of the nobles and conferring the dignity on another individual, namely, el-Wârith-bin-Kaáb. During el-Wârith's tenure of office another ineffectual attempt was made by the Khalîfah Harûn-er-Rashîd, A.D. 789-809, to reconquer 'Omân. Ghassân, Wârith's successor, was distinguished for having put an end to the incursi band of pirates who infested those se *Bawârij*, coming from the mouths of the 'Abdu-'l-Málik, who succeeded him, bec carry on the administration, a mutiny arose among the soldiery, which led to the appointment of a regent. The annals of the next reign, that of el-Muhenna, A.D. 840-851, represent el-Máhrah as being tributary to 'Omân, for the people of that province were adjudged to bring their camels once a-year and walk them round a pillar which the Imâm caused to be erected at Nezwa for that purpose. The object of this ordinance was two-fold: first, as a public recognition of their dependence on the part of the owners; and, secondly,

[1] Nezwa appears to have been the capital, at this period, of the territory which recognized the authority of the Imâm; nevertheless, several of the succeeding Imâms kept to their native towns. In course of time er-Rastâk became the seat of the sovereigns, and remained so until the regency of Hámed-bin-Sa'íd, about A.D. 1779, who removed to Máskat, which has been the principal residence of the ruling Seyyids ever since. For an account of Nezwa, see Wellsted's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 119-126. He describes the fort there as being, "in the estimation of all the surrounding country," impregnable. This is probably the fort mentioned at p. 88, as having been built by Sultân-bin-Seif, at a cost of "lacs of gold and silver."

in order that the amount of cattle-tithe due from them to the Imâm might be correctly estimated.[1]

On the death of el-Muhenna, who had vigorously repressed a rising of the Benu-Julánda,—the tribe of the old rulers,—revolt became rife, and numerous parties were formed, all aiming at the sovereign power. No less than sixteen bootless councils were convened to put an end to the growing disorders. During this state of anarchy some of the malcontents applied for assistance to el-Muʼtádhid-b'Illâh, the Abbaside Khalîfah at Baghdâd—A.D. 892-902—by whose orders Muhammad-bin-Nûr, his governor over el-Bahrein, invaded 'Omân by land with a force of twenty-five thousand men, including one thousand cavalry, half of whom were clad in coats of mâil, levied principally from the en-Nizâr and the Benu-Tai. So great was the consternation created by the impending attack, that many families left 'Omân for Hormûz, el-Básrah, and Shîrâz. After capturing el-Bereimy and the district of es-Sirr, Muhammad-bin-Nûr marched to Nezwa, which 'Azzân, the ruling Imâm, had evacuated, but pursuing him to Sémed-esh-Shân, a battle was fought there in which 'Azzân was slain, and the conqueror sent his head as a trophy to the Khalîfah.

[1] El-Máhrah had ceased to recognize the suzerainty of 'Omân for centuries, when the late Seyyid Sa'íd, by a stretch of authority for which he was too glad to secure our countenance, made over the Curia-Muria islands, on the coast of that province, then tributary to the sheikhs of the Benu-Khalfân, at Marbât, to the British crown. The deed of conveyance was as follows: "In the name of Almighty God! From the humble Sa'íd-bin-Sultân to all whom it may concern, Muslims and others. Captain Freemantle having come to me from the great Queen, asking from me the Islands of Khalfân, [namely,] el-Hallaniyyah, es-Saudah, el-Hâsekiyyah, el-Kubliyyah, and Jarûdûah, I hereby give to her imperial Majesty the Sovereign of England, her Majesty Queen Victoria, the said islands, and to her children after her. I give them absolutely, on my own behalf, and on behalf of my children after me, of my own free will, and without any drawback on my part. Be this known to all who may peruse this document. Written at Máskat, the 17th Shawâl, 1270," = 14th, July, 1854.

Muhammad-bin-Nûr took up his residence at Nezwa, but it was not long before one of the chiefs of the el-Hinâÿ summoned the tribes to expel him the country. They had nearly effected their object, having driven him as far as the sea-coast at es-Sîb, when a strong mounted reinforcement, two men riding on each camel, coming to the aid of the refugees, a battle was fought in which the 'Omânis were defeated with great loss. Thereupon Muhammad-bin-Nûr re-occupied Nezwa, and ruled with a rod of iron: "he cut off the hands and ears, and scooped out the eyes of the nobles, inflicted unheard-of outrages upon the inhabitants, destroyed the watercourses, burnt the books, and utterly desolated the country." On leaving for el-Bahrein he appointed one el-Bujairah as his deputy over 'Omân, who shortly after fell a victim to the vengeance of the infuriated people.

No less than seven Imâms were successively elected and deposed within a space of about thirty years after this occurrence. The narrative leads to the inference that the 'Omânis took advantage of the serious disturbances raised by the el-Karâmitah[1] at this period throughout the Muslim empire to re-assert their independence; but their efforts were too feeble to prevent the "Sultân of Baghdâd"[2] from

[1] For a brief notice of this sect see note, p. 27; also Appendix B, pp. 387-390.

[2] In two foot-notes, pp. 26, 33, I have supposed that the Khalifah was indicated by this title. It is quite true, as there remarked, that the religious scruples of the Ibâdhiyah author frequently restrain him from giving the designation of Khalifah to the orthodox Muslim sovereigns; nevertheless, subsequent reflection leads me to think that by the "Sultân of Baghdâd" the Amîr-el-Omarâ is intended. The date of the narrative in which it occurs, namely, subsequent to the death of el-Mua'tádhid, A.H. 289 = A.D. 902, confirms that idea, for the latter title was first given to Abu-Bekr-ibn-er-Raik by the Khalifah er-Râdhi-b'Illâh, A.H. 324 = A.D. 936. Besides the entire management of the finances, the office comprised the administration of all military affairs, and the Amir-el-Omarâ frequently headed the army in person. In course of time the influence of these Commanders-in-Chief became paramount in the

visiting the country over and anon, presumably with a strong force, to levy the tribute. On these occasions the Imâm resigned his authority, and did not resume it until the departure of the Collectors. The el-Karâmitah do not appear to have succeeded in subjugating 'Omân, for according to Nowairy a detachment of six hundred men, dispatched on an expedition into that country by Abu-Sâîd, the leader of the el-Bahrein branch of the sect, was cut off to a man.

Subsequently, the "Sultân of Baghdâd" again invaded 'Omân, and held it with two military camps, one in the province of es-Sirr and the other at el-'Atîk.[1] Nevertheless, the people continued to have Imâms of their own, and in the case of Râshid-bin-el-Walîd (p. 31) we have an interesting account of his election and inauguration. Four of the principal chiefs met together in the house of the candidate, who was required to assent to certain conditions submitted to him. That assent given, the chiefs went forth to the people, who had assembled from all parts of 'Omân to take part in the ceremony, and made known to them the result of their deliberations. The president of the council then stood up and solemnly proclaimed him Imâm. After

empire, and the Khalifâhs were reduced to mere puppets in their hands. See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* under *Emîr* and *Radhi Billah*.

[1] El-'Atîk occurs in et-Tâbary's account of the "Day of Armâth" as the name of a river. Reiskius, in his *Annotations on Abulféda*, vol. i. p. 47, quotes the following from el-Mas'ûdy respecting its locality:— "The water of the Euphrates used to extend to the territory of el-Hîrah, and its canal exists up to this time, and is called el-'Atîk. Thereon took place the conflict between the Muslîms and Rustam, namely, the battle of el-Kâdisiyyah. It empties into the Abyssinian sea. At that time the sea was in the place called en-Nâjaf. Vessels from China and India used to frequent it coming to the Kings of el-Hîrah." *Târîkh-el-Mulûk*, etc. vol. iii, p. 21 of the Arabic text, and p. 105 of the Latin, Edit. Kossegarten. Yule understands by this passage, and from another on the same subject quoted from Hamza of Ispahân by Reinaud, in his *Relations*, etc., that the Euphrates is stated to have been navigable at the period referred to as high up as el-Hîrah. *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. i. p. lxviii.

receiving the allegiance of the people he entered upon the duties of his office, which, besides the conduct of the civil administration, involved the duty of leading in the public prayers.

The reign of Râshid-bin-el-Walîd, which began so auspiciously, ended in disaster. Intrigue and insubordination broke out among his subjects, who once more invited the Khalîfah to intervene in their intestine quarrels. Nezwa was again occupied by his army, and an imprudent attack upon them led to the overthrow of the Imâm Râshid and his adherents. Râshid eventually made his submission to the Khalîfah's representatives in the country, who held it until the increasing commotions in the Muslim empire, which had led to its rapid disintegration, prevented the Abbaside sovereigns from dispatching reinforcements into 'Omân. This took place about A.D. 1000, after which we read of no further interference of the Khalîfahs in the affairs of that province.[1]

For upwards of a century afterwards the 'Omânis reverted to their old system of government, and five successive Imâms, who appear to have resided principally at Nezwa, were elected. An interregnum of 260 years followed, during which the Beni-Nebhân tribe acquired the ascendancy, and established a dynasty of *Máliks*, or Kings,[2] who ruled over

[1] For half a century at least prior to that date the Arabian Khalîfate had been shorn of its authority and dignity by the numerous Amîrs who had set up independent rule over almost all the provinces of the empire, (see note, p. 34). At the outset, these princes paid some sort of homage to the reigning Khalîfah, but in course of time they came to regard him only as the great Imâm or Sovereign Pontiff of Islâm, who had nothing more to do than to lead in the services of the Mosque and to decide certain points of right. It is true that once and again the Khalîfahs re-asserted their independence of the Amîrs, nevertheless their power began to decline perceptibly from the reign of er-Râdhi-b'Illâh, A.H. 325 = A.D. 936, until Baghdâd was captured and the Khalîfate abolished by the Moghuls under Hulâku-Khân, A.D. 1258, after it had been held by the el-'Abbâs dynasty for about 523 years.

[2] From a remark by the author at p. 52 it would seem that some of

a great part of the interior until the rëestablishment of the Imâmate, A.D. 1429, and continued to exercise considerable influence in the country up to the accession of the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid, A.D. 1664.

Prior to the sway of the Benu-Nebhân the Imâms were chosen from different families of the el-Azd stock; only one instance is recorded of lineal succession (p. 51), although such succession appears to have been the rule in the case of the sovereigns of the Julánda dynasty. The change which subsequently took place in that respect was probably coeval with the prevalence of the Ibâdhiyah doctrines, which inculcated that the Imâm should be the elect of the people.

During the government of the Benu-Nebhân, A.D. 1154—1406, 'Omân was twice invaded from Persia, once by the "people of Shîrâz," A.D. 1265, and again a few years later by the Amîr Mahmûd-bin-Ahmed, el-Kûsy, from Hormûz, on the mainland of Kermân, the seat of a petty principality, of Arab origin, which for the time being was subverted by the Moghuls, but was subsequently rëestablished on the island of Jerûn,[1] or Zarûn, since called Hormûz. The date of these invasions, taken in conjunction with a passage from Marco Polo's travels about the same time, (note, p. 37), renders it tolerably certain that they occurred on the accession of Abaka, the son of Hulâku-Khân;[2] and although the invaders were repelled on the later occasion, nevertheless, as we shall see presently, the "Kings of Hormûz" continued to claim jurisdiction over the seaboard of 'Omân up to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The few detached notices given by the author of the rule of the Benu-Nebhân are of little interest. Their sovereigns appear to have resided either at Makniyât or Behlâ, and one

these Máliks attained the dignity of Imâm; but the passage is of doubtful import.

[1] Abulféda in his *Takwîm-el-Buldân* writes it "Zarûn."

[2] Ibn-Wardy says that Hulâku-Khân died on the 19th of Rabîa'-el-Âkhir, A H. 663 = 8th February, 1265.

of them is recorded to have introduced the mango-tree into the country, which still continues to flourish there. Frequent feuds broke out between them and their kinsmen the el-Hinâÿ, and their tyranny eventually led the people to restore the Imâmate in the el-Azd family. This took place about A.D. 1435, at which period the Benu-Nebhân had suffered some severe reverses, and much of their property was confiscated (p. 49); but their power was not altogether broken, since two members of their tribe and one of the el-Hinâÿ became Imâms subsequently, (p. 52). It was not till A.D. 1624, when Nâsir-bin-Murshid, the first of the el-Yaârubah dynasty, was elected at er-Rastâk, which thenceforward became the inland capital, that their influence was finally suppressed.[1]

The el-Yaârubah, as already stated, were the first settlers in 'Omân from Yemen. Like the el-Azd, they were of Kahtâny origin, but belonged to an older branch of that stock. Nâsir-bin-Murshid's pedigree (p. 53) makes him first a *Ya'aruby*, then an *'Araby*, or pure Arab (see note, *id.*), then a *Himyary*, and an *Azdy*. Strictly speaking, he could not have been both, because Himyar and el-Azd were brothers, who each became the head of numerous families, bearing the distinctive name of their progenitor; but as these families subsequently intermingled, and it was not certain, perhaps, from which Nâsir lineally descended, the double parentage is ascribed to him. Lastly, he is called a *Yémeny*, which describes the local origin of his race. The phrase, "the upright Ibâdhy," appended to his pedigree, indicates the particular creed which he professed, just as a member of one of the four orthodox Muslim sects would be styled either a Hánafy, a Shâfây, a Mâliky, or a Hánbaly.[2]

[1] From that time forward even the name Benu-Nebhân ceases to occur in the annals of 'Omân. I can only account for this fact by the supposition that after a long period of rivalry they eventually coalesced with their relatives, the el-Hinây, under which designation the amalgamated tribes still exercise considerable influence in the country.

[2] English readers unaccustomed to the oriental style should be ap-

At the period of Nâsir-bin-Murshid's election some of the inland towns and forts were in the hands of independent chiefs, styled "Máliks," (p. 54); others were possessed by the inhabitants in common, who appear to have formed petty municipal or village republics. Er-Rastâk and Nakhl were held by the relatives of Nâsir; Tawwâm or el-Bereimy, and one town in ezh-Zhâhirah, by the Hilâlis, proving that the Maáddic tribes (see note, p. 58) had already gained a strong footing in that part of 'Omân; Behlâ, which had been a military post under the Khalîfahs, and one of the capitals of the Benu-Nebhân, was in the hands of the Benu-Hinâÿ. Láwa, (note, p. 62), seems to have been the only port on the eastern coast subject to the 'Omânis, the remainder being still held by the Portuguese, Albuquerque having seized them, A.D. 1508, at which time they were undoubtedly tributary to the Málik of Hormûz.[1] Julfâr, on the western coast of the promontory, was occupied by "Persians" from Hormûz,

prised that the author, when describing a person of rank, first gives his name and family descent, then his gentilic extraction, mentioning the sub-tribe before the parent stock, and lastly the place of his birth. Thus in the case of 'Omar, (p. 48), his progenitors are enumerated through five generations; then he is called "el-Yáhmady," *i. e.* of the sub-tribe of el-Yáhmad; then "el-Azdy," of the el-Azd stock; and then "el-Kharûsy," Kharûs being his native place. It is only in special cases, however, that all these particulars are supplied; the more common practice is to give a man's name, as the son of so-and-so, his gentilic descent, and his birthplace. The two Imâms mentioned at p. 25 are instances of this abbreviated style.

[1] This appears to be clear from the narrative of Faria y Sousa, according to which Alfonso de Albuquerque after leaving Socotra went to Kalhât, "a beautiful and strong place in the kingdom of Ormuz," where he was well received, and entered into a treaty of peace with the governor. At Karyât, ten miles farther north, being ill received, he stormed the place. The governor of Máskat made a treaty of peace with him, but while his boats were ashore for water, "two thousand men who had arrived to defend the town from Ormuz" opened fire upon him, which led him to capture the place. And at Sohâr the inhabitants engaged to pay him "the same tribute which used to be given to the King of Ormuz." See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. vi. pp. 102-3.

and also by the Portuguese, each having a separate fort and garrison there.

Nâsir's energy and perseverance, backed by his own tribe and seconded by the people generally, who were anxious to rid themselves of the tyranny of their petty Máliks, soon placed him in possession of all the inland towns and posts. He met with some opposition at el-'Akr, of Nezwa, from the Benu-Abi-Sâîd[1] and also from the Benu-Hinây; but his more formidable antagonists were the Benu-Hilâl, of ezh-Zhâhirah, headed by one Nâsir-bin-Kátan, whose head-quarters were at el-Hasâ, (see note 1, p. 70,) and who entered into an alliance against the Imâm with the Benu-Hinây.

Nâsir's successes indirectly brought him into antagonism with the Portuguese, who very naturally regarded his growing popularity with disfavour, if not with alarm. They held the defences at the principal stations on the coast with strong garrisons,[2] but the lesser ports were left in the hands of the inhabitants, subject to an annual tribute. Beyond a general supervision they appear to have allowed the native local authorities to administer their own laws, and, strange to say, we read of no efforts on the part of the Portuguese clergy to make proselytes to Christianity in these parts. Their policy was undoubtedly most conciliatory, but surrounded as they were by inimical tribes they were obliged to have recourse to a precarious and hazardous strategy. *Divide et Impera* was the course which their isolated position almost forced upon them, and, while they had only petty rival chiefs to deal with, their influence sufficed to maintain the balance of power in their own favour. But a more formidable competitor now appeared on the scene, and as against him their ordinary tactics precipitated their complete overthrow.

[1] Probably the same tribe as that of the existing dynasty, the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd, which succeeded the el-Ya'arubah.

[2] At Sûr, Karyât, Máskat, el-Mátrah, and Sohâr on the eastern coast.

The immediate cause of dissension between the two parties arose out of certain occurrences at Láwa, a small town near the coast, about fifteen miles north of Sohâr. On Nâsir's accession the fort there was held by a friendly ally, who was subsequently murdered, and the place fell into the hands of two brothers of the el-Hilâly tribe,[1] one of whom joined a number of other malcontent chiefs who had sought refuge with the Portuguese at Sohâr. The latter readily espoused their cause and abetted them in their opposition to the Imâm, supplying them with arms and ammunition to carry on hostilities against him. Despite this cooperation, however, the rebels were obliged to surrender Láwa, and emboldened by success the Imâm Nâsir forthwith dispatched a large army to attack the Christians at Máskat and el-Mátrah. The conflict which ensued resulted in the cession to the 'Omânis of several outposts at the former place, as also all the buildings and land which the Portuguese held at Sohâr, with the exception of the castle; and, further, they agreed to pay tribute to the Imâm for their continued occupation of Máskat.

Nâsir-bin-Murshid's next expedition was directed against Julfâr, the modern Râs-el-Khaimah, on the western coast, then held jointly by the "Persians" of Hormûz and the Portuguese. After capturing that place he ordered a fort to be built on the seashore near Sohâr, in order to keep a check upon the manœuvres of the Portuguese and the disaffected native chiefs who were harboured there. An abortive attack was made at the same time on the Sohâr castle,[2]

[1] Owing evidently to mistranscription, there is great confusion in the names of the principal persons concerned in these occurrences at Láwa, as given at pp. 63, 64. Muhammad-bin-Jufair, in the thirteenth line of the former page, is called "el-Jabry," whereas being brother to Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hilâly, he also must have belonged to the same tribe. Again, in the fifth line of p. 64, the same Seif-bin-Muhammad is designated "el-Hinây," instead of "el-Hilâly." These inaccuracies escaped my notice at the time.

[2] The castle of Sohâr occupies a small rising ground within the city;

which was bravely defended by the Christians, who, however, were unable to prevent the prosecution of the new fort, which was completed under the protection of a strong guard.

The Portuguese at Máskat having refused to pay the stipulated tribute, the Imâm dispatched an army against them to enforce it. At el-Mátrah his commander-in-chief was waited upon by a deputation from the Christians soliciting peace, and eventually an agreement was entered into whereby the latter engaged to pay the tribute regularly in future; to surrender certain military posts at el-Mátrah; to permit all those who repaired to the coast to trade freely; to abstain from hostilities against the Imâm; and to make over to him all the external fortifications of Máskat. These concessions, however, did not prevent the Imâm from attacking the Christians at Sûr and Karyât, from both which places he succeeded in expelling them.

The close of Nâsir-bin-Murshid's career was disturbed by fresh troubles in ezh-Zhâhirah, instigated and fostered by Nâsir-bin-Kátan, el-Hilâly, who, foiled in his attempt against el-Bereimy, marched with an army towards the south. He was met at all points by the Imâm, who succeeded in putting down the rebellion, and at his death, which occurred A.D. 1649, he was master of the whole province, with the exception of the towers and fortifications of el-Mátrah and Máskat, and the castle of Sohâr. The fiction recorded by his annalist as "a well-known fact," that "not an individual, great or small," died a natural death during his reign of twenty-six years, was unnecessary to establish his renown as one of the most famous rulers of 'Omân, for he consoli-

its entrance is by a bridge, passing over a moat, and leading to a large inner gate; on the walls of the keep are placed a few small pieces of artillery, culverines in antiquated phrase, and full-grown cannon stand ranged before the entrance....The town bulwarks are in good preservation, and furnished, on the seaward side, with a few pieces of artillery." Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 332-3.

dated the power of the Imâmate and exercised a greater influence over the country than any of his predecessors. He was frugal even to parsimony in his mode of life, and his reputation for piety was, there can be no doubt, the main source of his popularity with the superstitious tribes who still regard him as having been endowed with preternatural virtues.

Nâsir was succeeded by his cousin, Sultân-bin-Seif, who immediately after his election set out from er-Rastâk with a large army, determined to drive the Portuguese out of Máskat. He encamped near the neighbouring town of el-Mátrah, from whence he made frequent sallies on the enemy's outposts; but the Christians were everywhere on the alert and repulsed the assailants at all points. This desultory warfare might have been prolonged indefinitely had it not been for the treachery of a Banian, named Narûtem, who appears to have held the post of general agent to the Portuguese, and whose daughter the Commandant, Pareira, insisted on making his wife. Narûtem, having succeeded in postponing the proposed marriage for a year, hit upon a plan for frustrating it altogether. He first induced the Commandant to empty the water-tanks in the two forts, clear out the provision-stores and remove the gunpowder, under the plea that the siege might be protracted, and that, therefore, timely precautions should be taken to obtain fresh supplies in lieu of the old, and then wrote confidentially to the Imâm apprising him of what he had done, urging him to attack the place on a Sunday, when the garrison would be off duty and engaged in merry-making. Taking advantage of this information, the Imâm led his army over the intervening heights on the day named, and first assaulted the town walls, "none of the Portuguese opposing them but such as were reeling drunk, incapable of firing or using their muskets, beyond striking with them at random." From the town they proceeded to the two forts, the guns of

which were useless, Narûtem having tampered with the ammunition, and after a hand-to-hand struggle both were captured. A "famous warrior named Cabreta" made a desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day by rushing into the town with a small band of followers, but he was overpowered by numbers, who pelted him with rotten eggs, and dispatched him with spears. Thus, writes the pious annalist, did "God rid the Muslims of him and his polytheist companions."

The date of the capture of Máskat from the Portuguese has never been correctly ascertained; unfortunately, our author also omits to record it. Judging from the chronology of other events which transpired during the reign of Sultân-bin-Seif, (see note, p. 89), I have fixed it between 1651-2.

Two Portuguese men-of-war continuing to hover about the coast near Máskat, a body of mercenaries was obtained "to whom death was sweeter than wine to the lips of the wine-bibber," who attacked them in small boats and destroyed them, killing the crews. Fired with these successes in 'Omân, the Imâm organized a *Jihâd*, and carried the war into the enemy's country. He attacked Diu and Damân, on the coast of Guzerat, to the great consternation of the Portuguese, carrying away an immense booty, including all the gold and silver vessels and images belonging to the churches. Relieved from all fear of invasion from abroad, he turned his attention to home affairs, and it is specially recorded of him that he fostered trade and sent agents into different countries to obtain a supply of arms, horses, etc., for which a strong demand had sprung up among his subjects. He spent twelve years and "lacs of gold and silver" in building the famous fortress at Nezwa, and died, deplored by the people, on the 11th of November, 1668, according to my correction of the obviously erroneous date given by the author or the transcriber. He was buried, like his predecessor, at Nezwa.

Sultân was succeeded by his son Belârab-bin-Sultân, who is stated to have been a great patron of learning, having founded and endowed a college at Yabrîn, where also he took up his residence. His reign, which opened auspiciously, was soon disturbed by the rivalry of his brother Seif, who secured many adherents from among the more devout Fakîhs and Sheikhs of 'Omân,—the *parti-prêtre*, as such would be called in Christian France,—and a succession of hostilities ensued between the partisans of the two brothers, which obtained for Belârab the sobriquet of the "Butcher," and for Seif that of the "Scourge of the Arabs." It does not appear which was the elder, nor upon what ground there was a division of opinion among the people as to which of them had a greater claim to the Imâmate. Belârab, however, was eventually driven to take refuge in his fort at Yabrîn, where he expired—at his own request, as the author avers. On his death, Seif succeeded to the sovereignty, and inaugurated his reign by expelling the Portuguese, about A.D. 1698, from Mombâsah, the island of Pemba, Kilwah, and other places on the east coast of Africa, where the Arabs of 'Omân had formed settlements as early as the seventh century, (see *ante*, p. xiii). Seif had a large navy at his command: one of the ships is stated to have carried eighty large guns, "each gun measuring three spans at the breech,"—in circumference, it may be presumed. His more useful and reproductive works were the repairing of several of the principal canals,[1]

[1] These canals or water-courses, called *Falûj*, (in the singular, *Falj*,) exist in every direction throughout the interior. Describing them, Wellsted says that the oases and towns of 'Omân generally "owe their fertility to the happy manner in which the inhabitants have availed themselves of conducting water to them, a mode, as far as I know, peculiar to this country, and at an expense of labour and skill more Chinese than Arabian. The greater part of the surface of the land being destitute of running streams on the surface, the Arabs have sought in elevated places for springs or fountains beneath it; by what means they discover these

and the planting of some thousands of date and cocoa-nut trees in different parts of the country. He died at er-Rastâk on the 4th of October, 1711.

Sultân-bin-Seif, the second of that name, succeeded his father, and removed from er-Rastâk to el-Hazm, where he built a strong fort. His warlike achievements appear to have been confined to the Persian Gulf, where he encountered the Persians at many points, and wrested from them the island of el-Bahrein,[1] (p. 91), which they had occu-

I know not, but it seems confined to a peculiar class of men who go about the country for the purpose, and I saw several which had been sunk to the depth of forty feet. A channel from this fountain-head is then, with a very slight descent, bored in the direction in which it is to be conveyed, leaving apertures at regular distances to afford light and air to those who are occasionally sent to keep it clean. In this manner the water is frequently conducted for a distance of six or eight miles, and an unlimited supply is thus obtained. These channels are about four feet broad and two feet deep, and contain a clear rapid stream. Few of the large towns or oases but had four or five of these rivulets or *feleji* running into them. The isolated spots to which water is thus conveyed possess a soil so fertile, that nearly every grain, fruit, or vegetable, common to India, Arabia, or Persia, is produced almost spontaneously; and the tales of the oases will be no longer regarded as an exaggeration, since a single step conveys the traveller from the glare and sand of the desert into a fertile tract, watered by a hundred rills, teeming with the most luxuriant vegetation." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 92-94. These canals, which Wellsted thought peculiar to 'Omân are common in Persia, where they are called *karîz* or *kahrîz*. Mr. Perkins thus describes the process of making them:—"A well is sunk upon a descending plain till water is found, and a canal cut from the bottom, under ground, descending just enough to convey its water along. A few yards from the first a second well is dug, that the earth, in cutting the subterranean passage, may be drawn out; and the same process is repeated till the spring is conveyed to the surface and made to irrigate the adjacent fields. The rapidity with which these wells are dug is astonishing. Two men—one at the top with a small hand windlass and a leather bucket to draw up the soil, and the other below with an iron prong like a tusk, furnished with a short handle to dig it up, and a huge iron spoon with which to fill the bucket—will work down twenty or twenty-five feet per day." *Residence in Persia*, p. 426. Andover, U. S., 1843.

[1] Although the autl or simply states that he captured "el-Bahrein,"

pied on the expulsion of the Portuguese and the garrison of their tributary the "King" of Hormûz from the latter island by Shâh-'Abbâs, A.D. 1622, aided by a fleet belonging to the East India Company. On the demise of Sultân, after a short reign of seven years, great dissensions arose among the inhabitants about a successor. The "illiterate," or popular party, were for electing his son Seif, then a boy; the "intelligent and pious" supported Seif's elder brother, Muhenna, on the ground that "the Imâmate of a child was not proper in any way: such an Imâm could not lead in prayer, how then could he preside over a state, conduct the administration, have at his disposal the wealth, and blood, and revenues of the country? Neither would it be lawful for him to be placed in charge of the wealth of God, or the property of orphans and absentees; for, possessing no power over himself, how could he exercise authority over others?" (p. 99). The sheikh 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, however, who appears to have been the most influential personage at the time, fearing a revolt if he ran counter to the wishes of the majority, appeased the threatening multitude by a verbal equivocation. He proclaimed Seif-bin-Sultân to be their *Amâm*, a word from the same root as *Imâm*, but with a different signification, (see note 1, p. 8). Shortly after, Muhenna the elder brother was introduced into the fort by stealth, when the Imâmate was conferred upon him by the chiefs, A.D. 1718.

Muhenna began his administration by abolishing the custom dues at Máskat and other drawbacks upon trade; and the country was in a highly prosperous condition. His reign was cut short by a joint conspiracy of his own tribe, the el-Yaârubah, and the citizens of er-Rastâk, who invited Yaârub-bin-Belârâb-bin-Sultân, his second cousin, to sup-

it is clear from a subsequent part of the narrative that the island now called by that name, and not the district on the mainland opposite, which aforetime had borne the same designation, is indicated.

plant him. Yaârub succeeded in obtaining possession of Máskat, which had now become one of the most important places in the principality; and Muhenna perceiving that he was utterly unable to cope with him,—the people generally remaining deaf to his appeals for assistance,—shut himself up in the castle of er-Rastâk, where he was besieged by the opposite party. Relying on a promise of amnesty from Yaârub, he left the castle, whereby "he virtually abdicated the Imâmate;" but was subsequently seized, together with his companions, by Yaârub's men, and treacherously murdered in prison, A.D. 1720, after a reign of less than two years.

Yaârub did not lay claim to the Imâmate, "for that belonged of right to his cousin, Seif-bin-Sultân," who had already been elected; but being under age was deemed "incapable of carrying on the administration." He assumed the regency, however, and was shortly after raised to the Imâmate by a council of chiefs, under the presidency of the Kâdhi 'Adiy-bin-Sulcimân. The considerations on which this act is justified afford an insight into the peculiar admixture of civil law and religious dogma which then prevailed among the 'Omânis. "The Kâdhi" declared Yaârub assoiled from the guilt of rebellion, and discharged him from making restitution for the wrongs he had perpetrated, on the ground that "repentance acquits the penitent," (p. 102).

Yaârub had not been long in power when a reaction took place against him and in favour of the youthful Seif-bin-Sultân, who was then residing at Nezwa, under the guardianship of his uncle, Belârab-bin-Nâsir. At the earnest solicitation of the malcontents, Belârab left Nezwa and proceeded to enlist the sympathies of the tribes in favour of his nephew. He gained over the Benu-Hinâh, or el-Hinâÿ, by suitable concessions, and with their aid succeeded in expelling Yaârub's Wâli from the important city of er-

Rastâk. He also gained over the Wâlis of Máskat and other towns to his cause, and eventually obliged his rival to take refuge in the fortress of Nezwa. In the meantime, the Kâdhi 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, who had been the principal agent in Yaárub's election, repaired to er-Rastâk, where he was seized and murdered, together with another Kâdhi, who had probably acted as his colleague, and the bodies of both "were dragged through the streets like dead cattle." On the intervention of several chiefs, Yaárub consented to evacuate Nezwa, on condition of being allowed to retire to the fort of Yabrîn, and there to remain unmolested. These terms having been agreed to, a salute was fired from the castle of Nezwa, proclaiming a second time the Imâmate of Seif-bin-Sultân.

We now enter upon an entirely new phase of Omâny history. Belarab-bin-Nâsir having been appointed regent on behalf of his nephew, the chiefs of the tribes and towns came to congratulate him. Among them came Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, of the Benu-Ghâfir, (see *ante*, pp. ix, x), apparently as a representative of the northern tribes generally, who up to this period seem to have recognized the authority of the Imâms. Stung to the quick by his sinister reception, he left the capital in anger, and forthwith entered into a correspondence with Yaárub, the deposed Imâm, and the inhabitants of Behlâ to revolt against Belárab. A series of conflicts ensued between the two parties and their respective confederates, which resulted in the surrender of er-Rastâk to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who also obtained possession of the person of the young Imâm, Seif-bin-Sultân, and his principal adherents, whom he detained as hostages, and thereafter obliged them to march in his suite wherever he went. No sooner had his army been admitted into er-Rastâk, than they began plundering it, committing all kinds of outrages upon the inhabitants, who were driven to seek shelter in the neighbouring mountains, where one hundred

women and children perished of thirst in a cave. They also took many captives and sent them out of the country to be sold as slaves. While at er-Rastâk, Muhammad's disposable force was augmented by a contingent of 6,500 men, levied chiefly from Julfâr and es-Sirr. Conspicuous among these were the followers of Ráhmah-bin-Mátar, who spoke a jargon which the 'Omânis did not understand, (see note, p. 111).

In the meantime, Yaárub, who had been put forward as the head of the insurrection, died at Nezwa. This event raised Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to a still more conspicuous position, and in a short time he became master of all the strongholds of 'Omân, with the exception of Máskat and Barkah. The former place was still in the hands of the el-Yaárubah, but the Benu-Hinâh expelled them. At this juncture Khalf-bin-Mubârak, or Nâsir, nicknamed "the Short," a prominent chief of the el-Hinây, hearing that Muhammad-bin-Nâsir threatened Barkah, threw himself into that fort, and ordered Muhammad's messenger, who had been sent to demand its surrender, to be put to death. Bent on revenge, Muhammad divided his army into five troops and marched to el-Masnaáh, a village on the coast twelve miles to the south-east of es-Suwaik, where he pitched his camp. Scouts were sent out to reconnoitre, and after some skirmishes with the outposts of the enemy, and a fight on their own private account between two chiefs who had espoused opposite sides in the contest, and who seized this opportunity to settle an old-standing grudge, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir moved upon Barkah with his main force, one troop of which—that of Ráhmah-bin-Mátar—possessed "guns, which were drawn over the ground." Khalf's people were obliged to retire into the fort, where their assailants lay siege to them, and a detachment was sent to invest es-Sîb, between Barkah and Máskat, Khalf himself managing to effect his escape to the latter place.

Provisions failing the besiegers, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir returned with them to er-Rastâk, where he was attacked with small-pox. On his recovery he proceeded to ezh-Zhâhirah, taking Seif-bin-Sultân, the young Imâm, and his suite of the el-Yaârubah with him, and leaving Belârab-bin-Nâsir, the late regent, bound there. A successful compaign against the tribes and forts opposed to him in that district enabled him to dismiss many of his auxiliaries.

While Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was absent on the above expedition, Khalf-bin-Mubârak, el-Hinây, "the Short," collected an army and attacked er-Rastâk, which he captured, receiving the submission of the inhabitants. He then went to Nakhl, which was surrendered to him; and in the meantime one of his staunch allies seized Sohâr. These achievements on the part of his rival made Muhammad anxious to reach er-Rastâk, but he deemed it prudent to secure the fort of Yabrîn[1] on the way thither, and while he was besieging that stronghold Khalf invested el-Hazm. Having recalled some of his auxiliaries Muhammad fell upon the investing force and dispersed them, but not feeling strong enough to attack er-Rastâk he visited ezh-Zhâhirah again, where several of the towns had rebelled against his authority. Having settled matters there he returned to Nezwa and spent six months in recruiting his army; after which he made repeated inroads into the districts of the Benu-Hinâh, who on their part had called in the assistance of their allies from all quarters. Muhammad, however, proved too strong for them, and he succeeded eventually in driving Khalf as far south as Ibra, where he was welcomed at first by the el-Harth, but the invaders proceeding to cut down their date-trees,—one of the common usages of war among

[1] The late Colonel Taylor refers to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir under the name of "Mahomet-Ghafari, Prince of Jabrin." Niebuhr and Wellsted write the name "Gabrin." Wellsted appears to have visited the place, as it is marked on the line of his route, about thirty miles to the south-east of Nezwa, but he omits all mention of it in his narrative.

the tribes of 'Omân,—they secured themselves from further molestation by dismissing the refugee, who thereupon made his way to Máskat. On Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's return to Nezwa he assembled the learned together and placed his resignation in their hands, declaring that he was tired of continuing the contest. The people, however, fearing the vengeance of Khalf, begged him to assume the sovereignty. On receiving their solemn promise of allegiance, he acceded to their request, and was elected Imâm on the 2nd of October, 1724. On the following Friday he read himself in, as it were, by leading in the public prayers at Nezwa.

The state of affairs at this period was as follows:—the el-Ghâfiry and their allies had so far prevailed against the el-Yaârubah, the el-Hinâÿ, and the other Yemeny tribes, that they now saw one of their number elevated to the highest dignity over 'Omân. Their representative, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, the newly-elected Imâm, was master of Nezwa and most of ezh-Zhâhirah, and he held in his power the person of the young Imâm, Seif-bin-Sultân, and his principal partisans among the el-Yaârubah, whom he conducted to Yabrîn, where he took up his residence. Khalf, on the other hand, the leader of the Benu-Hinâh, and Muhammad's most formidable rival, together with those of the el-Yaârubah who were disposed to make common cause with him, had possession of Máskat, Barkah, es-Sîb, and Sohâr, the most important places on the coast, and also the inland capital, er-Rastâk.

Muhammad-bin-Nâsir soon found that his election to the Imâmate exasperated rather than allayed the antagonism of his opponents. He was obliged to appeal once more to the northern tribes for assistance, and marched with a large army to Sohâr, which tendered its submission at once; but the castle held out against him. In the meantime, Khalf-bin-Mubârak, his old rival, was on the alert, watching for every opportunity to checkmate his manœuvres. Hopeless

of being a match for him in open fight, Khalf resorted to a stratagem, as crafty as it proved successful. Rightly gauging the temper of Muhammad's allies and the necessity imposed upon the new Imâm of administering justice with the strictest impartiality, he bribed a Persian agriculturist at Sohâr to bring a charge of trespassing on his fields against two men of each of the three principal northern tribes, the Benu-Yâs, the Benu-Nâîm, and the Benu-Kutb. Muhammad listened to the complaint in person, and offered to indemnify the plaintiff; but the latter, acting on Khalf's suggestion, refused the award, and loudly demanded "justice." Thereupon the chiefs of the alleged culprits came forward and solemnly asserted the innocence of the accused; but in spite of their intervention the men were ordered to be bastinadoed, an indignity which the northern tribes resented by quitting the camp the same night and returning homeward, leaving Muhammad with his 'Omâny levies only to encounter Khalf, who shortly after appeared in the field against him. In the engagement which followed Khalf was slain and his adherents routed. Pursuing his advantage Muhammad made for the castle, where a detachment of the garrison was drawn up to oppose his entrance. During the struggle which ensued he was shot dead by a musket-ball fired from the walls of the fortress.

For the space of three days the fate of their respective leaders was kept secret from their antagonists by both parties; but when it could no longer be concealed Muhammad's levies returned home, and the garrison at Sohâr forthwith recognized Seif-bin-Sultân—who, it will be remembered, was always made to accompany Muhammad-bin-Nâsir,—and admitted him into the castle. From thence he proceeded to er-Rastâk, where the people tendered him their allegiance, and then to Nezwa, where the Kâdhi set him up once more as Imâm,—he being now of full age,—A.D. 1728.

Hardly had Seif-bin-Sultân been restored to his former dignity when Belârab-bin-Himyar—who appears to have been a cousin of his—was elected Imâm by a portion of the inhabitants of ezh-Zhâhirah. Finding, after two or three unsuccessful attempts, that he was unable to cope with his antagonist, Seif sent to Mekrân and engaged a body of Beloochees,[1] who were all armed with muskets, to cöoperate with him. These having been placed under the command of his brother, Belârab-bin-Sultân, were subsequently cut off, almost to a man, in an engagement with Belârab-bin-Himyar. On hearing of this fresh disaster Seif resorted as a last expedient to Nâdir-Shâh, of Persia, who readily promised to assist him. In the meantime, however, and in order to test the pluck of the 'Θmâny sovereign,—so runs the story,—he sent him a viciously restive horse, on the understanding that his engagement would only hold good if Seif showed himself capable of riding the animal. The trial came off in the valley behind Máskat, and the young Imâm acquitted himself to the astonishment of the Shâh's messenger and the bystanders generally by coursing the horse several times round the valley, until it finally leapt over the town wall, breaking its legs, the rider falling on his feet uninjured.

At this period, when Seif-bin-Sultân is recorded to have lost every friend on whom he could rely for counsel, some of his officers recommended Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd family, as a brave man, and one in every way worthy of his confidence. What Ahmed's antecedents were entitling him to such a reputation we are left to conjecture. Judging from our author's narrative, he was engaged in trade, and it was on the way to Máskat, whither he was going on

[1] This is the first recorded instance of mercenaries having been obtained from Mekrân for service in 'Omân. The experiment gradually grew into a custom, and the Beloochees in the pay of succeeding Imâms and Seyyids have generally been conspicuous for their bravery and fidelity.

business, that an accidental meeting took place between him and the Imâm, who was travelling in the opposite direction towards er-Rastâk. Seif subsequently sent him to execute some commissions for him at el-Hasâ, and eventually made him Wâli, or Governor, over the important town of Sohâr.

Ahmed's administration soon won for him the esteem of the inhabitants, and his judicious and liberal policy towards the northern tribes generally, including those of ezh-Zhâhirah, made him highly popular with those troublesome neighbours, who flocked to him in crowds. Whether or not this course was prompted by ulterior ambitious views it is difficult to say, but Seif's suspicions were aroused and he summoned him to Máskat, having given secret orders for his imprisonment in the Eastern fort as soon as he arrived. Ahmed obeyed and reached Máskat, accompanied by one attendant only; but being luckily apprised by the author's grandfather of the fate which awaited him, he returned forthwith to Sohâr, much to the Imâm's chagrin, who vented his rage upon the officers who had been instructed to seize him, and also upon the person who had warned him of his danger. Baffled in this attempt Seif fitted out a fleet of four ships of war, and anchoring before Sohâr dispatched a messenger to summon Ahmed to his presence. The latter accordingly embarked in a small boat, but on nearing the vessel where the Imâm was, some of the slaves on watch beckoned him to return. Taking the friendly hint he rowed back to land, and paid no further attention to the Imâm's communications. Shortly after, through the intervention of several of the chiefs, a reconciliation was effected between Seif and Ahmed, the latter consenting to leave his eldest son Hilâl in the hands of the former, as a pledge of his loyalty. On the reported arrival of the Persians at Bunder-Fakkân, 10th March, 1737, the Imâm restored Hilâl to his father, and proceeded himself to es-Sir,—which I identify with Abu-Zhâby, the Abothubbee

of our charts, on the western side of the promontory,—whither the Persian vessels had sailed in the interval.

The arrival of the Persians and the part which Seif-bin-Sultân took in soliciting their aid form the subject of an indignant protest addressed anonymously to the latter by one of the notables of 'Omân. After setting forth that his present confederates were actuated solely by lust of conquest, the writer proceeds to impress upon the Imâm what will be the disastrous results of their success; asks by what right he placed the Muslims in jeopardy of being ruled over by a people obnoxious to the Divine curse; reminds him of the capture of the island of el-Bahrein by these same libertines, and the excesses which they perpetrated there; and winds up with a fervid peroration, enjoining the Imâm to forego so unholy an alliance, and to rely on integrity and piety to sustain the justness of his cause.

On joining the Persians at es-Sîr, Seif proceeded with Hazem towards ezh-Zhâhirah, where they were met, in May, 1666, by the rival Imâm, Belârab-bin-Himyar, who had collected a large force to oppose the invaders. An engagement between the two armies resulted in the utter rout of the 'Omânis and the advance of the Persians to el-Bereimy, which they occupied, and from whence they marched inland as far as 'Obra, slaughtering the inhabitants indiscriminately, hurling children headlong from bridges, and seizing many women, whom they sent to Shîrâz to be sold as slaves, returning subsequently to es-Sîr. Seif, seeing reason to be dissatisfied with their conduct towards himself, separated from them, and after making peace with several of the towns on the way reached Máskat in safety.

Having been joined by reinforcements from Shîrâz the Persians again advanced into the interior, and after receiving the submission of the tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah marched to Behlâ, which place they seized and garrisoned, and then went on to Nezwa, capturing that town also, Belârab-bin-

Himyar, who had occupied it, fleeing at their approach; but the fort held out against them. The same barbarities characterized their proceedings here also. From Nezwa they marched to Azka, and from thence towards the sea-coast, turning off in the direction of Máskat, which they seized and occupied, with the exception of the two principal forts. These they besieged until the 15th of May, 1738, and then set out for Barkah, whither Seif-bin-Sultân had preceded them with his ships, and from whence he had gone inland to ezh-Zhâhirah, leaving a garrison of the el-Máâwal there to defend the forts. At a meeting between him and Belârab-bin-Himyar, the latter was induced by the Beni-Ghâfir, his chief supporters, to resign his Imâmate to Seif, "in order to heal their divisions and rivalries, and that both might join against the common enemy, the Persians."

The Persians before Barkah were unable to capture the forts, and their countrymen stationed at Behlâ, hearing nothing of them, sent a detachment of one hundred horse to inquire what they were doing. These were cut off on the road by the 'Omânis, who, emboldened by success, attacked their garrison at Behlâ and expelled them, allowing them to depart with their arms and chattels. The Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân furnished them with an escort to Sohâr, which was being invested at that time by their comrades; but Ahmed-bin-Sâîd sallying out killed most of them and imprisoned the remainder in the castle, where they died. These reverses induced the Persians to quit Barkah for es-Sîr, from whence a portion of them returned to their own country, so that 'Omân was rid of them, with the exception of the force which was besieging Sohâr. The garrisons generally were now in favour of Seif-bin-Sultân; nevertheless, the sheikhs of some of the principal towns took this opportunity of virtually deposing him, by raising a competitor to the Imâmate in the person of Sultân-bin-Murshid, one of the el-Yaârubah; but whether related or not to the ruling

family is not stated. Concurrent tradition describes Seif-bin-Sultân as a profligate and debauchee, and his character may have rendered him unpopular with the more religious portion of the community. The new Imâm was installed in the mosque at Nakhl, A.D. 1738.

Sultân-bin-Murshid's first efforts were directed against Seif-bin-Sultân, whom he hunted from one place to another until he drove him from Máskat, taking possession of that town. Seif once more resorted to the Persians at es-Sîr, and promised to give them Sohâr in perpetuity, if they succeeded in re-establishing him in the Imâmate. They accordingly invested the latter place by sea and land, and also detached a large force against the forts of Máskat, which they eventually captured, and the fort at el-Mátrah and other defences besides. Seif-bin-Sultân, disappointed at finding that his foreign allies were not disposed to make over their conquests to him, quitted them by stealth for el-Hazm, and on entering that fortress remarked to one of his officers: "This is my castle and my grave. I am become an eyesore to every one, and the quiet of death will be preferable to any happiness which dominion has afforded me."

The Persians continued the siege of Sohâr for nine months with an army said to have amounted to 60,000 men, their land forces discharging as many as 3,000 cannon-shot at the fort every day,—the reader may make whatever allowance he pleases for exaggeration in these numbers,—while Ahmed-bin-Sâid sallied out repeatedly, killing, as the author naively remarks, as many of the enemy as he could. The Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid on the other hand, hearing of the capture of Máskat and el-Mátrah by the Persians, levied a large force from er-Rastâk, ezh-Zhâhirah, and the Wâdi of the Bonu-Ghâfir, and marched with them towards the coast. On the way all these levies abandoned him, with the exception of two hundred men, thirty of whom belonged to his own people, the el-Yaárubah. Advancing with this little

band towards Sohâr he encountered a Persian cavalry outpost, and drove them back upon the main body of the besiegers. This skirmish was soon followed by a regular engagement, in which the Persian commander, Kelb-'Aly,[1] and a hundred of his followers were slain. On the Imâm's side the loss was still greater: all the el-Yaârubah perished on the field and fifty men besides, and the Imâm himself was mortally wounded. He managed, however, to make his way into the castle of Sohâr, where he died in the course of three days. Intelligence of his death having been communicated to Seif-bin-Sultân at el-Hazm, he also succumbed to the weight of his misfortunes and expired shortly after.

The obstinate defence of Sohâr by Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, coupled with the death of their ally, Seif-bin-Sultân, led the Persians to propose a reconciliation with the former, on condition of their being allowed to depart unmolested, carrying their arms and stores with them. These terms having been agreed to, a like proposal was made on behalf of the garrison at Máskat. To this Ahmed gave an evasive answer, designed nevertheless to convey an impression in the affirmative. Thereupon Táky-Khân, the Persian commander-in-chief, embarked with his troops for Bunder-el-'Abbâs, and shortly after Ahmed started with 2,000 men for Barkah, which place surrendered to him at discretion. Next, in order to withdraw the trade and supplies from Máskat, he set up a customs-office there, which fully realized his expectations, for ships from all parts frequented it, and the Persians at Máskat were driven to great straits for provisions. Under these circumstances they dispatched one Mâjid-bin-Sultân, a near relative of the late Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân, with a communication to the Shâh, apprising him of their critical position and suggesting that the messenger should be sent back with a letter authorizing them to deliver up all the posts which they held to him. Mâjid ac-

[1] Or, 'Aly's Dog; I take this to be an opprobrious epithet and not the real name of the Persian commander.

complished the mission entrusted to him, but being wrecked off Sohâr on the way back, Ahmed obtained possession of the Shâh's letter, taking advantage of which he forthwith dispatched one of his officers to Máskat with the letter and four hundred men, and instructed him to take over the fortifications from the Persians. The latter believing that he was acting for Mâjid delivered up all the fortresses into his hands, which he immediately garrisoned with his own men.

Ahmed's next manœuvre casts an indelible stigma on his memory, and can only be palliated on the ground that treachery was practically recognized as justifiable strategy by both parties, and that the atrocities of the invaders richly deserved the retribution which was meted out to them. The Persians were invited to Barkah, where great preparations were made to entertain them prior to their final departure. The people's goods and chattels were placed under contribution to provide for the feast, and seething caldrons of meat and dishes of sweetmeats were borne to the unwelcome guests amidst murmurs of indignation uttered by the 'Omânis against Ahmed for his hospitality to the hated foreigners, who in their opinion deserved a very different treatment.

While the rank and file were being regaled in their tents, fifty of the principal officers, by special invitation, sat down to a grand banquet with Ahmed in the fort. While so engaged the public crier proclaimed: "Any one who has a grudge against the Persians may now take his revenge!" The result, as might have been expected, was an indiscriminate slaughter of the hapless Persians, until Ahmed interposed to arrest it; but those who escaped were reserved for a still more terrible fate. They were embarked in ships, professedly to be conveyed to Bunder-el-'Abbâs, but the sailors—acting there can be little doubt on superior instructions—set fire to the ships not far from Barkah, escaping to land themselves, leaving the wretched Persians to be burnt

or drowned. Ahmed crowned his treachery by putting to death all the officers who had been his guests in the fort.

Relieved from the presence of a foreign enemy, the power and prestige of the el-Yaârubah broken, and with many strong claims upon the gratitude of the 'Omânis for his bravery and patriotism, Ahmed's succession to the supreme power was almost a matter of course. After making a triumphant tour through the principal towns, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm, he was eventually elected Imâm by a council of the chiefs assembled at er-Rastâk. The transfer of the government from the el-Yaârubah to Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, the first of a new dynasty, after the former had held it for one hundred and seventeen years,—including the short reign of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry,—took place A.D. 1741.

After Ahmed's accession to the Imâmate it was less difficult than it might otherwise have been to discover that several preternatural omens had foreshadowed his future greatness. The record of these phenomena preserved by our author may be regarded as illustrative of the superstitious temper of the 'Omânis, a temper by no means confined to the followers of Islâm, but more or less prevalent wherever religion is dissociated from science and reason. Besides, some extraordinary sanctions were probably looked for to warrant the election of one who, as far as this history discloses—and it was specially written to extol him and his descendants—belonged to a class having no pretension to such a distinction. His pedigree is as brief as it could well be; he is simply "es-Sâidy, el-Azdy, el-'Omâny," that is, of the family of Sâîd, of the stock of the el-Azd,[1] settled in 'Omân. If, as I conjecture, the Âl-Bû-Sâîd are identical

[1] Mr. Palgrave erroneously describes Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd as "of the Ghafaree family." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol ii. p. 256. The Benu-Ghâfir, as shown at pp. ix, x, were of Ma'addic not of Kahtânic descent. Moreover, they have always been at variance with the el-Azd in 'Omân.

with the Benu-Saîd,—even that name only occurs once in these annals prior to the appearance of Ahmed,—they resided at el-'Akr, a suburb of Nezwa, and are described as being the most prominent among the inhabitants of that locality. Ahmed's early career as a merchant, and the part which he subsequently took in public affairs until his elevation to the Imâmate, have already been narrated in the preceding pages.

His first care on assuming the reins of government was to draw up a set of rules for the financial, judicial, and fiscal departments of the administration, over which he placed nominees of his own selection. A superintendent was appointed to take charge of the navy, but military affairs he retained under his own immediate control. Having probably learnt by personal experience that the feudal levies were not always to be depended upon, he established a small standing army consisting of 1,100 African slaves and 1,000 free soldiers, with which he garrisoned the citadel at er-Rastâk, providing each with a fine camel or horse. He also paid more attention to outward pomp than seems to have been usual with his predecessors, for "whenever he marched from one place to another four banners attached to staffs, the heads of two of which were of gold and the other two of silver, were borne in his retinue, and he never moved about without being accompanied by a number of Kâdhis, scholars, and notables, and a party of executioners,—a brave set of fellows." His dominions extended from the end of Jaâlân on the south to el-Bereimy in ezh-Zhâhirah on the north, including the country to the eastward of those two points as far as the sea-coast.

Ahmed had not been long in power before the Nizâriyyah and other disaffected tribes incited Belârab-bin-Himyar, of the el-Yaârubah, the ex-Imâm who had abdicated in favour of his late cousin Seif-bin-Sultân, (pp. xl, 143), to rebel against him. At this time Ahmed was absent on an expedition

against the people of es-Sîr, at el-Bithnah, who had threatened to invade Sohâr. Many were killed on both sides without any decisive result. On the way back the Imâm left his army by stealth and took up his abode in the hut of an old woman at Yánkal,—a place apparently not far from Sohâr,—allowing his camel with its trappings to go loose. (His object was to ascertain what would be the effect of his disappearance upon the malcontent chiefs.) The stratagem was perfectly successful, for a rumour of his death having got abroad, Belárab-bin-Himyar took the field with 20,000 men and invested Nezwa. Apprised of these proceedings by the reports brought to him by the old woman, Ahmed set out by night for Sohâr, and having levied all the loyal tribes attacked the insurgents and utterly routed them. Among the slain was Belárab-bin-Himyar. It was probably not long after this engagement that, according to the late Captain (afterwards Colonel) Taylor, Ahmed married a daughter of one of the ex-princes of the el-Yaárubah, thereby "connecting his own family with the most illustrious persons in his dominions."[1]

Ahmed's next expedition was undertaken at the earnest solicitation of the people of el-Básrah, which place had been captured by the Persians. Taking with him a fleet of ten men-of-war and a force of 10,000 men in smaller vessels, he first broke the iron chain which the Persians had stretched across the Shatt-el-'Arab by driving his ship the *er-Rahmâny* against it, and then after a hand-to-hand fight with the invaders utterly routed them. In recognition of his services on that occasion the Ottoman Sultân awarded the ruler of 'Omân a yearly gratuity, or pension, which the author states was paid regularly by the governor of el-Básrah up to the time of the Imâm's grandson, the late Seyyid Sáid.

Not long after, Ahmed dispatched an envoy in his ship

[1] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 7.

the *er-Rahmâny* to Mangalore to inquire why the usual supplies of rice had not reached 'Omân from that quarter. Tippoo-Sâhib, who appears to have been acting at the time for his father Haidar-'Aly, the Moghul Emperor Shâh 'Âlam's lieutenant in the Carnatic, received the envoy most courteously, and informed him that the non-arrival of the ships was owing to the depredations of a band of pirates who had established themselves on the Malabar coast. Thereupon the envoy, having been furnished with a pilot by the local authorities, attacked the pirates' stronghold and killed their chief, much to the delight of the people of Mangalore, who loaded the envoy with presents for himself and for the Imâm. Haidar-'Aly, who in the narrative is styled the Nawwâb's, that is, the Emperor's *Málik*, subsequently sent an ambassador to the Imâm Ahmed at er-Rastâk instructed to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him on the part of the Emperor. The treaty was duly executed and a site for a house was allotted to his representative at Máskat. The house still goes by the name of the Nawwâb's.

I conceive that the hostilities which arose between the Imâm and Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, of the el-Ghâfiry tribe, (pp. 181—186), follow next in order. The author states at p. 181 that they occurred ten years before the war between the Imâm and his two sons, and ten years after the war between him and Belârab-bin-Himyar, which has already been noticed.[1] Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had been governor over the island of el-Bahrein under Sultân-bin-Seif, el-Yaâruby. On its capture by the Persians, during the reign of Seif-bin-Sultân, he held out for some time in the fort of 'Arâda, but eventually came to terms with the invaders and then went

[1] By an oversight, at the end of p. 181 and the beginning of the page following, the war between the Imâm and his two sons, Seif and Sultân, is represented as having taken place ten years *before*, instead of ten years *after*, his war with Bela'rab-bin-Himyar.

to settle in ezh-Zhâhirah, where he soon acquired considerable influence over the tribes of that district, and espoused the cause of the Imâm so warmly that the latter gave him his daughter in marriage. Shortly after, however, he excited the tribes to rebel, and applied to Ibn-Ráhmah, el-Háwaly, the most prominent chief of the tribes on the northern coast, to cöoperate with him. The Imâm on his part raised large levies throughout 'Omân, and enlisted a considerable number of Belooch and Zidgâl mercenaries from Mekrân to oppose him. After a severe fight, in which the Imâm's troops were thoroughly beaten, a reconciliation was effected between the contending parties, and the treaty of peace was renewed by Seif-bin-Nâsir on the death of his father, Muhammad. It is evident from these transactions that the power of the el-Ghâfiry was still predominant in ezh-Zhâhirah, and that the Imâm's sovereignty in that quarter was little more than nominal.

Ahmed was not more successful in his efforts to crush the el-Yaárubah, who were still in possession of two strong fortresses in 'Omân. That of Nakhl was held on his behalf by Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân, el-Yaáruby, whom he unjustly accused of abetting his sons Seif and Sultân in their attempts to seduce his subjects from their allegiance, and of supplying them with troops, which enabled them to seize the important fort at Barkah. Refusing to accept Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân's explanations, Ahmed collected a large native force, which he supplemented with levies from Mekrân, and attacked Nakhl; but Muhammad, who in the meantime had called in the aid of the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb from the north, fell on the assailants and utterly routed them, which obliged the Imâm to conclude an ignominious peace with his adversary. A subsequent attack made upon the fortress of el-Hazm, which was also in the hands of the el-Yaárubah, resulted in a similar disaster. From this period the tribes on the northern coast, who were now generally

appealed to by one or other of the contending parties in 'Omân, exercised a preponderating influence in the affairs of that country.

The rebellion of Seif and Sultân, his fourth and fifth sons, was the next misfortune which befell the Imâm Ahmed. He had forgiven their treacherous seizure of the fort at Barkah, but now they took possession of the eastern and western fortresses commanding the harbour of Máskat, and set their father's authority at defiance. Through the intervention of the Kâdhis at Máskat a reconciliation was effected between the father and his sons, and it was eventually agreed that the former should hold the western and the latter the eastern fort. A year after, Seif and Sultân seized their elder brother Sâid and confined him in their fort, and on their refusing to surrender him the father marched with an army from er-Rastâk and opened fire upon them from the western fort. During this unnatural contest, which appears to have been carried on with great animosity as well as bravery on both sides, one of the Imâm's servants who happened to be in the eastern fort effected his escape, taking Sâid with him, whom he delivered over safely to his father. Nevertheless, the war was carried on between the two parties more briskly than ever, and it was only when the two rebellious sons heard that Ibn-Râhmah, el-Hâwaly, had invested er-Rastâk with 30,000 of the northern Arabs, that, fearing lest his successes might prove fatal to their own claims, they made overtures of peace, which were generously accepted by their father. On hearing of their reconciliation the northern Arabs retired into their own territory.

After a reign of thirty-four years Ahmed died at er-Rastâk in January, 1775. It is not easy to form a correct estimate of his qualities as an administrator. His earlier successes, especially those against the Persian invaders, to which he owed his elevation to the Imâmate, rallied round him most of the tribes, who for a time justly regarded him

as the saviour of their common country; but the jealousy of the el-Yaârubah whom he had supplanted, and the restless ambition of the el-Ghâfiry, soon led them to aspire once more for the supremacy. His efforts to coerce the latter, who could now always rely on the support of their kinsmen, the el-Kawâsim and the petty tribes in alliance with them, such as the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb and the esh-Shuwâmis, generally ended in a compromise decidedly in their favour. In fact, the independent tribes on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf acquired an ascendency during this reign which made them a standing menace to the tranquillity of 'Omân.

Another fertile source of discord, and consequently of national weakness, is attributable to the change in the mode of succession, which appears to have been tacitly sanctioned at this period. Originally, and for at least nine hundred years, the Imâm was elected for his personal merits, irrespective of family descent; hence his sons, if he left any, had no more claim to the Imâmate than any other citizen. After the supremacy had fallen into the hands of the el-Yaârubah, and during the continuance of that dynasty, these principles underwent a modification. The 'Omânis still started from the same point: the Imâm was elected, but a strong preference was given to the ruling family over all others, and to a son—not necessarily the eldest—of the last Imâm over the other members of his family. In the case of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Bû-Sâîdy, who succeeded the last of the el-Yaârubah, there was a return to the old system; but it is evident that under him the popular feeling became once more inclined to lineal succession, with a bias in favour of the eldest male issue. Had the prior right of primogeniture been affirmed and sanctioned by competent authority, it is probable that 'Omân might have been spared many of those intestine wars for the supremacy which arose even during Ahmed's lifetime, and which in a greater or less degree have been the bane of the country ever since. The

rebellion of Seif and Sultân, his fourth and fifth sons, which embittered the end of his reign, originated in their ambition to supplant their brothers, whose claims might perchance be preferred to theirs. The manner in which they sought to avert such a contingency was by seducing the people from their allegiance to their father, and by securing beforehand the fortifications of Máskat, which by this time had eclipsed er-Rastâk in importance, and become the most lucrative possession in the kingdom.

A collateral evil to that just noticed sprang up almost simultaneously. The Imâm had to provide for his sons, the "Seyyids," or Princes, as they now began to be styled, and in doing so generally gave them a town, with its usual defences, by way of appanage. The practice thus initiated gradually developed into a system, and the Seyyids thereafter claimed it as a prerogative that some portion of the territories of the state should be allotted to their separate jurisdiction and support. The gift nominally involved feudal obedience on the part of the recipient, and was liable to be revoked; but it was not always feasible either to exact the submission of a prince of the blood or to dispossess him when once he had established himself in his petty domain and formed alliances with neighbouring tribes. The subsequent annals of 'Omân are replete with accounts of ever-recurring feuds between the sovereign for the time being and rival Seyyids arising mainly from this source.

Ahmed left seven sons, namely,—

1. Hilâl.
2. Sa'îd.
3. Kais.
4. Seif.
5. Sultân.
6. Tâlib.
7. Muhammad.

Also three daughters, whose names the author reserves, "for propriety's sake."[1] The chiefs and people had wished

[1] One of them, whom the author styles the "Imâm's daughter," played a conspicuous part in the political affairs of the country up to the regency of the late Seyyid Sa'îd.

to confer the Imâmate on Hilâl, "he being the eldest and most intelligent" of Ahmed's sons, but he was incapacitated for the office owing to a cataract in his eyes, which deprived him of sight. He went to Guzerat in search of surgical advice and died there, leaving his son 'Aly behind him in 'Omân. The electors then chose Sâid, Ahmed's second son, to be Imâm, and after his installation all the fortresses were made over to him, with the exception of el-Hazm, Nakhl, and Yabrîn, which were still held by the el-Yaâruba and the Benu-Ghâfir. He made his next brother, Kais, governor of Sohâr, and one Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, belonging to an influential family of the Âl-Bû-Sâid, his Wakîl or representative at Máskat.[1] He resided himself at er-Rastâk, the inland capital.

The new Imâm invaded the district of es-Sîr and slew many of the Benu-Ghâfir,—that is the sum total of his recorded exploits. His indolence and extortion soon made him obnoxious to the people, who twice essayed to depose him and to raise his brother Kais to the Imâmate. Both attempts having failed, his son Hámed determined to supersede him, and by a course of the most consummate deceit and treachery eventually succeeded in obtaining possession of the fortresses at Máskat from Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, together with the general administration of the country, which his father was induced to surrender into his hands.

The Seyyid Hámed, who took up his residence at Máskat, was now the virtual ruler of 'Omân; nevertheless, his father

[1] Francklin touched at Máskat on his way from Bengal to Persia in January, 1789, and was well received by this official, whom he styles "Sheick Khulfaun, the Vakeel." The Imâm, he says, lived in great splendour at a place two days' journey inland. He mentions that several "Gentoo" merchants resided at Máskat, for the convenience of trade; also a broker on behalf of the English East India Company, "but the Government will not admit (though often urged to it) of any European factory being established." Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix. p. 257.

continued to retain the title of Imâm till his death, which occurred during the reign of the late Seyyid Sâîd, the son of Sultân, the Imâm Sâîd's brother, who succeeded Hâmed. While the Imâm Sâîd lived it would have been incompatible with the religious system of the Ibâdhiyah, unless he had been previously deposed, to appoint another to that dignity; hence those who administered the government during his lifetime were simply styled "Seyyids." The question why the title of "Imâm" was not resumed after his death is discussed in the article on the Imâmate given in Appendix A.

Very few noteworthy events occurred during the ten years of Hâmed's regency. He was on friendly terms with the el-Yaârubah, and does not appear to have been molested by the Benu-Ghâfir, although he succeeded in capturing el-Hazm from one of their allies, which he then made over to the Benu-Hinâh, or el-Hinây. He added a tower to the western fortress commanding the harbour at Máskat, and built two detached forts at Ríwa and Barkah. Some misunderstanding having arisen betwixt him and his uncle Seif, which led to the departure of the latter for the east coast of Africa, probably with a hostile intent against his nephew's authority in that quarter, Hámed followed him to Lâmu; but finding that Seif had died there he returned to 'Omân, when his uncle Sultân began to retaliate upon him by stirring up the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl to rebel. A reconciliation was eventually effected between uncle and nephew, and they continued on friendly terms ever after, although Hámed lived in great dread of Sultân's superior prowess and influence. Hámed was making preparations for a warlike expedition on a grand scale when he was seized with smallpox at Máskat, where he was joined by his father, the Imâm Sâîd, from er-Rastâk, on the night of whose arrival the new *er-Rahmâny* frigate was burnt in the harbour. He died on the 13th of March, 1792, and was buried in the central Wâdi, behind Máskat.

On the death of his son Hámed, the Imâm Sâîd resumed his authority, and made his son Ahmed governor of Máskat and his nephew 'Aly-bin-Hilâl governor of Barkah. He himself returned to er-Rastâk, where he led a life of indolence, and allowed his son, brothers, and nephews to carry out their separate aims with little or no interference on his part. The sequel will show how by treachery, craft, and bravery Sultân overcame all other competitors and eventually succeeded to the regency, the nominal Imâmate still continuing to be held by his elder brother, Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed.

Sultân's first step was to get possession of Barkah, then in the hands of his nephew 'Aly, whom he induced to set out for er-Rastâk, professedly to make peace between him and the Imâm. During 'Aly's absence he managed to seize the fort, killing one of the garrison in cold blood with his own hand, after which he summoned several of the tribes and marched towards Máskat. When these proceedings were reported to the Imâm he forthwith dispatched 'Aly with directions to aid his son Ahmed to resist the meditated attack. The two cousins were ill prepared for resistance, the majority of the population were in favour of Sultân, and a traitor who commanded one of the gates having admitted the invaders within the walls Sultân soon became master of all the fortifications. In order to throw his elder brother Kais, who held el-Mátrah and apparently Sohâr also, off his guard, he wrote to tell him that he had taken Máskat for him, and advised him to prevent their brother Sâîd from interfering. Kais took the bait and sent to inform the Imâm that if he moved to the relief of Máskat he would march against er-Rastâk.

A reconciliation was subsequently effected between the rivals on the following conditions:—Sâîd the Imâm was to hold the eastern and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakil, the western fort, and in the event of either of the brothers

breaking the peace he was to transfer it to the other. He was also to act as Wâli, while Sultân was to have the revenues of Máskat to expend on the army and navy and the defence of the eastern fort.

On one of his subsequent visits to Máskat Sultân sent for the commandant of the eastern fort, and by threatening his life induced him to surrender the fort. Following out his former artful policy, he wrote to tell his brother Kais that he was acting on his behalf, and again urged him to restrain any action on the part of their brother, the Imâm. Left free to carry out his ambitious aims, Sultân's next object was to secure the western fort. Taking with him a company of the Âl-Wahîbah to Máskat, he gave out that he was attacked with small-pox. On hearing this rumour Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, accompanied by his father and one of his brothers, went to pay him a visit of condolence. When they rose to depart Sultân ordered the former to be arrested, and did not release him until he had surrendered the western fort into his hands. Not satisfied with these successes he next attacked el-Mátrah, the appanage of his brother Kais, and took the fort there also.

A coalition was then formed between Kais, his brother the Imâm, and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân to arrest Sultân's further encroachments, and together they levied a force said to have amounted to 60,000 men. Sultân, by lighting fires on the hills, first deceived the enemy into believing that he had an overpowering force with him, and then managed to detach Kais from his allies by promising to give him the forts of Bádbad and Semâil; but on Kais's arrival at the former place the garrison, by Sultân's orders, opened fire upon him. Thereupon Kais returned to Sohâr and the Imâm Sâîd to er-Rastâk, leaving Sultân master of the situation. The people of 'Omân, the esh-Sharkiyyah, and those of Jaâlân now recognized him as their ruler. He was not formally elected, neither was he proclaimed Imâm, for that

dignity was still nominally held by his brother Sâîd at er-Rastâk.

It was probably about this time that the East India Company entered into political relations with the ruler of 'Omân. The first treaty on record was made with Sultân, and is dated the 12th of August, 1798. Its object was to secure his alliance against the suspected designs of the French and the commercial rivalry of the Dutch in that quarter, and to obtain his sanction for the establishment of a British factory and garrison at Gombrooh, since known as Bunder-el-'Abbâs. The second, which is dated 18th January, 1800, was signed on the part of the company by "John Malcolm, [illegible] English gentleman of respecta[illegible]ble Company, shall always [illegible]e an agent through whom [illegible]ates shall be conducted."[1] [illegible]yled "Imaum," as well by his own [illegible] sentative. I can only account for this fact on the supposition that both parties believed him to be virtually possessed of the implied authority; but it is certain, nevertheless, that the title is never given to him in the author's narrative of his regency. He is uniformly referred to as "the Seyyid Sultân."

After seizing the coast towns of es-Suwaik and el-Masnaâh from his brother Sâîd, Sultân turned his thoughts to foreign conquest, and captured Shahbâr (Charbar) on the coast of Mekrân, and the islands of el-Kishm and Hormûz from the Benu-Mâîn. He also took the island of el-Bahrein from the el-'Uttûb tribe, who had invaded and occupied it a few years previously. In this instance he appears to have acted in concert with the aboriginal inhabitants, whom the author styles "Shiâahs," probably because most of them, owing to the repeated occupation of the island by the Persians, belonged to that sect. The el-'Uttûb, however,

[1] See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 248-250.

succeeded shortly after in expelling Sâlim, Sultân's eldest son, whom he had made governor over the place, together with all his adherents. They then fell on the inhabitants, "seized their property, killed a great many of them, obliged numbers to flee into other countries, and treated those who remained on the island with every species of outrage and indignity."

The Benu-Nâîm and Kutb, and their confederates the Benu-Yâs, tribes occupying the northern littoral, now threatened Sohâr, then in the hands of Kais, who thereupon invoked the assistance of his brother Sultân. On the arrival of the latter, however, fearing lest his coöperation might be purchased at the expense of his own position at Sohâr, Kais attempted to buy off the invaders. This offer having been rejected, the army of the two brothers attacked the Arabs at a place called ed-Dabbâgh, and utterly routed them.

A new and far more formidable enemy now appeared on the horizon of 'Omân. Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, the famous apostle of the sect still called by his name, was dead, as was also Sûûd II, his first patron and the successful defender and propagator of his doctrines throughout Nejd. "Before he died," writes Mr. Palgrave, "he saw his authority acknowledged from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the frontiers of Mecca...But Sâood, no less cautious than enterprising, carefully avoided any encroachment on the limits of the great powers in contact with his new empire. The supremacy of Persia in Bahrein, and its protectorate in Kateef, were respected by the Nejdean; Ebn-Sâeed,[1] the monarch or sultan of 'Omân, could complain of no aggression, nor had the sacred frontiers of the Meccan Haram been as yet violated, or any risk incurred of Turkish and Egyptian animosity." On his death, about A.D. 1800, he

[1] Su'ûd reigned during the Imâmates of Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd and his son Sa'îd-bin-Ahmed, not "Ebn-Sa'eed," as here stated.

was succeeded by his son 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, who, "restless and bold, but much less prudent than his father, at once turned his arms against the east, stormed Kateef, where he made great slaughter of the inhabitants, occupied Bahrein and the adjacent islands of the Persian Gulf, attacked the eastern coast or Barr-Fāris, which he detached irrecoverably from Persian rule, and lastly, assailed the kingdom of 'Omān."[1] The first intimation of his designs against the latter country was a summons to submission, conveyed through a book or pamphlet, ascribed to Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, setting forth the peculiar doctrines of the Wahhâbis, a copy of which appears to have been sent to all the local governors. This was followed up by the dispatch of seven hundred cavalry under el-Harîk, a Nubian slave, who succeeded in reducing most of the northern tribes, including those of ezh-Zhâhirah, from all of whom he levied *Zakât*, making el-Bereimy his head-quarters, from whence also he made frequent inroads into el-Bâtinah. Moreover, the el-'Uttûb of el-Bahrein are said to have conformed to the new creed, and entered into an alliance with the Wahhâbis, under whose countenance and support they took to piracy on the sea, "seizing every ship that fell in their way." 'Omân proper, however, was so little disconcerted by these encroachments, that Sultân engaged in a conflict with the el-Ghâfiry, who still held Yabrîn, in consequence of his brother-in-law, who belonged to that tribe, having refused to transfer to him the property of his deceased wife. This incidental notice shows that the regent, following the example of his father, the Imâm Ahmed, (p. 183), had endeavoured to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with his most powerful rivals in 'Omân. The attempt on his part to coerce them was unsuccessful, for although he managed by one of his usual stratagems to get a brasier, during the absence of the garrison, to disable a gun of formidable dimensions which

[1] *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii, p. 39. [2] *Id.*, p. 40.

defended the fort of Yabrîn, the fort itself, deemed impregnable, held out against him. In spite, however, of the petty wars to which this imprudent enterprise gave rise between the el-Ghâfiry and the allies of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, Sultân deemed the country sufficiently tranquil to permit his performance of the Hijj. He accordingly set out for Mekkah, A.D. 1803, accompanied by a train of 'Omâny notables.

During his absence, his nephew Bedr, the son of his deceased brother Seif, conspired with Mâjid-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl at Máskat, to seize the eastern fort; but the slave in command refusing their admittance, Bedr fled first to 'Ajmân, where he was hospitably entertained by the sheikh of the Benu-Nâîm, and from thence to ed-Dir'iyyah, the capital of 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, where he took up his abode. This step, as Sultân remarked on his return, boded no good to the people of 'Omân. One of the conspirators was seized, starved to death in the western fort, and then thrown into the sea.

Sultân's fears were soon realized, for a party of the Nejd cavalry, accompanied by levies from their allies in ezh-Zhâhirah, shortly after attacked es-Suwaik,—next to Sohâr the largest town on the coast above Máskat,—and nearly exterminated the force sent to repel them, including their commander, Muhammad-bin-Hámed. It became evident now that the Wahhâbis were bent on further conquest, and that nothing less than a combined effort on the part of the 'Omânis could arrest their onward progress. In this emergency Sultân took counsel of the el-Yaáruby governor of Nakhl, who advised him to assemble all the chiefs of 'Omân to a conference on the subject. The council, which was held at Barkah, was attended by Sultân's brothers, Tâlib and Muhammad, two of his nephews, Ahmed the son of the reigning Imâm, and other prominent members of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, besides several representatives of the el-Yaárubah and other 'Omâny tribes. Sultân opened the proceedings by briefly

describing the critical situation of the country, and then called upon those present to express their opinion as to the policy which should be adopted. "If you fancy," said one of his nephews in reply, after the address had been repeated a second time, "that, since the death of Muhammad-bin-Hâmed, el-Wahîby, and his followers, there are none left in 'Omân brave enough to contend against these Nejdy enemies, our opinion differs from yours, for there can be no doubt that 'Omân still possesses men who are stronger than they are, more numerous, and more indomitable in war. We are not dispirited on account of the Wahhâbis, or any other possible enemies, for we have hearts in our breasts ready to encounter them, and the swords are on our shoulders with which we are ready to smite them. Blood is man's only dye, and war, like the manna and quails, is as food to us. But words are vain unless followed by deeds; therefore let the Wahhâbis and their allies prepare for the overthrow which awaits them." This patriotic sentiment having been concurred in by all present, a resolution was adopted for a general levy of the tribes, who were to assemble as soon as practicable at el-Khabûrah, from whence Sultân marched some time after at the head of twelve thousand men. El-Harîk, on hearing of their approach, suddenly broke up his encampment at el-Auhy, not far from Sohâr, and set out for el-Bereimy, from whence he returned to Nejd. The retreat of the Wahhâbis led to a reconciliation between the el-'Uttûb and Sultân, and relieved 'Omân for a time from any apprehension of a new invasion from Nejd.

Sultân took advantage of this interval of peace to visit el-Bâsrah, in order to receive the annual gratuity awarded to the ruler of 'Omân, in recognition of the services rendered to that city when it was besieged by the Persians, (pp. 169, 170). On the way back, and while off Linjah on the Persian mainland, he left his frigate and embarked on board the ship's yacht, apparently intending to go to Bun-

der-el-'Abbâs, through Clarence's Strait. About midnight he was hailed by three boats belonging to the esh-Shuaihiyyin, a tribe occupying the country near Cape Musándim, who were on the look out for him. Boldly accepting their challenge to fight, it was agreed that the engagement should be deferred till daylight, and both parties accordingly lay to for the night. During the contest, which began at dawn the following morning, Sultân is said to have performed prodigies of valour, and his opponents were in the act of moving off, when one of their number shot him with a musket, killing him on the spot. This encounter occurred on the 20th of November, 1804. The crew of the yacht, after being plundered by the pirates, conveyed th[illegible] Linjah, where it was buried; after which they [illegible] Máskat, but when off Barkah one of Sultân's sla[illegible] to shore and communicated the intelligence to his [illegible] family at el-Fulaij, their country residence. Those present on the occasion were the Seyyidah, Sultân's sister, and his sons, Sâlim and Sâid. The two latter immediately set out for Máskat, which by this time had wholly eclipsed er-Rastâk as the capital of the kingdom, and quietly took possession of its fortifications. The news of their father's death caused universal sorrow throughout 'Omâ[illegible] the entire population with sadness."

The position of the principal parties [illegible] this period was as follows:—the Imâm S[illegible] at er-Rastâk, seemingly deprived of any authority beyond that town; Kais, Sultân's brother, held Sohâr; Muhammad, another brother, was master of es-Suwaik; their nephews, Ahmed and 'Aly, were waiting upon events; Bedr, another nephew, who had taken refuge with 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, the Wahhâby Amîr, was either in Nejd or on his way back to 'Omân; the powerful Khalfân family were ready to seize any opportunity for regaining their former position; the el-Yaârubah at Nakhl and the el-Ghâfiry at Yabrîn still held

those important fortresses, and were virtually independent; the other 'Omâny tribes, as we shall see presently, were divided in their allegiance, some siding with Sâlim and Sâîd, others with their uncle Kais, whilst others again aimed at self-government, or were prepared to sell their support to the highest bidder. The Wahhâbis of Nejd garrisoned el-Bereimy, from whence they overawed the population of ezh-Zhâhirah, and also the Arabs on the northern coast.

During the regency of the Seyyid Sultân, Sharbâr, on the coast of Mekrân, had been annexed to 'Omân. He also captured the islands of el-Kishm and Hormûz from the el-Mâîn Arabs, and Linjah, on the southern mainland of Persia, appears to have recognized his supremacy. From the tenor of the treaty made with him by the Honourable East India Company, (see p. lvi), it is clear that he held Gombroon, now Bunder-el-'Abbâs, and exercised sovereign rights there. With regard to 'Omâny conquests on the east coast of Africa, it is to be regretted that, thus far, our author supplies but very meagre information. We know, however, from other sources, that the island of Zanzibar submitted to an expedition dispatched by the Imâm Sâîd-bin-Ahmed, Sultân's brother, A.D. 1784, prior to the regency of Sultân. Mombâsah, on the coast, had thrown off its allegiance to 'Omân during the administration of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, and it appears that Hâmed, whom Sultân succeeded in the regency, was bent on recovering it; but it was not finally annexed until the reign of the late Seyyid Sâîd, who captured it, together with the other ports and islands in that quarter, which at present form the independent Zanzibar principality.

On the death of Sultân, his two sons, Sâlim and Sâîd, ruled conjointly, although, owing to the influence of the Seyyidah, their aunt, who appears to have taken a prominent part in public affairs, Sâlim acquiesced in the precedence of his younger brother. The Imâmate being still

occupied by their uncle Sâîd, neither of them could aspire to the dignity of Imâm; but that distinction had evidently lost much of its importance since their cousin Hâmed and their father Sultân had exercised supreme civil and political authority, as regents, with the less imposing title of "Seyyids." Knowing, however, that with several rivals to oppose them, and so many factions in the country, a general election, even to the regency, was impracticable, the two brothers lost no time in summoning to Máskat such of the chiefs as were friendly to their claims. These having solemnly engaged to aid the Seyyid Sâîd against all who should oppose his rule, the new regent forthwith assumed the reins of government.

The author devotes a separate chapter to a short biography of the Seyyid Sâlim, who appears to have lived on the most affectionate terms with his brother, and to have coöperated heartily with him in all his undertakings. His character was a singular mixture of bravery and cowardice, tolerance and fanaticism, piety and superstition, combined with social qualities of extreme gentleness and urbanity. The most interesting part of the chapter is the narrative of a learned exile from el-Hasâ, who had been summoned, together with several of his fellow-townsmen, to appear before 'Abdul-'l-'Azîz, the Wahhâby Amîr, at ed-Dir'iyyah. His account of Wahhâbeeism, albeit coming from a hostile witness, brings out into prominent relief the one grand idea which pervades the system. Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, its founder, was not an innovator but a reformer, whose aim was the restoration of Islâm to its primitive purity and simplicity, by insisting that its fundamental dogma, "there is no deity but God," absolutely forbade all veneration to man,—prophet or apostle, living or dead,—however highly distinguished by the Divine favour.[1] There can be no doubt

[1] Contrasting the practice of Islâm in these days with the pure Deism inculcated by the Kurân, Sir John Malcolm justly remarks:—"The

that beyond this utter exclusion of human merit, the formula, as originally proclaimed by Muhammad, implied the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God in a sense which reduced all created beings to a mass of unconditional passiveness.[1] The great Wahhâby appears to have grasped this theory, but it is highly probable that his efforts to explain it only added to its abstruseness, thereby giving some colour to the charge brought against his writings by the orthodox, that they consisted chiefly of "sophisms and speculations." It is equally reasonable to suppose that a very limited number of his disciples were capable of appreciating the more recondite views which his power of abstraction enabled him individually to entertain of the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being. Less difficult of general comprehension, however, was that part of his system which denounced all honours paid to saints and tombs as heretical innovations, detracting from the worship due solely to the Creator, and therefore to be regarded and dealt with as idolatrous. To say nothing of Pagans and Christians, whom all Muslims hold to be Polytheists, the

followers of the Prophet of Arabia have relaxed from the principles of their religion, and have granted a species of adoration not only to him and his immediate descendants, but to a number of learned or pious men, who have been canonized as saints. The feelings of gratitude and veneration which the conduct of individuals first created has grown—by excessive indulgence and by the ardour of passions excited by contrary opinions—into sacred reverence and devotion. Their very garments have become relics of inestimable value; and in the course of time the same properties have been assigned to them as are supposed to have belonged to their possessors." From this common progress of superstition hardly one of the numerous sects into which the Muhammedan religion is divided can be deemed exempt. By way of illustration, the author in an appended note refers to the "incredible veneration paid to the early martyrs and confessors by their pious contemporaries" as having been the cause of many evils in the Christian Church. The parallel holds good still. *History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 377-8.

[1] See page 248. For a splendid dissertation on the full import of the symbol of Islâm, see Palgrave's *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 365-373.

doctrine thus revived placed Sunnis and Shîâahs, Ibâdhiyah and Râfidhîs alike in the same category, and moreover sanctioned their being dealt with as such, despite their negation of any deity save one by a strict adherence to the orthodox formula. Hence it was that "they legalized the despoiling of the Muslims, taking their wives in marriage before they are legally divorced from their husbands, and without observing the *'Iddah*, and also the enslavement of their children," (pp. 245-6). All these outrages, from the Wahhâby standpoint, were solemn duties imposed upon them by their obligations to God and Islâm, which they could not forego without risking their own salvation. It is quite conceivable that Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb was personally uninfluenced in his fanaticism by any motives of temporal interest; but there can be little doubt that the majority of his followers were actuated as much by the license which his doctrines warranted, as by zeal for what they were taught to consider the true faith. Wahhâbeeism, in fact, apart from certain speculative notions respecting the Supreme Being, —in the main perfectly in accordance with the theology of the Kurân,—may be defined as a politico-religious confederacy, which legalizes the indiscriminate plunder and thraldom of all peoples beyond its own pale. This description of its most prominent characteristics is fully borne out by the intolerant proceedings of its adherents, not only in Nejd, but wherever they succeeded in establishing their ascendancy.

Incidentally, the Exile's narrative makes us acquainted with a novel pretension of the Wahhâbis, who profess to be in possession of certain portions of the Kurân which the Khalîfah 'Othmân, out of envy, as they allege, omitted from the original version—compiled during the Khalîfate of Abu-Bekr—when he caused a copy of the same to be taken which, by his authority, was made to supersede all other exemplars then extant (p. 252). It is very unlikely that this assertion rests upon any reliable basis, and the suspicion which it casts

upon the existing canon is probably a mere artifice to perplex or to seduce the orthodox. The fact that the alleged abscissions are communicated only to members of the confederation and to converts seems to favour this hypothesis.

The repeated invasions of 'Omân by the Wahhâbis during the administration of the Seyyid Sâ'id, whereby they reduced the principality to the verge of ruin, withdrawing eventually from the country only on condition that an annual tribute, in the shape of *Zakát*, or obligatory alms for pious purposes, should be paid to their Amir, will be noticed in the sequel. For the present we must revert to the Seyyid Sâ'id, whom we left at Máskat, just after his partial election to the regency.

He had not been long in power when a conspiracy was formed against him, mainly at the instigation of Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the ex-Wakil of Máskat, the ostensible object of which was to raise the Seyyid Kais, of Sohâr, Sâ'id's uncle, to the regency. Both parties lost no time in summoning their respective adherents and allies for the approaching contest. The Âl-Bû-Sâ'id sided generally with Kais, as did also his brothers, the Imâm Sâ'id of er-Rastâk, and Muhammad of Suwaik, and other members of the Seyyid family. The Seyyid Sâ'id applied for assistance to Muhenna-bin-Muhammad, the head of the el-Ya'arubah, who, besides promising his own coöperation, dispatched his brothers to enlist the el-Ghâfiry and the northern Arabs in the same cause. But before the expected levies arrived Kais had moved forward with his army, seized el-Khabûrah and es-Sîb, and driven the enemy's outposts into Máskat. In this emergency the Seyyid Sâlim took ship to Barkah and returned with Muhenna-el-Ya'ruby, who had already thrown fifty of his men into the fort of Barkah, and now brought one hundred men to aid in the defence of Máskat, the entire management of which appears to have been confided to him. After posting the different contingents which subsequently arrived so as to command the heights and other approaches, Muhenna assembled a

council of the chiefs, at which it was resolved that a reconciliation should be attempted between Kais and his nephews Sâlim and Saîd, on these conditions :—Kais was to retain the two forts which he had already captured, and to receive besides a monthly allowance of 2,000 dollars. This offer having been rejected by Kais, hostilities were resumed, the assailants making frequent raids in the vicinity of the town, the besieged occasionally issuing forth to repulse them. A messenger was now dispatched by the Seyyidah to Bedr-bin-Seif, who was then in Kátar (see note, p. 237), soliciting his presence. He immediately set out for Máskat, and on his arrival the two Seyyids and the Seyyidah surrendered the entire management of affairs into his hands. Bedr then took up his residence in the fort at Barkah, where he was soon after joined by large levies from the tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah, who, as already mentioned, were mostly under Wahhâby influence, and therefore more disposed to cooperate with Bedr, whose Wahhâby proclivities were notorious. However, he lost no time in forwarding these reinforcements to Muhenna to aid in the defence of Máskat.

The arrival at Barkah of 7,000 of the Nizáriyyah, under the command of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, ostensibly to support Bedr and his cousins, induced Kais to propose a reconciliation with his nephews. It was accordingly agreed that he should continue to hold the forts of es-Sîb and el-Khabûrah, but should withdraw from el Mátrah and return to Sohâr. This amicable arrangement was greatly promoted by Muhenna, who appears to have acted with exemplary loyalty to the cause which he had espoused. Moreover, having been apprised that a secret understanding existed between the el-Ghâfiry auxiliaries and their kinsmen the el-Kawâsim to seize Máskat, in the event of the former being admitted into that town, he was most anxious to get rid of their presence. The fact that the Seyyids Sâlim and Saîd felt bound, in dispensing with their services, to send them

40,000 dollars and other rich presents, shows that the el-Ghâfiry tribes were practically independent.

Muhenna's devotion to the Seyyids Sâlim and Saîd had excited the jealousy of their elder cousin, Bedr, who, as we have seen, had been entrusted with the administration of affairs in their behalf. Despairing of compassing his ends in any other way, he employed an assassin to murder him in his own castle, after his return to Nakhl. Precedents without number justified the atrocity, and the law was powerless against a prince of the blood. Even his cousins were obliged to dissemble their resentment against the murderer of their most disinterested champion, whose removal encouraged Kais to recommence hostilities against his nephews. After capturing the town of Máskat and overrunning the neighbourhood, he was induced, chiefly through the intervention of his sister, the Seyyidah, to withdraw to Sohâr, but not before he had stipulated for the cession to him of the fort of el-Mátrah, and a monthly stipend of one thousand dollars.

The peace thus concluded, however, was of short duration. Instigated by an influential member of the Âl-Bû-Saîd family, the three cousins, Bedr, Sâlim, and Saîd, decided to make war upon their uncle Kais. Among the numerous levies which they raised on this occasion were contingents sent by the Wahhâbis, the Benu-Yâs and other northern Arabs, and also by the brothers of the reigning Imâm, Sâîd-bin-Ahmed, their uncle. They also forwarded a large sum of money to secure the coöperation of the el-Ghâfiry tribe. Kais commenced hostilities by a vigorous attack on Máskat, which was ably defended by Bedr and his auxiliaries, but notwithstanding that he had been reinforced by seven hundred of the Benu-'Uttûb he was unable to gain any advantage over the assailants. The Seyyid Saîd, on the other hand, was joined at Barkah by 12,000 men from ezh-Zhâhirah, under the command of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry. Marching

with these he first captured es-Sîb and then Bádbad, from whence he wrote to Bedr, expostulating with him on his inactivity. Bedr, in the meantime, having received additional reinforcements from the Wahhâbis, the Benu-'Uttûb, and the Benu-Yâs, began to act on the offensive, and succeeded in dislodging the enemy from the posts which they had occupied in the vicinity of Máskat. As he was further preparing to storm el-Mátrah, Kais sued for peace, and a reconciliation was negotiated between the nephews and their uncle, on condition that the latter should surrender el-Mátrah to them. On the return of Kais to Sohâr, the Seyyid Sâîd dismissed his northern auxiliaries, presenting Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, their principal leader, with another sum of 40,000 dollars for his services.

Not long after, hostilities were renewed against Kais, chiefly at the instigation of his nephew Bedr. This time it was agreed that Behlâ, the principal stronghold in 'Omân proper, then held by Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, Kais's brother and firm ally, should be the first point of attack. The el-Ya'rubah of Nakhl were accordingly directed to march upon the place, Bedr and his cousins supplying them with arms and ammunition, and summoning their adherents among the neighbouring tribes to coöperate with them. Bedr himself proceeded to el-Khabûrah, then held by Kais, where he was joined by the Arabs of the coast, and also by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, whose aid had again been invoked, and who came accompanied by a number of Wahhâbis and a general levy of the Nizâriyyah of ezh-Zhâhirah. Hamîd, however, secretly deprecated Bedr's success against his uncle, fearing that he might acquire thereby a dangerous predominance over 'Omân, especially as the Wahhâbis were devoted to his interests. He accordingly suggested that an effort should be made, in the first instance, to induce Kais to surrender the coveted fortress, and having obtained Bedr's consent to the proposal he set out for Sohâr, with most of his

followers, leaving only the Benu-Kelbân contingent at el-Khabûrah. During his absence an affray, which ended in bloodshed, took place in the encampment, between the el-Harth and the el-Janîbah. As the latter had come with Hamîd, and were worsted in the encounter, he recalled his confederates from before el-Khabûrah, and returned to his district in high dudgeon.

The failure of the Seyyid Sâîd's attempt against el-Khabûrah was counterbalanced by the acquisition of the fortress of Behlâ, which his uncle Muhammed, for the sake of promoting peace, voluntarily made over to his former ally, Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaʿruby. Mâlik placed it in the temporary charge of Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, another chief of the same tribe, while he went to his Wâliship at Nakhl; but, on his return, Muhammad-bin-Suleimân refused to admit him into the fort, and retained possession of it himself, professedly on behalf of the Seyyid Sâîd. Kais, on the other hand, made a demonstration against Yabrîn and Nezwa, but was foiled by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir. In order to put an end to the intestine feuds in that quarter, Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm eventually surrendered Nezwa to his nephew, the Seyyid Sâîd.

The Seyyid Sâîd's suspicions of the designs of his cousin Bedr, and more especially the intimate relations which he had established with the Wahhâbis, led him to compass his destruction, in concert with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, whom alone he took into his confidence. He accordingly suggested another attack on el-Khabûrah, on the understanding that neither the Wahhâbis nor the people of ezh-Zhâhirah should take any part in it. When the other tribes had assembled at Nuâmân, near Barkah, the Seyyid Sâîd and Bedr entered the fort, accompanied by several chiefs, while Muhammad-bin-Nâsir took up a position near the entrance. The company being seated, the subject of arms was brought under discussion, during which the Maula, or lord, of the el-Jibûr, evidently with a view to disarm him, drew Bedr's

dagger from its sheath, whereupon Sâîd aimed a blow at him with his sword and broke his arm. Bedr threw himself out of the window, and called out for help, but Muhammad-bin-Nâsir forbade any to interfere. Thereupon Bedr mounted his horse and set off at full gallop, pursued by his cousin Sâîd and a troop of horsemen, who, finding that the fugitive had fallen to the ground through loss of blood, speedily dispatched him with their lances. As in the case of a similar atrocity perpetrated by Bedr, (see p. 291), so in this, the assassin of his cousin was lauded rather than reprobated for his crime. The murder led to a reconciliation between the murderer and his uncle Kais, who hated Bedr for having seceded from the tenets of the el-Ibâdhiyah and embraced those of the Wahhâbis.

A year later Sâîd and Kais attacked Fakkân, which had become a refuge for pirates acting under the order of Sultân-bin-Sâkar, el-Kâsimy. In the engagement which ensued the forces of the Seyyids were utterly routed and most of them slain; among the latter was the Seyyid Kais, upon whose death his son 'Azzân appears to have succeeded to the appanage of Sohâr as a matter of course. At his request, however, the Seyyid Sâîd covenanted to defend him against all his enemies. The reciprocal obligations in this treaty are not stated; but it is clear from the sequel that thenceforward the Seyyid Sâîd exercised greater authority over that district than he had ventured to claim during the lifetime of his uncle Kais.

The next object of the Regent's suspicion was his late accomplice, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, who held the important fortresses of Bádbad and Semaïl. These he obliged him to surrender, after obtaining possession of his person by treachery; but the perfidy was doomed to a commensurate retribution. Muhammad made his escape to el-'Ainein, where he was well received by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, who placed the fort of Azka at his disposal.

From thence he proceeded to ed-Dir'iyyah, to solicit the aid of Sûûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz,[1] who had succeeded his father as Amîr of the Wahhâbis. Sûûd, nothing loth to interfere in the affairs of 'Omân, forthwith dispatched a force under Mútlak-el-Mutairy to aid Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and to reduce the country to his, Sûûd's, obedience. On his arrival at el-Bereimy, Mútlak levied all the northern Arabs and attacked and captured the fort of Shinâs, situated about thirty miles to the north-west of Sohâr. His next move was upon Sohâr itself, in which he was joined by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, with their respective followings. 'Azzân-bin-Kais being ill with small-pox at the time, his cousin, the Seyyid Sâîd, undertook the defence of the place. Unable to force an entrance into Sohâr, Mútlak's forces marched along the coast and turned off at el-Masnaâh, towards the Wâdi of the el-Mâûwal, plundering the country on their way. At this time the confederates were joined by Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaârubi, so that the Wahhâbis, the el-Ghâfiry, the el-Yaârubah, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, the ex-Wâli of Semaîl, were now arrayed against the Seyyids. Proceeding onwards towards the latter place, the combined armies took possession of all the hill-towers, or *Hujrahs*, commanding the valley, when Mútlak left for el-Bereimy, and Hamîd-bin-Nâsir for el-'Ainein, leaving Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to invest and reduce the forts. The Seyyid Sâîd made the most strenuous efforts to sustain the Beloochee garrison and to harass the enemy, calling in the aid of his cousin 'Azzân and his adherents from all parts. He even proposed a reconciliation with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, at any sacrifice short of the surrender of the forts of Bádbad and Semaîl; but the latter persisted in carrying on the siege until the brave Beloochee commander was obliged to capitulate. This

[1] The second *Wahhâby* Amîr of that name; (Su'ûd I. was not a Wahhâby); he is omitted in Mr. Palgrave's list of the dynasty; see note, p. 345-6.

unfortunate man, together with the captain over the slaves, was cast into prison at Máskat, and both were kept there till they died.

Despairing of success against the formidable confederacy which beset him on all sides, the Regent dispatched his brother, the Seyyid Sâlim, with a suitable retinue, to solicit the aid of Fath-'Aly-Shâh, then (about A.D. 1809) urgently pressed with applications from the ambassadors of France and England, who sought his coöperation, the one in favour of, and the other against, the threatened invasion of India by Buonaparte. The account given at pp. 306—314 of this embassy to Shîrâz,—the light which it incidentally throws on the manners of the Persian court; the intrigues of the fanatical Shîaâh-Mîrza appointed to attend upon the 'Omâny visitors to thwart their object; the discussion on the relative orthodoxy of the Shîaâh and Ibâdhiyah creeds which took place between the said Mîrza and a shrewd Kâdhi in the suite of the Seyyid Sâlim; and the thorough oriental versatility of the latter as a diplomatist,—all these incidents are narrated with a charming simplicity, and will amply repay a careful perusal. Sâlim's request for 3,000 horsemen, to be paid, provisioned, and armed at the expense of the 'Omâny state, was acceded to by the Shâh, and in due course this cavalry contingent was safely transported from Bunder-el-'Abbâs, and encamped near the fort of Barkah, on the el-Bâtinah coast, about forty-five miles to the westward of Máskat.

Both parties now prepared for the coming struggle: Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, set out from Semâïl to raise levies from his confederates in the north, while the Seyyid Sâlim, taking the Persians with him, invested and captured Nakhl. Being subsequently reinforced by his cousin 'Azzân-bin-Kais and his uncle Tâlib, with their respective followers, he proceeded next to Semâïl, which surrendered at discretion. Intelligence of the loss of his fort reaching Muham-

mad-bin-Nâsir, he started in quest of Mútlak-el-Mutairy, and overtook him on the borders of the Benu-Yâs territory, on his way to Nejd. By dint of remonstrances, and the offer of a large bribe, he induced the Wahhâby commander to accompany him back to his fort at Azka, (p. 297), where, through Mútlak's influence, he was joined by a considerable number of men from the tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah and esh-Shamâl, and marching out from thence they fell upon the Persians and Arabs under the Seyyid Sâlim and utterly routed them. Following up this advantage, the victors laid waste the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâlah, and on his return to el-Bereimy, Mútlak conferred upon Muhammad the district of Sémed-el-Kindy, near Nezwa.

At el-Bereimy, Mútlak found Tûrky and Faisal, the sons of Sûûd,[1] the Wahhâby Amîr, who had come thither with a band of followers from el-Hasâ and el-Kasîm, without their father's permission. Mútlak having surrendered his command to them they commenced levying the adjacent tribes, and attacked the el-Khadhrâ, but were repulsed with loss. On hearing of this check, Mútlak rejoined them, and having summoned the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb to his standard, and called upon Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to join him without delay, he marched down towards the coast. At Barkah he encountered the Seyyid Sâlim and his Persian cavalry, and a desultory engagement followed, which lasted for three days, without any decisive advantage to either side. Passing onward, the Wahhâbis and their confederates plundered el-Mátrah and Arbak, and, masking Máskat, forced their way over the mountains as far as Sûr and Râs-el-Hadd, razing the towers, ravaging the country, burning the shipping, and levying large sums of money from the inhabitants. The raid over, Mútlak-el-Mutairy returned to el-Bereimy.

We now come to the first instance of British armed intervention, in conjunction with the Seyyid Sâîd, in the affairs

[1] See p. 318, and note 3, p. 345.

of 'Omân. At the instigation of the Wahhâbis, the el-Kawâsim, (Joasmees) under their chief Hásan-bin-Ráhmah, had extended their piracies to the coast of western India. Determined to suppress these outrages, and also to relieve the Seyyid Sâîd from the power of the Wahhâbis, the Government of India ordered an expedition to be sent to the Persian Gulf. Their first operations were directed against Râs-el-Khaimah, which appears to be the modern name of Julfâr.[1] The attack commenced by a bombardment on the 12th of November, 1809, which was repeated on the following day, when a breach having been made in the castle the assailants "rushed in, drove away the garrison, plundered the houses, burnt the shipping, carried away a large booty, and took Hásan-bin-Ráhmah prisoner."

Meanwhile, Mútlak-el-Mutairy continued his depredations upon the territory of Sohâr, in conjunction with one Muhammad-bin-Ahmed, who held the fort of Shinâs. The Seyyid Sâîd having requested the coöperation of the English to reduce that place also, the combined forces arrived there on the 31st of December, 1810, and captured it the day following, after an heroic resistance. According to the native account, Muhammad started for el-Bereimy, as soon as the bombardment began, to invoke the aid of Mútlak, and returned with a body of Wahhâbis, but was unable to break through the investing force, and died suddenly the same night. It appears, further, that after the English had re-embarked, having made over the battered fort to the Seyyid Sâîd, they warned him, and his brother Sâlim, and his cousin 'Azzân, of Sohâr, to re-embark also, as they had seen "dust in the air in small clouds." This proved to be the advance of Mútlak with a large army, which fell upon the troops of the Seyyids, killed many of them, and put the remainder to flight, the Seyyids escaping to el-Masnaâh, mounted on fleet horses, under cover of a dust-storm. It seems probable

[1] See note, p. 322.

that the English ships had sailed before this attack was made.

Thus far, British intervention had only tended to exasperate the Wahhâbis. Another cause of irritation with them was the reinstatement of Sultân-bin-Sâkar as chief over the el-Kawâsim at Râs-el-Khaimah. Sultân had been the ally of the Amîr Sâûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-Azîz for some time, but had since retired from the Wahhâby confederacy and engaged to support the Seyyid Sâîd. As he promised to restrain his people from piracy, his restoration was approved of by the English, "who gave him much money, directed him to rebuild Julfâr, and enjoined him to adhere to his resolve of abandoning his former malpractices."

Fully bent on the subjugation of 'Omân, Mútlak-el-Mutairy collected an overwhelming force from the northern tribes, summoned Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, to join him, and marched to el-Masnaâh, on the coast. In anticipation of the impending invasion the Seyyid Sâîd had "appealed to the British Government for assistance, urging that his coöperation with us in the late expedition had involved him in perpetual warfare with the Wahabee chief. The supreme Government, however, considered it impracticable to render any assistance, without making it appear that we were united in a contest with the Wahabee power, which was contrary to our repeatedly declared policy."[1] Thus left to themselves, the Seyyids saw no chance of successfully resisting Mútlak's demands. Accordingly, 'Azzân-bin-Kais, his uncle Muhammad, and Ahmed acting on behalf of his father, the Imâm Sâîd, of er-Rastâk, forthwith came to terms with him. On hearing of their submission, the Seyyid Sâîd, alone and unarmed, suddenly presented himself before Mútlak, at el-Masnaâh, when it was agreed that the latter should cease from

[1] Official *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, p. 4.

injuring any of the Seyyid's people. On Mútlak's return to el-Bereimy, the Seyyid Sâîd made him a "present" of 40,000 dollars, but it seems highly probable, from certain statements made in the sequel, that this sum was paid as *Zakâh*, or obligatory alms for religious purposes, and that it was stipulated on the same occasion what amount of such tribute should be paid annually by 'Azzân-bin-Kais for Sohâr, and by the Seyyid Sâîd for the remainder of 'Omân. This treaty appears to have been made about the middle of A.D. 1810.

Ibn-'Azdakah, who was shortly after appointed Wahhâby agent in 'Omân, having been murdered on the way by the Benu-Yâs, Mútlak was ordered to resume the office. On his arrival at el-Bereimy, however, he found most of the northern tribes backward to join him, "chiefly owing to the large demands which had already been made upon them for wars and invasions." In his attempt to reduce the el-Hajariyyin to obedience, he was shot by one of that tribe, and his brother, Battâl-el-Mutairy, having communicated the intelligence of his death to Sûûd[1]-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, the Wahhâby Amîr, Ibn-Mazrûâ was selected to succeed him, who on reaching el-Bereimy levied the tribes of that district and moved to Behlâ, with the intention of proceeding against el-Bediyyah. No reason is assigned for this invasion, so soon after the late treaty, but the Seyyid Sâîd marched with an army to oppose it. While encamped, not far from the enemy, a messenger reached him from Máskat, reporting the death of his cousin, 'Azzân-bin-Kais, at Mokha, in the Red Sea, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Mekkah. It is stated that, prior to his departure, 'Azzân had confided Sohâr to one of the Âl-Bû-Saîd, directing him to obey the orders of the Seyyid Sâîd, and in the event of his death to surrender the fortress to him. Determined, if possible, to be the first on the spot, Sâîd started forthwith, and outstripped his cousin, Ahmed, the son of the Imâm Sâîd, who had

[1] By an ellipsis, styled simply 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz in the narrative, p. 328.

married the daughter of Kais, 'Azzân's father, and who, on hearing of 'Azzân's death, had hurried from er-Rastâk to Sohâr, in the hope of securing it. Finding the Seyyid Sâîd already in possession he returned to er-Rastâk, and from that time forward the Seyyid regarded Sohâr as an integral part of his dominions. Since the reign of Ahmed, the first Imâm of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, who appears to have conferred it as an appanage upon his third son, Kais,—which gift is explicitly stated to have been confirmed by his successor,—the place had virtually become an independent principality, and the Seyyid Sâîd's claim to it, either in virtue of his sovereignty over 'Omân or of 'Azzân's alleged bequest, was fiercely contested by the direct descendants of the latter for many years after.

The reverse of fortune which the Nejd government experienced in 1813 at the hands of Muhammad-'Aly Pâsha, of Egypt, who drove 'Abdallah, the son of the Amîr Sâûd, out of the Hijâz; the death of Sâûd himself in 1814; the destruction of ed-Dir'iyyah five years later by the troops under Ibrahîm Pâsha, when 'Abdallah, who had succeeded his father, was taken prisoner, and subsequently beheaded at Constantinople;—these and other domestic disasters had obliged the Wahhâbis to abandon their foreign aggressive policy, and 'Omân was relieved from their exactions for a period of nearly twenty years. During this interval a reconciliation seems to have been effected between the Seyyid Sâîd and Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, the leading chief of the el-Ghâfiry, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, both heretofore the sworn allies of the Wahhâbis, and the country enjoyed comparative tranquillity. The el-Yaârubah chiefs made two or three attempts to recover possession of Nakhl, but were foiled rather by the treachery than by the exercise of legitimate authority on the part of the Seyyid Sâîd. In 1816 he felt sufficiently secure at home to undertake an expedition against el-Bahrein, an island which he was bent on re-

annexing to the 'Omâny principality, but he was repulsed by the Benu-'Uttâb with great loss, including his younger brother, Hámed-bin-Sultân, and several of his principal officers.

It was either immediately before or after the overthrow of 'Abdallah-bin-Sûûd, in 1819, that Battâl-el-Mutairy came from Nejd to el-Bereimy with a large body of cavalry, intending probably to assume an independent position at that important frontier fortress. Acting under the orders of the Seyyid Sâîd, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and Suwailim-bin-Sâlim, the Wâli of Nakhl, surrounded the invaders, who not only capitulated and agreed to raze the fort, but also took service with the Seyyid, for we find Battâl-el-Mutairy and his followers fighting bravely by his side in the affair of the Benu-Abi-'Aly, which occurred shortly after.

In the mean time, as we learn from the cotemporary annals of the Bombay Government, "a British expedition sailed from Bombay, under the command of General Keir, about the end of 1819, and, with the coöperation of the Imaum of Muscat, [the Seyyid Sâîd], destroyed or captured all the vessels and the principal strongholds of the piratical chieftains. The dread inspired by the success of the British arms in the reduction of Ras-ool-khyma, led to the more powerful Arab sheikhs sending offers of unqualified submission to General Keir. On the 8th of January, 1820, a general treaty of peace was concluded with nearly all the chiefs of the maritime Arabs in the Gulf, the provisions of which have since been more or less respected."[1]

British aid, not exclusively on his behalf, was afforded to the Seyyid Sâîd towards the end of the following year. It appears that Muhammad-bin-'Aly, the chief of the Benu-Hâsan and Benu-'Abi-'Aly, two affiliated tribes settled not far from the coast of Jaâlân, having abjured the creed of the

[1] *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, p. 7.

Ibâdhiyah and adopted Wahhâby tenets, had refused to recognize the Seyyid's authority. Moreover, some of their converts at el-Ashkharah, a large maritime village on the coast below Râs-el-Hadd, had plundered several English ships which were wrecked in their neighbourhood. To punish these outrages, a British force, consisting of six companies of sepoys and eight guns, was landed at Sûr, where they were joined by 2,000 Arabs, levied from different tribes, and commanded by the Seyyid Sâîd in person. On the 9th of November, 1820, the combined armies attacked the enemy's position and were utterly routed. Nearly the whole of the British detachment actually engaged was cut up, and the Seyyid Sâîd, who is acknowledged to have displayed great courage on the occasion, was shot through the hand in endeavouring to save an artilleryman. The same night the enemy attempted to surprise the entrenched camp of the British, which led to the flight of most of their Arab allies, none standing by the Seyyid but Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and the Wahhâby, Battâl-el-Mutairy. "Perceiving that the edge of the courage of the English had been blunted, and that their numbers had been greatly reduced, the Seyyid ordered a retreat, and he and the English accordingly returned to Máskat," on the 17th of November, from whence the latter embarked for Bombay.

To vindicate the national character a second expedition, under the command of Sir Lionel Smith, was dispatched to Sûr, where it was again joined by the Seyyid Sâîd and his Arab levies, and where they were detained for three days to allow the Seyyid to mourn for his elder brother Sâlim, the intelligence of whose death reached him at that place.

The narrative here apprises us also of the death of the Imâm Sâîd, the son of the first Imâm of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd dynasty, and the Seyyid Sâîd's uncle, which must have occurred between this time, A.D. 1821, and 1811, at which latter date he was still living, (see notes, pp. 323, 325). His son

Ahmed appears to have succeeded him in the government of er-Rastâk, but had been treacherously dispossessed by his uncle Tâlib, whom the Seyyid Sâîd is recorded to have confirmed in the appointment on this occasion. The reader will note that, notwithstanding the death of the Imâm Sâîd, no member of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, or any other person, was elected to succeed him in the dignity of Imâm. His nephew Sâîd, who had been Regent and virtually the exclusive sovereign of 'Omân since the death of his father Sultân, still retained the simple title of "Seyyid." The probable reasons for the discontinuance of the *Imâmate* are discussed in Appendix A.

Major-General Sir Lionel Smith's expedition redeemed the prestige of the British. The division under his command stormed the position of the Benu-Abi-'Aly and their allies on the 2nd of March, 1821, killed and wounded five hundred of the enemy, and took nearly all the remainder prisoners, including Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his brother Khâdim-bin-'Aly. The latter died of his wounds on the way to Máskat, and eighty of the captives carried thither by the Seyyid Sâîd were confined in the eastern battery, "where they died of starvation." On the other hand, Muhammad-bin-'Aly and other prisoners, "who were taken away by the English, when they reached India, were unbound and well cared for, the wounded received the best professional treatment, and all lived in great comfort at Bombay." Moreover, two years later, "the English permitted Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his people to return to their homes, and the Governor of Bombay gave him much money to enable him to rebuild his town, sent him in an English ship to Máskat, and wrote to the Seyyid Sâîd to forgive them. To all which the Seyyid agreed, and they accordingly returned to Jaalân and restored their place to its former state," (pp. 344-5).

About this period, according to our native annalist, Saâd-bin-Mútlak was appointed Wahhâby agent in 'Omân by Saûd and Faisal, the "sons of Sâûd," who appear to have

ruled conjointly for some time, and reoccupied el-Bereimy. Mr. Palgrave, however, makes Tûrky the son and successor of 'Abdallah-bin-Sûûd, (see note, p. 345), as does also Lieut. Hennell, who, in his paper on the Wahhâbis in the *Bombay Government Selections*, (Vol. xxiv. p. 437), expressly styles him "Toorkey-bin-Abdoola, commonly known by the name of Toorkey-bin-Saood." Tûrky, who had been taken prisoner by Ibrahîm Pâsha in 1819, effected his escape the year after, and commenced hostilities against the Benu-Khâlid, who had been established at el-Hasâ and el-Katîf by the Egyptians. Before the end of 1824 he succeeded in recapturing Riyâdh, and in partially restoring the ascendancy of the Wahhâbis.

The foregoing circumstances will account for the reoccupation of el-Bereimy by Saâd-bin-Mútlak, where his authority was recognized by a portion of the northern Arabs and by the people of ezh-Zhâhirah. Accompanied by some levies of those tribes he marched as far as Behlâ, and from thence proceeded to attack the el-Hajariyyîn, who had slain his father in battle some years before, (p. 327). On his return to el-Bereimy he rebuilt that fortress, and excused himself to the Seyyid Sâîd for his raid into 'Omân.

In 1828 the Seyyid made another attempt to reduce el-Bahrein, and, according to a paragraph in the official *Précis* already quoted, he invoked the coöperation of the Wahhâbis, sending messengers to Riyâdh on that errand. Moreover, "he is alleged, not only to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Wahabee chief, but to have intimated his readiness to pay the *Zukat*, or tithe, levied from his followers;" further, that "the Wahabee chief turned the overtures of the Imaum [the Seyyid Sâîd] to his own account, and offered the Uttobee chief in possession of Bahrein the alternative of war or submission. The latter was accepted and the whole of the Arabian coast became tributary to the Wahabees in a short time." No allusion whatever is made in the published

Bombay Government Selections to any such transactions, and our native historian is equally silent on the subject, although he accurately describes the operations of the Seyyid Sâîd's army, and impartially records its ignominious defeat by the Benu-'Uttûb.

From 1829 to 1844 the Seyyid Sâîd was engaged in consolidating his territories on the east coast of Africa. His first visit to Zanzibar appears to have been made towards the end of the former year, when he accompanied an expedition against Mombâsah, after the Indian authorities, at his strong remonstrances, had disallowed the convention which Captain Owen of her Majesty's frigate *Leven* had concluded five years previously with the Arab settlers there, whereby they were placed under British protection. It was not, however, until after a third attack that his Highness succeeded in finally subjugating Mombâsah by the capture of the leading men of the Benu-Mazrûâ, an 'Omâny tribe which had long been in possession of the locality, nominally subject to the sovereign of 'Omân, but virtually independent of his authority. These chiefs were transported to the island of Hormûz, in the Persian Gulf, "where they subsequently died," most probably of starvation.

The people of Sîwy, near Brâwa, another strong place on the same coast, "having broken their engagements," the Seyyid Sâîd made two attempts to reduce them also, but his troops were driven off on both occasions with great loss, (see pp. 355, 360). Since that period, A.D. 1844, writes Colonel Rigby, peace has been maintained with slight interruptions in the Seyyid's East African territories, and has been attended with comparative prosperity.

On the other hand, the frequent absence of the Seyyid at Zanzibar, which he eventually made his principal residence, produced a succession of intestine disorders in 'Omân and greatly weakened his authority in that quarter. On his third visit to Zanzibar he appointed his nephew, Muhammad-bin-

Sâlim, Wâli over Máskat and Sohâr, with full powers to administer the government during his absence; but entertaining some suspicion of his cousin, Hilâl-bin-Muhammad, who appears to have held the appanage of es-Suwaik, he caused him to be treacherously seized and imprisoned before his departure. Not long after, his second cousin, Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, whose father had transferred Sohâr to the Seyyid Sâîd, (see p. 328), was invited by the inhabitants to seize that place, which he accordingly did, without encountering any opposition on the part of the garrison. Following up this advantage, Hamûd successfully attacked Shinâs and el-Khâburah, and was only thwarted in his attempt on Máskat by the opportune arrival there of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, with 1,500 of the Nizâriyyah of Semaîl, whom he succeeded in throwing into the town at the earnest solicitation of the Seyyid's uncle, Tâlib-bin-Ahmed, the Wâli of er-Rastâk, and of the Seyiddah, his great-aunt, who still seems to have exercised considerable influence in the administration. Moreover, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's alliance with the Seyyid induced some of his confederates among the northern tribes to keep Hamûd in check by making incursions into the territories of Sohâr.

The Seyyid Sâîd's first act on his return from Zanzibar in 1830, in consequence of these disturbances, was to release his cousin, Hilâl-bin-Muhammad, and to restore him to es-Suwaik. He then assembled a large force and embarked for Sohâr intending to attack that fortress, but a reconciliation was effected between the two parties, Hamûd having consented to relinquish "all claim to independent authority over the subjects of the Seyyid Sâîd, and engaged to do nothing without his orders." According to the English official account of this transaction, the Seyyid "concluded an agreement with sheikh Humood, by which he ceded to that chief the districts of Khizza, Markies, and Sohâr, for the payment of an annual tribute of 8,000 German crowns.

The towns of Shinas and Ghillal were restored to his Highness."[1] The same authority mentions another attack upon Sohâr by the Seyyid Sâîd the year after, aided by the el-Kawâsimy chief, Sultân-bin-Sâkar, and Rashîd-bin-Hamûd, of 'Ajmân, whom he subsidized on the occasion. He also took steps "to conciliate the Wahabee chief by sending him large presents, and in some measure acknowledging his supremacy." This second expedition signally failed, and the loss on the side of the Seyyid was so great that he "judged it advisable to drop all further proceedings, and having patched up a peace, upon nearly the same terms as the former one, he retired to Muskat with both his finances and reputation, already severely shaken, reduced to a still lower ebb by the last unfortunate attempt."[2]

On leaving for Zanzibar the Seyyid appointed his second son, Hilâl, as Wâli over Máskat, enjoining him to take no important step without consulting his cousin, Muhammad-bin-Sâlim. In like manner he placed Barkah in the hands of his second cousin, Sûûd-bin-'Aly-bin-Seif, the great-grandson of the Imâm Ahmed. He had not been long absent when Sûûd treacherously seized Hilâl and Muhammad, while on a visit to him at Barkah, proceeded next to invest el-Masnaâh, and finally made preparations to attack Máskat, whereupon the Seyyidah again resorted to the aid of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and eventually obtained the liberation of the Seyyids Hilâl and Muhammad by the payment of a large ransom.

According to the contemporary annals of the Bombay Government the Seyyid Sâîd's authority in 'Omân at this period was threatened with collapse. Sultân-bin-Sâkar, the chief of the el-Kawâsim, taking advantage of the intestine disorders in that country, seized Khôr-Fakkân, Khullah, and Dabâ, ports on the el-Bâtinah coast, and the Seyyids Hamûd-bin-'Azzân of Sohâr and Hilâl-bin-Muhammad of es-Suwaik

[1] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, pp. 201-2. [2] *Id.*, p 202.

meditated an attack upon er-Rastâk, the inland capital. Under these circumstances the British Government lost no time in dispatching a naval force to check the designs of the Seyyid Sâid's enemies and to afford advice and support to the existing administration; and it was undoubtedly through this friendly intervention that further disasters were arrested.[1]

On the return of the Seyyid Sâid to Máskat on the 10th of September, 1832, a compromise was effected through the mediation of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, whereby Sûûd consented to restore the fort of Barkah to the Seyyid, receiving in its stead the Wâliship of er-Rastâk, which had become vacant by the death of the Seyyid's uncle, Tâlib-bin-Ahmed. Before re-embarking for Zanzibar his Highness appointed his third son, Thuwainy, Wâli of Máskat.

Although our author omits all notice of the fact, there can be no doubt that at this period the influence of the Wahhâbis was once more in the ascendant. Tûrky-bin-Sûûd, their Amîr, having succeeded in re-establishing his power in Nejd, took steps to reassert his claims upon 'Omân, with the concurrence of most of the northern tribes, who were more or less imbued with Wahhâbeeism. "Finding the integrity of his dominions thus seriously menaced, the Imaum [the Seyyid Sâid] considered it his best policy to form a closer connection with the Wahabee Chief. It was accordingly agreed by him [as stated in a letter written by himself to the Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated 23rd May, 1833] to pay a tribute of 5,000 German crowns per annum to the Wahabee Chief, that each should hold possession of his own coast, according to the limits then existing—the Imaum's [the Seyyid's] extending to Jaalan and the Wahabee's to Katoef; and, further, an engagement was entered into, binding them reciprocally to assist in putting

[1] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, p. 204-6.

down any rebellion arising in their respective territories."[1]

The Seyyid Sa'îd had not been long in Zanzibar before he was recalled by fresh disturbances in 'Omân. The Seyyid Sûûd, his Wâli at er-Rastâk, having been treacherously murdered while asleep in a mosque by his cousin the Seyyid Sultân, the grandson of the last Imâm, Sa'îd, doubtless in the hope of succeeding thereby to what he considered his patrimonial inheritance, the Seyyid Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, of Sohâr, taking advantage of the opportunity, marched thither with a large force and took possession of the place. The Seyyid Sa'îd's first attempt to coerce Hamûd having failed, he raised large levies and encamped with them at el-Masnaa'h. Finding, however, that the majority refused to join him in hostilities against Hamûd, he directed Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to subsidize the northern tribes, and as many as eighty sheikhs, with several thousand followers, hastened to join his standard. Terrified at the Nemesis which he himself had evoked, "when the Seyyid Sa'îd, seated in his ship, descried this immense concourse descending upon Sohâr, he began to dread their getting the ascendancy there," and preferred a reconciliation with Hamûd; after which he dismissed the levies, distributing "thousands of dollars among them, besides robes of honour and other presents."

These events appear to have occurred in 1834, the year in which Tûrky, the Wahhâby Amîr, was assassinated by his cousin Mashâry, who usurped the throne until he was slain in turn by Faisal-bin-Tûrky, who thereupon succeeded to the sovereignty. In 1836, according to the Bombay official records, the Seyyid Sa'îd made another attempt to coerce Hamûd, with the coöperation of Saad-bin-Mútlak, the Wahhâby agent in Omân, who joined him with 2,000 men from

[1] *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, p. 9.

different tribes and invested Sohâr by land, while the Seyyid blockaded it by sea. The siege, however, was soon abandoned "in consequence of his Highness having satisfied himself of the truth of a communication made by a deputation from the besieged, that Sohâr falling, the Wahabee agent intended retaining possession of it in the name of his superior, Faisal."[1] Nevertheless, the native annalist states, that prior to the Seyyid's return to Zanzibar a ship was dispatched by the English Government, the commander of which brought Hamûd to Máskat, who thereupon gave "a written promise that he would not stir up strife against the Seyyid or his children, and would abstain from all hostilities against Hilâl-bin-Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, of es-Suwaik."

'Omân was relieved once more, for several years, from the pressure of their dangerous neighbours the Wahhâbis, in consequence of the renewed overthrow of their power by the Egytian troops, who with the assistance of Sheikh Khâlid, Faisal's cousin and rival, overran the whole province of Nejd. Faisal surrendered to the Egyptian Commander-in-Chief in 1838, but came back to Riyâdh in 1843, and succeeded in re-establishing himself as the legitimate Amîr of the Wahhâbis. "He soon after announced to the inland chiefs of Oman his intention of bringing that province under his authority, a communication which appears to have been generally favourably received by them. He addressed the Resident in the Persian Gulf at the same time, expressing a desire for a renewal of the amicable relations which existed between his father Toorkee and the British Government."[2]

During the aforenamed interval of rest from foreign aggression 'Omân was again a prey to internal dissensions. Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, then in possession of Sohâr and er-Rastâk, encouraged by the repulse of the Seyyid Sâid's expedition

[1] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, p. 208.

[2] *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, pp. 10, 11.

in 1844, against Sîwy, "recommenced writing to the Seyyid's subjects, urging them to throw off his authority." The death, at this juncture, of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, the Seyyid Sâîd's most influential and trusty adherent, removed one of the greatest obstacles which he had to contend with; nevertheless, considering the friendly support which the British authorities had always accorded to the existing Government, he deemed it prudent to consult them before proceeding to further acts of insubordination, and went himself to Bombay to request that they would abstain from interfering in the dispute betwixt himself and the Seyyid Sâîd. Finding that the English considered him bound by the written promise which he had formerly given, apparently under their cognizance, "to relinquish all claim to independent authority," Hamûd returned to Sohâr, and for a time lived the life of an ascetic, eventually placing that fortress in the hands of his son, Seif-bin-Hamûd.

At this period an abortive attempt was made by the heads of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd "to set up an Imâm of their own, who was to be invested with supreme authority," or, in other words, to re-establish the Imâmate, which had been in abeyance since the death of the Imâm Sâîd-bin-Ahmed. Owing, perhaps, to his recent affectation of sanctity, the dignity was offered to Hamûd, who at first accepted but subsequently declined it; whereupon leaving Sohâr and its dependencies in charge of his son, and placing a nominee of his own over er-Rastâk, he went into retirement at el-Kusairah. Seif, having gained the affections of the people at Sohâr, began to set his father's authority at defiance, refused to remit him any part of the revenue, and cultivated amicable relations with the Seyyid Thuwainy, the Wâli of Máskat. Exasperated at such conduct, Hamûd suborned some of his officers to assassinate his son, and then resumed the administration over Sohâr. This atrocity was perpetrated in 1849.

The Seyyid Sâîd having submitted a detailed account of

Hamûd's proceedings generally to the English authorities, "in violation of the treaty which he had made with him through their intervention," the latter left him at perfect liberty to deal with the offender as he pleased. He thereupon directed his son Thuwainy to move against him, and Thuwainy eventually seized him on the shore near Shinâs, "after a series of efforts too long to be narrated," writes our annalist, (but, according to the English account, "by a breach of faith and hospitality rarely equalled in Arab history,") brought him to Máskat, and confined him in the Eastern fort, where he died shortly after, most probably of ill-usage and starvation, the ordinary treatment to which distinguished political prisoners were subjected by the 'Omâny authorities.

The death of Hamûd did not place Thuwainy in possession of Sohâr, where Kais-bin-'Azzân, the brother of the deceased, succeeded to the command, and replied to Thuwainy's summons to surrender by a charged salute from the batteries, which induced him to return to Máskat.[1] He also laid wait for Kahlân-bin-Seif-bin-'Aly, the commandant of the fort at Shinâs, whom he suspected of having been an accomplice in the seizure of his brother by Thuwainy, and discovering him one day in Sohâr had him "slaughtered like a lamb."

Both sides now prepared for hostilities: Kais-bin-'Azzân invoked the aid of Sultân-bin-Sákar, the el-Kawâsimy chief, who proceeded to invest Shinâs, while the Seyyid Sâîd, who in the meantime had returned from Zanzibar, dispatched letters summoning all the friendly tribes to coöperate with him; he also succeeded in inducing Sultân-bin-Sákar to forego his alliance with Kais. (Our author expressly states that on this occasion, A.D. 1851, the Wahhâbis took no part in the quarrel, as the tribute claimed by them was punctually paid by Kais and Thuwainy, for Sohâr and Máskat respectively). The campaign opened auspiciously for the

[1] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, p. 229.

Seyyid Sa'îd, whose army seized the fort of el-Khabûrah. Kais, however, still held out at Sohâr and refused all his overtures; but the opportune arrival of Sheikh Maktûm, with a contingent of the Benu-Yâs, who recaptured Shinâs for the Seyyid, turned the fortune of the war so decidedly against Kais that he proposed a reconciliation, surrendering the fort of Láwa to the Seyyid Thuwainy, as an earnest of his sincerity. By the terms of the convention which was subsequently concluded between the two parties, Kais-bin-'Azzân delivered up Sohâr to the Seyyid Sa'îd, receiving in lieu thereof the Wâliship of er-Rastâk, and engaged to abstain from all acts of disloyalty in future. On returning to Zanzibar the Seyyid Sa'îd appears to have appointed his third son, Tûrky, to the Wâliship of Sohâr, which was now placed, for the first time since his accession, at his absolute disposal.

It is surprising that our native historian makes no mention of Wahhâby interference in the affairs of 'Omân, beyond the statement contained in the preceding paragraph, from A.D. 1826 up to this time, 1852. In 1813, as already related at p. lxxxviii, on the authority of the Bombay Government records, the Amîr Faisal-bin-Tûrky had succeeded in re-establishing his supremacy throughout Nejd, and intimated his intention of resuming his former position in 'Omân. Two years later, according to the same papers, taking advantage of the divisions which prevailed among the different members of the Seyyid family, he dispatched a force into that province, and made exorbitant demands on the Seyyid Thuwainy, the Seyyid Sa'îd's son and deputy at Máskat, and on his cousin, Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, the Wâli of Sohâr. "Meanwhile, the presence of our cruiser on the Batinah coast, and the friendly intervention of the Resident in the Persian Gulf, had the effect of inducing the Wahabee chief to accept the terms offered by Syud Thoweynee, who agreed to renew, in his father's name, the annual tribute of 5,000 German crowns, and to pay an additional sum of 2,000

crowns on this occasion."[1] This tribute appears to have been paid regularly from that time up to the termination, in 1852, of hostilities between the Seyyid Sâîd and Kais-bin-'Azzân, of Sohâr, but on the return of the former to Zanzibar, towards the end of that year, the Wahhâby Amîr dispatched his agent, es-Sudairy, to el-Bereimy, instructed to make the most extravagant demands upon the Seyyid Thuwainy, which he backed up by overrunning all the northern districts. According to our author, "he eventually agreed to accept the amount of *Kanûn* [tribute] which the Seyyid Sâîd had formerly paid to the sons of Sûûd." This probably refers to the compact entered into between the Seyyid Sâîd and Mútlak-el-Mutairy, in 1811, (see pp. 324-5), where, however, the sum stipulated to be paid is not stated. But the Bombay Government records are more explicit as regards what occurred on the occasion under review. The agent employed is stated to have been 'Abdallah, the son of the Amîr Faisal, who came "avowedly as the arbiter and redresser of wrongs which the chief of Sohâr and the tribes on the Batina coast had suffered at the hands of Seyyid Sâîd," demanding the immediate cession of Sohâr and the payment of so large an amount of tribute that it was clear he intended to threaten Máskat. "The active intervention of the Resident [in the Persian Gulf] at this period, and the moral support afforded to the Government of Muscat by the appearance of a war vessel on the Arabian coast, induced the Wahabee chief to enter into negotiations, which ended in a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Syud Thoweynee and Abdoola-bin-Fysal, whereby the Muscat Government agreed to pay to the Wahabee Ameer an annual tribute of 12,000 crowns, besides arrears to the extent of 6,000 [or 60,000] crowns, and the usual supply of provisions and stores. The Wahabee likewise pledged himself to assist

[1] *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, p. 11.

Thoweynee in every hour of difficulty, and the boundaries of the dominions of either remained as before."[1] According to an official report drawn up by Captain, now Sir Arnold, Kemball, in 1854, an additional sum of 8,000 crowns was to be paid by the Seyyid Sâîd on account of Sohâr, which had reverted to him through his arrangement with Kais-bin-'Azzân, as already stated.

The severe blow inflicted on the 'Omâny state by these humiliating terms exacted by the Wahhâbis was aggravated by a fresh disaster which necessitated the immediate return of the Seyyid Sâîd to Máskat. Towards the end of 1854 the Persians expelled Seif-bin-Nebhân and the Seyyid's officials and garrisons generally from Bunder-el-'Abbâs and other fortified posts on the coast of Kermân, occupied them in force, and committed great outrages upon the inhabitants. The sovereigns of 'Omân had farmed those places from the Government of the Shâh for an annual sum of 6,000 tomans, and having held the concession for nearly a century they considered themselves feoffees in perpetuity, and, subject to the payment of the stipulated rental, wholly irresponsible to the Persian authorities. The new port of Gombroon, on the mainland, since named "Bunder-el-'Abbâs" in honour of its founder, was the most important station comprised in the farm, for thither the Shâh-Abbâs had removed the commerce of Hormûz, after his expulsion of the Portuguese from that island in 1622, aided by a British force belonging to the East India Company. In 1798 the feof was held by the Seyyid Sultân-bin-Ahmed, the then ruling sovereign of 'Omân, who apparently, without any reference to Persia, entered into a treaty with the British,[2] in the 7th article of which he grants them the following extraordinary privileges:—"In the port of Bunder Abbas (Gombroon), whenever the English shall be dis-

[1] *Précis*, pp. 12, 13.

[2] Dated 12th October, 1798. See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. XXIV, p. 248-9.

posed to establish a factory, making it as a fort, I have no objection to their fortfying the same, and mounting guns thereon, as many as they list, and to forty or fifty English gentlemen residing there, with seven or eight hundred English sepoys." About this period, moreover, permission was accorded by the Seyyid Sultân for the establishment of a British naval station at Bâsidû, (Bassadore), on the island of el-Kishm, which has existed there, with the sanction of the rulers of 'Omân, ever since.

Such having been the position held by the Omânis within the limits of the ancient feof, the sudden and forcible resumption of their supremacy over it by the Persians was not unreasonably regarded by the Seyyid Sâîd as an unwarrantable act of aggression, and preparations were accordingly made to resist it. An expedition dispatched under the command of the Seyyid Thuwainy succeeded in recapturing Bunder-el-'Abbâs, Mînau, Semîl and other places; but the Persians receiving large reinforcements from the interior, while the Arab allies of the Seyyid on the opposite coast were prevented from joining him by an arbitrary abuse of the interdict placed by the British Government upon all armed movements by sea on the part of the petty chiefs occupying the littoral of the Persian Gulf, the Seyyid was obliged to give way, and to make the best terms he could with the victors. Our author states that by the treaty of peace which was subsequently concluded between the two parties, "the Persians were to restore to the Seyyid Sâîd all the posts which he had previously held;" but he omits to record upon what conditions. Those conditions, as will be seen from the abstract of the treaty given below,[1] were most disadvantageous to the

[1] The following summary of the stipulations of this Treaty, which is dated "in the month of Sha'abân, A.H. 1272," [April, 1856], is compiled from an Arabic version handed to the Editor by the Seyyid Thuwainy, in 1861:—

"Bunder-el-'Abbâs and its dependencies, also the two maritime

Seyyid Sâîd: the annual rental was raised from 6,000 to 16,000 tomâns; the two islands, Hormûz and el-Kishm, which had been dependencies of 'Omân since their conquest from the el-Mâîn tribe by the Seyyid Sultân, about A.D. 1798, (see p. 226), were thereafter to be regarded as Persian territory; Bunder-el-'Abbâs was to be deprived of its protecting ditch; and the Seyyid's Wâli there was virtually reduced to the condition of a Persian vassal, removable at the caprice of the Governor of Shîrâz, and bound to supply any expedition which either the Governors of Fars or Kermân might wish

islands, [el-Kishm and Hormûz], together with 'Eisîn, Tâziyân, Shemîl, Minau, and Biyabân, are declared to be places belonging to the Supreme [Persian] Government, over which the Imâm of Máskat may appoint deputies for the space of twenty years. The governor deputed by him over Bunder-el-'Abbas shall render obedience to the Governor of Shîrâz. The rental of these places, including certain fixed gratuities, to be 16,000 tomâns."

The ditch round Bunder-el-'Abbâs to be filled up, and no other to be dug there.

At the expiration of twenty years, these territories are to be restored to Persia, with which power it will rest to decide whether the farm shall be renewed to the Sultân of Máskat or not.

"Should the Governor of Fars or the Governors of Kermân, on any important occasion, wish to dispatch troops towards Cutch [Gundava], or Mekrân, or Beloochistân, they shall be treated with the respect due to Governors, and shall be supplied with provisions, guides, and escorts."

Should the Governor of Shiraz complain against the Arab Governor of Bunder-el-'Abbâs, the Imâm shall immediately remove him, and appoint another in his stead, who shall likewise be subject to the Governor of Shîrâz.

Bunder-el-'Abbâs and the adjacent islands, and the other places named, are assigned, in farm, to the Sultân of Máskat and his heirs only. In default of heirs, these territories must revert to the Persian Prime Minister.

While the territories above named shall remain in the hands of the Sultân of Máskat's officers, he shall not allow the agents of any foreign Governments to pass through those places, and shall protect them by ships of war, and otherwise, against secret treachery and open foreign invasion.

The Sultân of Máskat has not the right of transferring Bunder-el-'Abbâs, or any of the aforenamed territories, to any foreign power, even under the conditions stipulated.

to dispatch towards Cutch, Mekrân, or Beloochistân, with provisions, guides, and escorts; in case of war, the land and maritime forces of 'Omân were to defend the coast of Persia from foreign invasion, and the new lease of the farm was limited to twenty years, renewable or not after that term at the pleasure of the Shâh's Government.

With a deep sense of humiliation preying on his mind the Seyyid Sa'id embarked once more for Zanzibar, "but the decree of fate overtook him in the sea of Seychelles." He died on board his frigate, the *Victoria*, on the 19th of October, 1856, at the age of sixty-five, after a reign of fifty-two years, seventeen conjointly with his elder brother Sâlim, and the remainder alone. He left fifteen surviving sons:—

1. Thuwainy.	6. 'Abd-el-Wahhâb.	11. 'Abbâs.
2. Muhammad.	7. Ghâlib.	12. Menîn.
3. Tûrky.	8. 'Abd-el-'Aziz	13. Bedrân.
4. Mâjid.	9. Khalîfah.	14. Nâsir.
5. Barghâsh.	10. Suwaid.	15. 'Abd-el-Wahhâb.

After the funeral obsequies at Zanzibar, whither the body was conveyed for burial, our author informs us that the Seyyid "Mâjid was promoted over his brothers who were on the island," and that, "on assuming authority, he confirmed all the officials in the rank which they had severally held during his father's lifetime; the people, moreover, recognized him, and were satisfied with his arrangements." Mâjid's next step was to dispatch a special messenger with letters for his brothers, Thuwainy, Muhammad, and Tûrky, communicating the intelligence of the Seyyid's death. These the bearer was directed to deliver to the Sheikh at Râs-el-Hadd, to be forwarded to Máskat, and then to return forthwith. When the letters reached him, Thuwainy retained those addressed to Muhammad and Tûrky, and also kept his father's death a secret for some time, availing himself of the interval to send particular instructions to the commandants of the different forts throughout the province to be on their guard against

surprise. In taking these precautions, both Mâjid and Thuwainy were acting in their own separate interests: the former to stave off as long as possible any interference on the part of Máskat, and the latter to secure himself against the attempts which might be made by other pretenders, more especially by his brother Tûrky, to dispute his right to the supremacy. When the news of the Seyyid Sâid's death was proclaimed at Máskat, "it caused such a wailing throughout the town that the hills were almost shaken by it."

We must here take leave of our native annalist, whose narrative closes with the record of the foregoing events; but having followed him down to so recent a period in the history of 'Omân,—a period which was succeeded by great changes in the government of the principality consequent upon the conflicts between the rival claimants to the sovereignty,—it will not be out of place to append a brief account of subsequent occurrences, derived from authentic, chiefly official, sources.

It has already been pointed out that, according to the original law which prevailed among the Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân, every member of that community was considered eligible to the Imâmate, and the right of succession was decided by a general election of the tribes; that in course of time the candidates were limited to descendants of the reigning family; that in the case of Ahmed-bin-Sâid, the first Imâm of the existing dynasty, there was a return to the old system; and that, after him, the more restricted usage again obtained, and his second son, Sâid, was elected Imâm. During Sâid's Imâmate he constituted his younger son Hámed, regent on his behalf, while several of his brothers held appointments as *Wâlis*, or Governors, over districts which appear to have been assigned to them in appanage by their father, Ahmed. Hámed was succeeded in the regency by his uncle Sultân, Ahmed's fifth son, not by any formal election of the tribes, nor with the concurrence of

his brother, the Imâm, who still lived in comparative seclusion at the inland capital, er-Rastâk, but by dint of indomitable bravery and perseverance, often coupled with treachery, whereby he secured the popular support. His successor, the late Seyyid Sâid, established himself in the regency, in conjunction with his elder brother Sâlim, much in the same manner. Backed by a strong party in the State, having previously got possession of Máskat and several other fortified towns, he unscrupulously availed himself of any means, however questionable, to check the pretensions of his rivals, and by defeating them made good his claim to the sole, though not undisputed sovereignty over the country.

At the time of the Seyyid Sâid's decease, besides minor delegated commands held by other members of his family, three of his sons were acting as his Wâlis over the three chief towns and districts of the principality, namely, Thuwainy at Máskat, Mâjid at Zanzibar, and Tûrky at Sohâr; and, according to Mr. Palgrave, these departments were severally secured to the said sons by a division of his ample possessions made by the Seyyid on his deathbed.[1] The statement is decidedly misleading and erroneous; for, in the first place, even if such a legacy of territorial jurisdiction had been bequeathed by the testator, it would have been absolutely null and void, since not a single instance is adducible, from the preceding annals of the principality, of an Imâm or Seyyid disposing of his territories by will or otherwise. Succession was theoretically regulated by election; practically, at a later period, by success, obtained either by

[1] "To Thowcynee, the eldest, he allotted 'Omān from Barka eastwards, with Djebel-Akhdar and the adjoining provinces, besides the dependencies in the Gulf. Mājid, the second in age, [read, the fourth, for Muhammad was the second and Tûrky the third], obtained the African possessions; while the younger, Amjed, [read, Tûrky: the Seyyid Sa'îd had no son called Amjed], had for his share the westerly mainland of 'Omān from Barka to Katar, with Sohār for capital." *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii, p. 277.

force or intrigue, or both, over other competitors. But, in fact, the late Seyyid Sâîd made no such arrangement for the administration of his dominions after his death: his will, dated the 26th of Ramadhân, A.H. 1260=6th August, 1850, was subsequently examined by the Máskat-Zanzibar Commission, and was found to consist wholly of bequests of what he considered his personal property, without any allusion whatever to the succession, or to the future government of the country.

Under these circumstances it was naturally to be anticipated that the death of the Seyyid Sâîd would be the signal for a sharp contest for the vacant supremacy. Thuwainy, being already in possession of Máskat, claimed the succession, with the concurrence of a majority of the 'Omâny population; Mâjid obtained the recognition of the Zanzibâris and the chiefs of the East African possessions, but, at the outset, entered into an amicable arrangement with his brother Thuwainy, whereby he engaged to pay him 40,000 crowns annually, whether as tribute, or as a subsidy implying no subjection to Máskat, was afterwards disputed; while Tûrky, who still retained Sohâr, showed indications of assuming independence. Mâjid, having subsequently refused to pay the stipulated annuity to Thuwainy, the latter prepared to assert his claims by an appeal to arms, and equipped an imposing force in the early part of 1860, a part of which had actually sailed for Zanzibar, when the British Government deemed it expedient to interfere. Eventually, both parties having agreed to submit their claims to the arbitration of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the late Lord Canning, a Commission, presided over by Brigadier, now Sir William Coghlan, K.C.B., was appointed to inquire into the merits of the case. "The result of these inquiries showed that, in the Imâm's family, succession depended on election; that on the death of the late Seyyid Sâîd, his son Mâjid was elected by the people of Zanzibar and its African dependencies to be

their ruler; that the altered circumstances and condition of those dependencies, during the last half century, fully entitled them to that privilege, and that they would have been justified in resisting any attempt made by the Seyyid Thuwainy, the ruler of the parent State, to coerce them into submission. On these grounds, the Commission arrived at the conclusion that the Seyyid Mâjid's claim to sovereignty over Zanzibar and its dependencies was superior to any which could be adduced in favour of the Seyyid Thuwainy. The Government, while concurring in this conclusion, considered the facts that the Seyyid Thuwainy was prepared to assert his claim by force of arms, and that he relinquished his purpose only in deference to the British Government, as investing him with a claim to compromise when contesting a title which was principally derived from force. In seeking for a basis of compromise, attention was naturally directed to the terms on which the Seyyid Thuwainy had consented to resign his claims on his father's African possessions, namely, on payment of an indemnity of 40,000 crowns per annum by Zanzibar to Máskat. The various questions at issue having been submitted to the Government of India, the Viceroy declared the following as the terms of his decision:—

"1. That his Highness the Seyyid Mâjid be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of his late Highness, the Seyyid Sâîd.

"2. That the ruler of Zanzibar pay annually to the ruler of Máskat a subsidy of 40,000 crowns.[1]

"3. That his Highness the Seyyid Mâjid pay to his Highness the Seyyid Thuwainy the arrears of subsidy for two years, or 80,000 crowns.

"This annual payment was not to be understood as a re-

[1] Regard was also had, in fixing the amount of this subsidy, to the fact that 'Omân, the parent State, was burdened with an annual tribute of 20,000 crowns to the Wahhâbis, the half of which had heretofore been remitted from the treasury of Zanzibar.

cognition of the dependence of Zanzibar upon Máskat, neither was it to be considered merely personal, but should extend to successors, and be held as a final and permanent arrangement, compensating the ruler of Máskat for the abandonment of all claims upon Zanzibar, and adjusting the inequality between the two inheritances."[1]

The terms of the Viceroy's arbitration were cordially accepted early in 1862 by the rival Seyyids, as well as by the principal chiefs and tribes concerned. The compromise was undoubtedly advantageous to both parties, and calculated to consolidate their respective powers. The severance of Zanzibar from 'Omân, and its erection into an independent principality, exempted it, at the expense of one-fifth of its then estimated revenue, from being forced to participate in the hereditary feuds of the parent State, and left it free to cultivate its industrial and commercial resources for the benefit of its own subjects. The ruler of 'Omân, on the other hand, received a fair compensation for his surrendered claims upon Zanzibar, and was released at the same time from the care of a distant dependency, which he was unable to govern without neglecting the public interests of his Arabian provinces. There can be no question, indeed, that the frequent absences of the late Seyyid Sâîd at Zanzibar inflamed, if they did not originate, many of the troubles which agitated 'Omân during his reign, and greatly weakened his authority in that part of his dominions.

The Seyyid Tûrky, of Sohâr, was the only person dissatisfied with the arbitrament, and relying on the support of Mâjid, whose agents had formerly abetted his designs of undermining Thuwainy's authority, he now endeavoured to form a coalition against him. He himself eventually yielded to the friendly pressure brought to bear upon him by the Govern-

[1] *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, pp. 14, 15. The annual revenue of Máskat was estimated at 129,500 crowns; that of Zanzibar at 206,000 crowns.

ment of India, but the insubordination which his attempts had evoked broke out into a serious insurrection among the tribes of el-Bâtinah. In this emergency the Seyyid Thuwainy is reported to have called on the Wahhâby Amîr for aid, and Faisal lost no time in sending a force to Sharjah, under the command of his son 'Abdallah. It appears, however, that the Wahhâbis were more intent on plunder and bloodshed than on reducing the rebels to the obedience of their ally, and Thuwainy, who was at length roused to the danger of the situation, dispatched a considerable fleet and army to the disturbed districts. On this occasion some fresh arrangement is said to have been concluded between the Wahhâby lieutenant, 'Abdallah-bin-Faisal, and the Seyyid Thuwainy, regarding which the Government records furnish no information, but which Mr. Palgrave describes as follows :— "On his side the 'Omânee monarch promised to forward a yearly present to the Riadh, under title of contribution to the Shereef of Mecca ; to permit the establishment of a permanent garrison in Bereymah, for the avowed purpose of keeping down the Menâseer and Aāl-Morrah, grown insolent during the late disturbances—this garrison was to be in the pay and under the immediate orders of Thoweynee ; lastly, the King agreed to admit a certain number of Nejdeans (about three hundred, I believe), into his own personal service and guard. On these terms the treaty was ratified by either party, and 'Abd-Allah and his troops finally evacuated the land, leaving behind them an accumulated debt of hatred and revenge which generations cannot pay."[1]

The country now entered upon a season of tranquillity, which only lasted however till towards the end of 1864, when 'Azzân-bin-Kais, the Wâli of er-Rastâk, displayed a hostile spirit towards the Seyyid Thuwainy, his lawful sovereign, and proposed to transfer his allegiance to the Amîr of the Wahhâbis, under certain conditions of tribute payment. ('Azzân is

[1] *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii, p. 284.

a lineal descendant of the Imâm Ahmed, and the son of Kais, of Sohâr, who in 1851 surrendered that fortress to the Seyyid Sâîd, by whom he was appointed Wâli of er-Rastâk, see p. 367, also, *ante*, p. xci.) The favourable reception of these overtures by the Wahhâby chief, coupled as it was by a demand on the part of the latter for an increased annual tribute from 'Omân, very naturally excited the resentment and apprehensions of the Seyyid Thuwainy. These were aggravated shortly after by an attack made by the Wahhâbis on Sûr, in conjunction with some of the disaffected tribes of Jaâlân, under the leadership of one 'Abdu-'l-Azîz, a subordinate Wahhâby officer, when they succeeded in carrying off the entire wealth of the place, the greater part of which belonged to British Indian subjects, who estimated their losses at 27,000 dollars. One of their number, moreover, was killed during the assault.

The friendly remonstrances of the British Government having failed to obtain satisfactory redress for the outrage committed on its subjects, or to bring about an adjustment of the differences subsisting between their Amîr and the Seyyid Thuwainy, the Indian authorities urged upon the latter the imperative necessity of repelling the insolent aggressions of the Wahhâbis, promising at the same time to accede to his request for a supply of guns and ammunition. In the mean time, the Political Resident in the Gulf was employed in giving assurances to the chiefs on the Pirate Coast that the English Government would not object to their aiding the Seyyid by land.

While the latter was engaged in collecting and equipping the tribes for an advance upon el-Bereimy, the Wahhâbis, who were not indifferent to the warlike preparations which were being pushed forward against them, had moved a detachment upon Sâham, not far from Sohâr, and driven the resident Banians into the sea, one of whom was drowned. Another abortive attempt having been made to obtain satis-

faction for these and other coincident atrocities, a letter was dispatched to the Wahhâby Amîr, on the 6th of January, 1866, apprising him that "if at the expiration of seventeen days the required satisfaction is not given by your Highness, the British ships of war will destroy the forts on your seaboard, and confiscate your Highness's craft there lying." No notice having been taken of this missive, Captain Pasley, in command of H.M.S. *Highflyer*, proceeded on the 2nd of February to el-Katîf, and destroyed two war-buggalows and a small fort called "Burj-Bullif," which commands the boat-channel to that harbour. The day following he attacked the adjoining fort of Damân, similarly situated, and succeeded in effecting an entrance into the tower, but finding the garrison much stronger than he had been led to anticipate was obliged to retreat with the loss of three men killed and two officers and two men wounded. On the 11th of the same month he appeared before Sûr, below Máskat, and having given due caution to the non-combatants to quit the vicinity of the forts, dispatched the *Highflyer's* boats at daybreak next morning up the creek leading to the town, which either confiscated or destroyed all the boats in the harbour belonging to the el-Jánabah, the offending tribe, besides burning a large quantity of ship-timber.

Before resorting to further summary measures the British Government wished to ascertain the effect of this chastisement upon the Wahhâbis and their allies, and also to learn what progress the Seyyid Thuwainy was making in his projected attack upon el-Bereimy. In the mean time the startling intelligence of the Seyyid's death and the succession of his eldest son, Sâlim, reached Colonel Pelly, the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, at Râs-Musándim. Having reason to suspect foul play, the Resident started forthwith for Sohâr, where he succeeded in liberating the Seyyid Tûrky, who had previously been imprisoned in that fortress by Sâlim's orders, and elicited from him and others a circumstantial account of

his own incarceration and the assassination of the Seyyid Thuwainy, while asleep in the fort, by his own son Sâlim, on the 11th of February, aided by several accomplices, one of whom was a Wahhâby; that, thereupon, Sâlim had disbanded the tribes destined to march against el-Bereimy, and, leaving Sohâr in the charge of Seif-bin-Suleimân, had hastened to Máskat.

Arriving off Máskat, Colonel Pelly found the British residents there in a state of panic, and took the precaution of recommending them, pending further intelligence, either to seek refuge on board the steamer *Berenice*, then in the harbour, or to embark in their own crafts. On the following day the Seyyid Sâlim deputed one of his near relatives with a letter to the Resident, in which he reiterated his previous assertions regarding his father's death, namely, that he had died of fever after three days' illness, and offered to follow the Resident's wishes in every respect; but Colonel Pelly declined to reply to this letter, or in any way to acknowledge the Seyyid Sâlim. Meanwhile, the latter was reinforced by the arrival of an influential Mullah from es-Suwaik, and also by 'Azzân-bin-Kais, of er-Rastâk, then in alliance with the Wahhâbis, both of whom came with a large following to his support. From the fact that about this time the Seyyid Sâlim deputed two envoys to Bombay with a letter soliciting the renewal of the relations which had hitherto subsisted between the British and Máskat Governments, it does not seem probable that he, at least, contemplated any injury to our subjects residing in 'Omân; nevertheless, as no reliance could be placed on the temper of his fanatical advisers, measures were promptly taken to protect British interests on the seaboard wherever they were exposed to danger.

In the month of April of the same year, 1866, an envoy was dispatched to Abu-Shehr (Bushire) by the Wahhâby Amîr, 'Abdallah,—who had just succeeded to the supremacy over Nejd by the death of his aged father, Faisal,—

duly commissioned to request the good offices of the Resident in establishing friendly relations between the Amîr and the British Government; to assure him that the Amîr would neither oppose nor injure British subjects residing within his territories; and, further, that he would not attack the Arab tribes in alliance with the British, especially those of 'Omân, while the customary *Zakât* due from that principality was punctually paid. These overtures were met in a corresponding spirit by the Indian authorities, and though they declined to guarantee the payment of the Máskat tribute, they agreed that, at the solicitation of the Amîr, the Resident might mediate between the two parties, in the event of any difficulty arising on that score.

About this time the Government of India either expressly or virtually acknowledged the Seyyid Sâlim as the ruler of 'Omân, in succession to his father. The decision to that effect was not arrived at until after careful deliberation; for the question not unnaturally arose whether, consistently with our principles, we could or ought to recognize a parricide. Apart from the fact that the charge against Sâlim was never legally substantiated, and that he persisted in asserting his innocence, the British Government appears to have come to the judicious conclusion that the alleged guilt of the accused, in a matter of purely domestic concernment, was beyond their jurisdiction, and that if the 'Omânis did not scruple to acknowledge him as their sovereign, we, as a foreign power, were not called upon by any law to repudiate him in that capacity. The notorious wholesale murder of their brothers not unfrequently committed by the Ottoman Sultâns elect[1] has never been deemed a bar to their recogni-

[1] The following account, written about two centuries ago, of this sanguinary institution—it is nothing less—of the Ottoman dynasty still holds good at the present day:—"Another danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* sedulously avoid, besides hereditary succession in office, is rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Father's life; for afterwards the successour takes care to secure his Brethren beyond

tion by the Christian sovereigns of Europe, and flagrant as Sâlim's alleged crime may appear to us, this History records several atrocities, equally heinous, perpetrated by the rulers of 'Omân, without any protest from their subjects, and without forfeiting their popularity. Thus at pp. 101-2 we read how the Imâm Muhenna was treacherously murdered in prison by his cousin, Yaârub, who thereupon succeeded him, having been previously assoiled by the Kâdhi "from the guilt of rebellion, and discharged from making restitution for the wrongs he had perpetrated." Sultân-bin-Ahmed attained the sovereignty by a series of the grossest frauds, coupled with murder, (p. 214); the renowned Seyyid Sâîd, Sâlim's grandfather, assassinated his cousin, Bedr, to whom he had committed the administration, and through whose influence mainly he had established his authority, (pp. 290-1);

possibility of competition. The story of *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect experiment of the feud and dissention which is bred in the desires of barbarous Princes; so that when they arrive to any maturity of age, they are always transplanted to different *Seraglios* abroad, where they keep their Courts distinct, and cannot enter within the walls of *Constantinople*, during the life of their Father, lest by interview with each other, their minds should be moved with emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, should be provided with means before their time, to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this very reason the Grand Signior hath scarce performed the ceremonies of his inauguration before he hath seasoned his entrance to his Throne with the blood of his brothers; which barbarous custom began in the time of *Sultan Bajazet* [the Second, A.D. 1481=1512]. But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a disposition more naturally inclined to clemency than cruelty, he secures them in the *Seraglio*, under the tuition of Masters, and care of a faithful guard, differing nothing from imprisonment, but in the name, prohibiting them the society and conversation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this present *Sultan Mahomet* [the Fourth, A.D. 1648=1687], live in as much security and forgetfulness, as if they had never been born, or having passed a private life, were departed to that place where all things are forgotten." *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, etc. (p. 133), by Paul Rycaut, Esq., late Secretary to his Excellency the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador Extraordinary for his Majesty Charles II, to *Sultan Mahomet Han*, the Fourth Emperor of the Turks, London, 1675.

and as recently as 1844-5 the Seyyid Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, of Sohâr, suborned a party of assassins to murder his own son, while asleep in his bed, (p. 362). Atrocities like these, especially when associated with dynastic intrigues, are viewed by Orientals in the light of political offences, easily condoned if successful; and, as regards 'Omân, its annals supply several instances of bloodstained conspirators succeeding to the supreme power, whose after-reign was comparatively guiltless, and in some few cases eminently prosperous. The indignation reported to have been expressed by the 'Omânis at the crime imputed to Sâlim was probably confined to his rivals, and to a certain extent perhaps was assumed as a political manœuvre to discredit him with the British Government. As to the intestine feuds which followed, they were just what might have been anticipated, irrespective of Sâlim's guilt or innocence; for the later annals of 'Omân fail to record one instance of a succession to the sovereignty without similar concomitant disturbances.

Our recognition of the Seyyid Sâlim did not prevent his uncle, the Seyyid Tûrky, from prosecuting his designs to dethrone him. He first applied to the Chiefs on the Pirate Coast, who would probably have cooperated with him but for the opportune intervention of the Resident in the Persian Gulf, who warned them against abetting the Pretender, especially by sea. Tûrky then went to Yánkal, and having enlisted the sympathy of its chief, took Sohâr by surprise with a small detachment, but was shortly after obliged to retreat. Next, he proceeded to Jaálân, where he was joined by the Benu-Abi-Hásan, the el-Hajariyyîn, the el-Harth, and the Âl-Wahîbah, who recommended an immediate march upon Máskat. Apprised of the impending attack, the Seyyid Sâlim hastily collected together about two thousand five hundred men from el-Bâtinah, but through gross mismanagement on his part eight hundred of them were suffered to return home, and five hundred of the remainder deserted on hearing of

Tûrky's advance. At the instance of the el-Harth, six chiefs were dispatched to negotiate a peace with Sâlim, on condition of his ceding to Tûrky the principality of Sohâr. Sâlim peremptorily refused the request, but offered to compromise matters by allowing Tûrky a monthly salary of two hundred dollars and a residence at Máskat. The envoys, either through fickleness or treachery—it seems tolerably certain that Sâlim had been busy all along in buying off many of Tûrky's principal adherents—affected to be satisfied with this proposal, and but for a false rumour having got abroad that the Seyyid Sâlim had been carried off to Bombay in a British man-of-war, there is reason to believe that all Tûrky's followers would have abandoned him. Encouraged by the prospect of certain success, a considerable number of the levies rejoined Tûrky and marched with him to Bádbad, about thirty miles from Máskat, where they arrived on the 27th of August. Sâlim now began to prepare for a defence, but so great was the panic in the town that many of the more wealthy Arabs and Khojas removed with their families and household goods on board the shipping in the harbour. At this juncture, orders were received from the Government of India that the Seyyid Tûrky was to be threatened with bombardment and non-recognition, in the event of his persisting in his designs. This menace was communicated to Tûrky just as he was on the point of attacking el-Mátrah, and it so far influenced him that he sent another embassy to Sâlim demanding the district of Sohâr. Sâlim, who appears to have been partially demented by anxiety and fear, would neither listen to the proposal nor offer any terms of his own. Tûrky, on the other hand, hearing of the dismay which prevailed at Máskat, determined to extort harder conditions, and now demanded the entire principality, with the exception of Máskat and el-Mátrah. Sâlim's supineness and vacillation eventually emboldened his rival to attack the latter place, which he succeeded in capturing, the Arabs of the

garrison deserting to his side, the faithful Beloochees falling back upon Máskat. A delay of four days on the part of Tûrky, whose Bédawy followers were intent on ransacking el-Mátrah, gave Sâlim time to collect reinforcements, so that when the enemy appeared before the walls of the town they encountered an unexpected resistance, and on the 6th of September retired to el-Mátrah with about five hundred followers, from whence they might easily have been dislodged had Sâlim possessed the courage to attempt it. Three days later, Colonel Pelly reached el-Mátrah, and invited Tûrky to a conference, either in person or through a representative. The excuses which he made not being deemed satisfactory, her Majesty's frigate *Octavia* was piloted into the roads by the small steamer *May Frere*, but before the vessels could anchor an envoy from the Seyyid Tûrky appeared on board the steamer, charged to state that his master renounced all demand for territory, and would be satisfied with a pension equivalent to the combined revenues of el-Mátrah and Sohâr. An agreement was eventually concluded whereby it was stipulated that Tûrky should receive from the Seyyid Sâlim an annual stipend of seven thousand two hundred dollars, and reside in future within the territories of British India, under the supervision of our Government. Thereupon el-Mátrah was surrendered to Sâlim, and his uncle Tûrky embarked for Bombay on the 11th of September, 1867, where we must leave him for the present.

No sooner, however, had the ruling Seyyid escaped this danger than he was involved in another, springing from the same fertile source—the absence of any recognized order of succession to the sovereignty over 'Omân. His kinsman, the Seyyid Hámed-bin-Sâlim,[1] who held the appanage of el-Masnaâh,[2] which had been conferred upon him by his

[1] Hámed-bin-Sâlim, was the cousin to Thuwainy, the Seyyid Sâlim's father. See Appendix D.

[2] For the situation of this place, see note, p. 112.

uncle, the late Seyyid Sâîd, and who was suspected of being an accomplice in the revolutionary designs of his cousin, Tûrky, now came forward on his own account, and raised the standard of rebellion within his district. (A different opinion charges Sâlim with being the aggressor in this instance, thereby exasperating several of the tribes against him). Be that as it may, Sâlim having been officially apprised not to expect any active aid from the British began to bestir himself, and dispatched a squadron to Barkah,[1] whither he proceeded in person on the 7th of February, 1868, with a respectable force, and where he was shortly after joined by a contingent under the command of Tûrky-bin-es-Sudairy, the Wahhâby Lieutenant of el-Bereimy. He also sent Hajjy-Ahmed, his Wazîr, to Jaâlân tō enlist the el-Hinâwy of that district in his favour, promising them adequate rewards for their alliance. But his hesitation either to march against his rival or to come to terms with him emboldened the surrounding tribes to assume a threatening attitude, while he himself was so pressed for funds to provision his troops that Colonel Pelly advanced him ten thousand dollars, in addition to a similar accommodation which had been previously granted to him. These sums were part of forty thousand dollars placed at Sâlim's disposal by the Government of India for the suppression of

[1] The "Burka" and "Burkah" of our maps and charts. It is situated from "twelve to thirteen leagues W. by N. of Muskat, and is defended by a fortified work, originally constructed by the Portuguese, but having no ditch; and being, in consequence, untenable for six hours against artillery, can serve merely to awe the surrounding Arab States, who, however, entertain a high opinion of its strength. It in fact commands the whole of el-Bâtinah, and as the town is situated within a day's journey of the entrance into ezh-Zhâhirah, it of necessity becomes a place of considerable trade and communication with that quarter. Within its environs, grapes are procurable during five, and fresh dates for six months of the year; and in their respective seasons mangoes and guavas, peaches and apricots, melons and plantains, may be purchased through the year." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, pp. 10, 11.

Tûrky's rebellion, and were to be repaid from the Zanzibar subsidy to Máskat.

All these hostile preparations, however, ended in a deceptive reconciliation between the contending parties, and the Seyyid Sâlim returned to Barkah. The sequel illustrates the knavishness and perfidy of the Arab tribes. The el-Hinâwy chiefs were dissatisfied with the gifts awarded them, and insisted that their compact with the Seyyid included a plenary amnesty for Hámed-bin-Sâlim, who, it appears, had been forwarding money to bribe other chiefs from Jaâlân to come to his assistance. A considerable number responded to the call and forced their way through the passes near Semâîl, from whence they dispatched a reassuring message to his Highness, stating that they intended to ratify their compact with him at Barkah. On the way thither they were met by Hámed-bin-Sâlim, who gave them five hundred dollars to renounce their allegiance to Sâlim, to which they readily acceded, and further threatened to attack Máskat. Repenting, after pocketing the bribe, they made fresh overtures to Sâlim, who on his part promised them a reward of ten thousand dollars, of which two thousand were to be paid at once and the remainder at a subsequent period. Within a few days they insolently demanded the balance, and their demand being refused they plundered some of the Wahhâby Commandant's camels, and took refuge in el-Masnaâh, much to Hámed-bin-Sâlim's consternation, who was obliged to pawn his family jewels to meet their perquisitions. From some cause or other a panic spread among them on the great festival of the 'Eid, and they broke up into flying detachments, and on their journey homeward were attacked by the el-Ghâfiry and the Benu-Riyâm, losing several of their number. This discomfiture has greatly lessened the prestige of the el-Hinâwy in the estimation of their rivals in 'Omân.

A few months of tranquillity succeeded, but in September of the same year, 1868, 'Azzân-bin-Kais, of er-Rastâk, (see

pp. cii-iii), reappeared as a competitor for the sovereignty and seized upon Barkah. So well organized, moreover, was his plan of operations, that on the 3rd of the following month he occupied Máskat, leaving the Seyyid Sâlim barely time to escape to one of the harbour fortresses. In his precipitate flight he left his valuables behind him, estimated at £200,000 sterling, together with many heirlooms of the dynasty, all of which were either plundered or destroyed by the invaders.

Colonel Pelly, the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, being in the harbour at the time, was appealed to by his Highness, who solicited the active coöperation of the British Government in this emergency, on the ground that the present hostilities were merely a corollary of the Seyyid Tûrky's rebellion, which the Government of India had aided him in suppressing. Pending a reference to superior authority Colonel Pelly recommended a truce, but 'Azzân declared that his people had come to fight, not to negotiate, and he accordingly opened fire upon the fort, thereby endangering the British shipping, which shortly after cleared out of range. Besides giving 'Azzân to understand that he would be held responsible for any injury done to resident British subjects, either in their persons or property, Colonel Pelly demanded that no attempt should be made at present to remove two long 18-pounder guns, which had been presented to the Seyyid Sâlim's father to use against this same 'Azzân, and which were then lying under the fort. Despite this remonstrance, one of the guns was carried off during the night of the 5th, placed in position on the following day, and discharged against the fort. To prevent the capture of the remaining gun, Captain Brown of H.M.S. *Vigilant* stationed a rocket-party in the fort, but the Seyyid Sâlim's request that the rockets should be used to drive the Seyyid 'Azzân from the palace, where he had taken up his abode, was refused.

On the morning of the 7th a telegram was received from Government forbidding force to be used in Sâlim's behalf, and expressing a preference for the Seyyid Tûrky, in the event of his election by the people. This intelligence was the death-blow to Sâlim's hopes; nevertheless, he reported on the following day that there was some chance of an arrangement with his rival. Next morning, however, while on board the *Vigilant*, whither he had been conveyed at his own request in one of the ship's boats, the flags were hoisted on the forts, and a salute fired in honour of the accession of the Seyyid 'Azzân-bin-Kais. On the 11th the Seyyid Sâlim embarked in his ship the *Prince of Wales* and sailed for Bunder-el-'Abbâs.

Between October, 1868, and March, 1869, Sâlim, having collected a considerable force at the island of el-Kishm and at Bunder-el-'Abbâs, made several attempts to recover his lost dominions, but the interdict of the Government of India upon all armed movements by sea—alike irritating to both belligerents but especially prejudicial to the ex-sovereign—greatly crippled his enterprise. He succeeded, however, in landing at Dabai, on the northern coast, and formed a coalition with the Wahhâby lieutenant at el-Bereimy, for the purpose of invading the Máskat frontier. 'Azzân in the mean time was engaged in hostilities with the el-Ghâfiry, who, true to their antecedents, took advantage of the present complications to dispute the supremacy of the el-Hinâwy. During a short campaign he successively reduced the el-Jibûr, the es-Seyyabiyyîn, the Benu-Ruwâhah, and the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl, returning in triumph to Máskat.

About this time the opinion gaining ground that the election of the Seyyid Tûrky would be welcomed by the majority of the people, the Government of India permitted him, wholly on his own responsibility, to leave Bombay whenever he thought proper. His release, as will appear in the sequel, added a fresh element of discord to the anarchy prevailing in

'Omân and its dependencies. As regards the latter, the Seyyid Nâsir, younger brother to the Seyyid Sâlim, had already made himself master of Guâdel and Shahbâr on the coast of Mekrân.

The death of the Wahhâby lieutenant of el-Bereimy, together with many of his followers, in an engagement with the el-Kawâsim of Shârjah, frustrated Sâlim's hope of any assistance from that quarter. Resolving, however, to make one desperate attempt to regain his lost position, he marched inland during the month of May, and on the 14th of August reached Birkat-el-Mauz, (see map). But, wherever he went, disaster followed him: personally wanting in courage, and destitute of any qualities calculated to raise the enthusiasm of the tribes, he met with a sorry reception, and being in constant danger of seizure by 'Azzân's party he returned to el-Kishm in September, without the least chance in prospect of recovering the sovereignty.

Fortune, on the other hand, favoured 'Azzân-bin-Kais. In July he captured the fortress of el-Bereimy,—long the frontier stronghold of the Wahhâbis and the base of their operations against the tribes on the northern coast and the Máskat territory,—and established friendly relations with the Benu-Yâs and the el-Kawâsim. In September he was again in the field, and before the end of the year he not only captured the towns and fortresses of Behlâ, Azka, Âdam, and Nezwa in 'Omân proper, but marching into Jaalân with a considerable force so overawed the tribes of that district that they tamely submitted to him.

In January, 1870, the Wahhâby Amîr, 'Abdallah-bin-Faisal made preparations to recapture el-Bereimy, whereupon 'Azzân, accompanied by his brother, Ibrahîm, started for Barkah, where they were joined by Sûûd, brother to the Wahhâby Amîr, with whom Sûûd was at variance.[1] Summoning

[1] Mr. Palgrave, writing six years ago, thus alludes to a general impression among the Wahhâbis that an open rupture would take place

the tribes to his standard 'Azzân marched to el-Bereimy, and called upon his ally, the Chief of Abu-Zháby to co-operate with him. 'Abdallah-bin-Faisal, on his side, formed a coalition with the other Arab chiefs of the northern coast, but owing to an unusual drought in the spring of the year which made supplies scarce on the road, and the rumours which reached him of intrigues at er-Riyâdh in favour of his brother, he abandoned the expedition.

The report of impending hostilities between the Amîr of Nejd and 'Azzân had induced the Seyyid Tûrky and his nephew Sâlim, the ex-sovereign, to join the Wahhâby confederates at Dabai, but finding on their arrival that active operations had been postponed Sâlim returned to el-Kishm. Tûrky remained there some time longer, hoping to enlist the friendly tribes on the northern coast in his favour, but meeting with little encouragement in that quarter he went from place to place, trying to raise followers. Early in August he dispatched a body of Persians and Beloochees from Bunder-el-'Abbâs to Sûr in small boats, which managed to elude the vigilance of our cruisers, and during the same month his empty purse was replenished by his brother Mâjid, who forwarded the money from Zanzibar in one of his own ships of war. The levies were welcomed at Sûr by the Jaâlân tribes, but Tûrky despairing of joining them there, owing to the strict watch kept upon all armed movements by sea, crossed

between 'Abdallah and Su'ûd, the sons of Faisul by different mothers, on the death of their father :—"The two brothers, almost equal in age, are at daggers drawn, and cannot speak even peaceably to each other. Feysul, to prevent frequent collision, has appointed Sa'ood regent of Yemâmah and Hareek, with Salemee'yah for chief residence, thus putting him at a distance from Riadh, where 'Abd-Allah resides in quality of special governor over the town. Meantime Sa'ood, by his easy access and liberal conduct, has won the hearts of his immediate subjects, and of all opposed to rigorism in the other provinces. Hence it is universally believed that the death of Feysul will prove the signal for a bloody and equally matched war between the Romulus and Remus, or, if you will, between the Don Henry and Don Pedro of Nejed." *Cent. and East Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 71.

over stealthily to Bunder-Fakkân, where he was met by a deputation from the Benu-Nâîm, who for some time past had been in arms against 'Azzân-bin-Kais. Marching inland, in September, by el-Fujairah and the Wâdi-Hâm, he was reinforced by the Benu-Kutb and several of the el-Yaârubah tribes, and then joined the Benu-Nâîm at el-Bereimy, all the forts of which, with the exception of the main one, were in their hands.

Both parties having called upon their respective confederates, the Sheikh of Abu-Zhâby came to the aid of 'Azzân's side, while the chiefs of Dabai, 'Ajmân and Râs-el-Khaimah coöperated with Tûrky. Several engagements followed between the belligerents, but with no decisive result. Meanwhile, 'Azzân himself and his brother, Ibrahîm, were busy reducing some of the inimical tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah, and succeeded in capturing the forts of "Abrein"[1] and el-'Aincin. He also resumed the siege of el-Hazm,[2] and then proceeded towards Dhank,[3] then held by the Benu-Nâîm and "Denah" tribes. On reaching Yânkal, his levies from esh-Sharkiyyah and 'Omân proper demanded of him the fulfilment of the promises which had induced them to espouse his cause, and on being told that he was unable to comply with their request they left him in a body, thereby reducing his effective strength to 2,000 men. Deeming that number sufficient, with the aid of two field guns, to seize Dhank, he marched thither on the 4th of October, but on the following day was surrounded and completely routed by a force under the Seyyid Tûrky. 'Azzân and his brother, Ibrahîm, escaped to Sohâr, leaving from three to four hundred followers, including several chiefs, either dead or wounded on the field. The engagement over, Tûrky moved towards the south-east, and

[1] So printed in the Government dispatches, but I know of no such place in ezh-Zhâhirah. Possibly "Yabrin" is indicated.

[2] Written "Azum" in the official papers.

[3] Spelt "Zunk" by our political agents.

placing the bulk of his army for service under Sulcimân-bin-Seif, the chief of the Benu-Riyâm, inhabiting the Jebel-Akhdar, passed with the remainder through Ibra and el-Bediyyah into Jaalân, in order to secure the co-operation of the tribes in that district. During his absence, the troops under Sulcimân-bin-Seif laid siege to Nezwa, closed the passes beyond Semâîl, and obtained other advantages over their antagonists, and only awaited Tûrky's order to advance upon Máskat. In Jaalân, Tûrky prevailed upon the Benu-Abi-'Aly and the Benu-Abi-Hásan, and other tribes to join him, and then marched to Sûr, where he encamped with 4,000 men and 2,000 camels, intending to proceed to Máskat by the coast route. The Seyyid 'Azzân, on the other hand, besides taking every precaution to secure the maritime capital and other important points on the littoral, has, it is said, come to terms with the Benu-Nâîm on the north, and secured the promised aid of several of the el-Hinâwy tribes, who on finding that Tûrky was destitute of funds to reward their services incontinently deserted to his rival.

Such was the position of the contending parties at the end of 1870. It is difficult to foresee which will eventually prevail; the chances are decidedly in favour of 'Azzân-bin-Kais, for the simple reason that being already the *de facto* ruler, and having the resources of the country, especially the revenue from the customs at his disposal, he possesses the means, which Tûrky does not, of paying the mercenary tribes to support him. As regards the legitimacy of his pretensions, it should be borne in mind that there is no recognized law regulating the succession to the sovereignty over 'Omân. Since A.D. 1741 it has been confined to those members of the House of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd—which still commands the suffrages of the majority of the population—who have been able to establish their claims by superior force. But 'Azzân-bin-Kais is a lineal descendant of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, the first Imâm of the dynasty, at the same remove from him as the Seyyid Sâlim, and only

one degree beyond that of Sâlim's uncle, the Seyyid Tûrky; hence, as far as the popular attachment to the Âl-Bû-Sâîd goes, 'Azzân is as eligible to the sovereignty as either of his rivals, and has unquestionably exhibited far greater political acumen and military prowess—a combination of qualities indispensable for maintaining anything like order among the turbulent tribes of 'Omân. His success hitherto against the Wahhâbis, though undoubtedly facilitated by the feud existing between the Amîr of Nejd and his brother, Sûûd, gives him a strong claim to the gratitude of his countrymen, who for the last sixty years have been placed under heavy contributions by those fanatics, besides living in constant dread of their aggressions. In other respects, also, 'Azzân has favourably disappointed the anticipations formed of him at the first flush of conquest. At that time he appears to have acted in concert with an extreme religious faction—a comparatively recent growth in 'Omân—alluded to at p. 217, as the *Mutawahhibîn*, or abettors of Wahhâbeeism. That such was the character of these enthusiasts is evident from the fact that a class of propagandists, called *Mutâwa'ah* by the Wahhâbis, (see p. 247), existed among them, and also from the interdict which was placed upon the sale and use of tobacco, the former an institution unknown to the religious system of the Ibâdhiyah, and the latter a commerce and luxury not forbidden by its precepts. But 'Azzân, having made trial of his strength and found that he could dispense with such sinister colleagues, has recently adopted a more tolerant policy, introduced many improvements in the internal administration, and manifested a sincere desire to maintain friendly relations with foreigners, more especially with the British Government. The standing menace, however, to durable tranquillity in 'Omân, under the best of rulers, is the existence of so many Seyyids, or Princes of the reigning dynasty, who, believing themselves to be invested by birth with equal rights to the sovereignty, may be expected to take advantage of every opportunity to

assert their claims. There are at least thirty of those *Porphyrogeniti* at the present time, of whom from ten to twelve are, like the Seyyid Tûrky, sons of the late Seyyid Sâîd.

The severance of Zanzibar and its East African dependencies from 'Omân, in 1861, when they were formed into a separate principality under the Seyyid Mâjid, (see p. c), has preserved that young State from being embroiled in the recent conflicts of the mother country, thereby giving it free scope to husband its growing resources, and to become —what under an enlightened ruler it might become—the means of promoting civilization, industry, and commercial prosperity among the aboriginal tribes on the African coast. The death of the Seyyid Mâjid in October, 1870, was followed by the uncontested accession of his younger brother, Barghâsh, who, it is sincerely to be hoped, will in his administration of the Zanzibar territories turn to good account the experience acquired during a year's residence at Bombay. The most dangerous rock ahead in his future career is the possibility of his being induced to intermeddle, either on his own behalf or on behalf of his brother, Tûrky, with the domestic affairs of 'Omân.

G. P. B.

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ERRATA.

Page ii, line 18, *for* "el-'Idrîsy," *read* "el-Idrîsy."
Page iii, lines 1, 40, *for* *Id.* *read* *Id.*
Page iv, line 41, *for* *Id.* *read* *Id*
Page viii, line 14, *for* "Main," *read* "Ma'in."
Page viii, lines 22, 23, *for* "'Odad," *read* "Odad."
Page 3, line 38, *for* "el-'Idrîsy," *read* "el Idrîsy."
Page 4, line 3, *for* "Tawwam," *read* "Tawwâm."
Page 9, lines 4, 18, *for* "Shâzân," *read* "Shadzân."
Page 11, line 4, *after* "stands," *add* "at Nezwa."
Page 11, line, 10, *for* "Mahlaby," *read* "Muhállaby."
Page 13, line 36, *for* "*Bawrij*," *read* "*Bawârij*."
Page 15, line 10, *for* "A.D. 822," *read* "A.D. 823."
Page 21, line 12, 32, 33, *for* "Mudhriyyan," *read* "Mudhariyyah."
Page 23, line 33, *for* "xii, 13," *read* "xiii, 12."
Page 24, line 13, *for* "Mudhriyyah," *read* "Mudhariyyah.
Page 26, line 30, *for* "el-Muktadhir," *read* "el-Muktádir"
Page 28, line 35, *for* "Odad," *read* "Odad."
Page 30, line 23, *for* "Nua'mân," *read* "Nua'man."
Page 41, line 18, *for* "Muzhaffir," *read* "Muzhaffar."
Page 93, line 20, *for* "Nua'mân," *read* "Nua'man."
Page 105, line 15, *for* "el'Uttâby," *read* "el-'Uttâby."
Page 107, line 1, *for* "Nâsi," *read* "Nâsir."
Page 112, line 28, *for* "el-Hutrah," *read* "el-Huiry."
Page 134, line 19, *for* "es Sa'îdy," *read* "es-Sa'îdy."
Page 157, line 18, *for* "'Oman," *read* "'Omân."
Page 169, line 1, *for* "Al-Bû-Sa'îdy," *read* "Âl-Bû-Sa'îdy."
Page 169, line 17, *for* "'Adallah," *read* "'Abdallah"
Page 171, line 17, *for* "A.D. 1774," *read* "January, 1775."
Page 181, line 32, *dele* "that."
Page 182, line 1, *dele* "again was," and *change* "before" into "after.
Page 182, line 13, *for* "Arâda," *read* "'Arâda"
Page 201, line 19, *for* "Omân," *read* "'Omân."
Page 214, line 31, *for* "Masâbbah," *read* "Musabbah."
Page 229, line 15, *for* "Mas'ud," *read* "Mas'ûd"
Page 233, line 24, *for* "1817," *read* "1819"
Page 258, line 4, *for* "A.H. 1293," *read* "A.H. 1273."
Page 269, line 3, *for* "Hârmel," *read* "Harmel."

Page 272, line 14, *for* "Tîwa," *read* "Taiwa."
Page 272, line 20, *for* "bin Mâjid," *read* "bin-Mâjid."
Page 275, line 35, *for* "Tîwa," *read* "Taiwa."
Page 276, line 16, *for* "the 'Arâbah," *read* "the el-'Arâbah."
Page 286, line 23, *for* "el-Kabûrah," *read* "el-Khabûrah."
Page 288, line 35, *for* "Hâmid-bin-Nâsîr," *read* "Hamîd-bin-Nâsir."
Page 310, lines 33, 34, *dele* (in some copies) "The Shia'ahs, as distinct from the Rawâfidh, recognize only seven Imâms."
Page 317, line 4, *for* "Násir," *read* "Nâsir."
Page 328, line 11, *for* "went to 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz," *read* "went to Su'ûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz."
Page 336, line 26, *for* "Behla," *read* "Behlâ."
Page 339, line 4, *for* "Ta'îwa," *read* "Taiwa."
Page 355-6, lines 28-1, *for* "el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd," *read* "Ahmed-bin-el-Imâm-Sa'îd."
Page 370, line 17, *for* "'Ibâdhy," *read* "Ibâdhy."
Page 378, line 21, *for* "grandmother," *read* "great-aunt."
Page 385, line 15, *for* Murtádha'," *read* "Murtádha."
Page 390, line 24, *for* "Náhar," *read* "Nahr."

LIST OF THE IMÂMS, ETC.,

THE TRIBES TO WHICH THEY BELONGED, THEIR PLACES OF RESIDENCE, AND THE DATE OF THEIR REIGN.

*** The dates are only approximate in some instances; a dash (—) denotes uncertainty.

Imams	Tribe	Residence.	Began to reign. A.H	Began to reign. A.D.	Page of this book.
Julanda bin-Mas'ûd	Azdy	—	135	751	7
Muhammad-bin-'Aflàn	Id.	Nezwa	—	—	9
el-Wâ'ith-bin-Ka'ab	Yahmady a sub tribe of the el Azd	Id.	185	801	10
Ghassan-bin 'Abdallah	Id.	Id.	192	807	12
'Abdu-'l-Malik-bin-Hamid	Azdy	—	208	824	15
el Muhenna-bin-Jafar	Yahmady	Nezwa	226	840	16
es-Salt-bin-Mâlik	Azdy	—	237	851	19
Râshid bin en-Nadhr	—	—	273	886	19
'Azzân-bin-Temim	—	Nezwa	277	890	20
Muhammad-bin-el-Hasan	Azdy	—	284	897	25
'Azzân-bin-el-Hazr	Yahmady	—	285	898	25
'Abdallah-bin Muhammad	—	—	286	899	26
es-Salt-bin-el-Kâsim	—	—	287	900	26
Hâsan-bin-Sa'id	—	—	287	900	26
el-Hawâry-bin-Mâtraf	—	—	292	904	26
'Omar-bin-Muhammad	—	—	300	912	27
Muhammad-bin-Yezid	Kindy	—	—	—	28
Mullah-el Bâhany	—	Sa'al of Nezwa	—	—	29
Sa'id-bin-Abdallah	—	—	328*	939	29
Râshid-bin-el-Walid	—	Nezwa	—	—	31
el-Khalil-bin-Shadzân	—	—	400	1009	35
Râshid-bin-Sa'id	—	—	415*	1053	35
Hafs-bin-Râshid	—	—	445	1053	35
Râshid bin-'Aly	—	—	446	1054	35
Ibn-Jâbir Mûsa	—	Nezwa	519*	1154	36
Mâlik-bin-Aly	—	—	809	1406	36
Máliks of the Benu-Nebhân.					
el-Fellâh-bin-el-Muhsin	Nebhany	Makmyat	549 to 809	1154 to 1406	41
'Arâr-bin-Fellâh	Id	Id			41
Muzhâffar-bin-Sulcimân	Id	—			41
Makhzûm-bin-el-Fellâh	Id.	Behlâ			42
Imâms					
Abu-'l-Hasan	Azdy	—	839	1435	48
'Omar-bin-Khattâb	Yahmady	—	855	1451	48
'Omar-esh-Sherîf	—	—	896	1490	50

* The recorded date of his death.

Imâm.	Tribe	Residence	Began to reign A H	Began to reign A D	Page of this book
Ahmed-bin-Muhammad	Yahmady	Behlâ	—	—	50
'Abu-'l-Hasan	—	—	—	—	50
Muhammad bin-Isma'il	—	Azka	906	1500	50
Barakât-bin-Muhammad	—	Nezwa	936	1529	51
'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad	Himy	Behlâ	967	1560	52
Nâsr-bin-Murshid	Ya'aruby	el-Rastak	1034	1624	58
Sultân bin-Seif [I]	Id.	Id.	1059	1649	78
Bela'rab bin Sultân	Id	Yabrin	1079	1668	91
Seif bin-Sultân [I]	Id.	el-Rastak	1123*	1711	92
Sultan-bin-Seif [II]	Id.	el Hazm	1127	1711	95
Seif-bin-Sultân [II]	Id.	— —	1131	1718	100
Muhenna-bin-Sultân	Id.	el-Rastak	1131	1718	100
Ya'arub-bin-Bela'rab	Id	Nezwa	1134	1721	102
Seif-bin-Sultân [II] (restored)	Id	el-Rastak	1135	1722	105
Muhammad bin-Nasr	Ghafiry	Yabrin	1137	1721	122
Seif-bin Sultân [II] (restored)	Ya'aruby	el Rastak	1140	1728	131
Sultân-bin-Murshid	Id	Id	1151	1738	145
Ahmed bin-Sa'id	Âl-Bû Sa'edy	Id	1154	1741	157
Sa'id-bin-Ahmed	Id.	Id	1188	1775	188
Seyyids					
Hamed bin-Sa'id (Regent)	Id.	Muskat	1193	1779	201
Sultan bin-Ahmed	Id.	Id	1206	1792	213
Sâlim bin-Sultan	Id.	Id.	1219	1804	211
Sa'id-bin-Sultân	Id.	Mask & Zanz	1219	1801	258
Thuwainy-bin-Sa'id	Id.	Muskat	1273	1856	xcix
Sâlim bin-Thuwainy	Id.	Id.	1283	1866	cv
'Azzân bin-Kais	Id.	Id.	1285	1868	cxiv

[*Author's Title and Preface*]

This Book is entitled A PLAIN AND AUTHENTIC EXPOSITION OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE SEYYIDS OF THE ÂL-BÛ-SA'ÎD.

In the name of God, the Compaſſionate, the Merciful!

PRAISE be to God, Who renders eaſy to thoſe poſſeſſed of underſtanding the knowledge of Biographies and Genealogies; Who guides them in diſcriminating between the excellencies of different peoples and communities; Who diſcloſes to them what has befallen kings of unſullied dignity: enabling them to raiſe the veil from that which had been hidden; to arrange under appropriate heads the leſſons which they acquired; and to communicate the ſame in ſhowers to all inquirers reſpecting the character or deſcent of their ſovereigns and the limits of their kingdoms,—their replies flowing like a running torrent! And mercy and ſalvation be to the moſt learned of mankind and the moſt eloquent in lucid diſcourſe, our lord, the Apoſtle of God, and to his Family and Companions, whoſe ſpeech none could gainſay!

Whereas I had been requeſted by the exalted and noble, the accompliſhed and generous, the Seyyid Hámed, the ſon of our ſovereign lord, Sâlim-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, el-Yémeny, el-Azdy, to draw up for him a narrative of what I had heard and learnt from experienced genealogiſts, who were alſo well-acquainted with contemporaneous authentic hiſtory, reſpecting the pedigree of the glorious Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and the events of his brilliant life during his exalted reign, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and how he ſucceeded in uprooting the ſovereignty of the el-Yaârubah

and attained to the position which they had held in 'Omân for a long period; and, further, that after a clear exposition of the Imâm Ahmed's genealogy and career, and the extent of his dominions, I should also write the biography of his magnanimous descendants, setting forth the fame which they acquired throughout 'Omân, their achievements and the achievements of the nobility;—nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that this request on the part of the Seyyid did not proceed from one himself ignorant of the history of peoples, but from a proficient in all sciences, one whose knowledge is as extensive as the ocean, and that, consequently, he already possessed what he deigned to solicit, just as in the case of the Almighty, who put the question to Moses, saying: "What is that which is in thine hand, O Moses?"—Notwithstanding all this, I obeyed his behest, fearing that he would not accept my excuses, either on the score of incapacity or of the dire affliction which had befallen me; for at that time the darkness of heavy trials and stern misfortunes so enveloped me that my heart sought relief from its pent-up anguish. Accordingly, I prayed for God's aid to enable me to fulfil what was asked of me, and He vouchsafed it to me, as He vouchsafes the showers of spring to the expectant meadows, and I have styled this work *A plain and authentic Exposition of the Chronicles of the Seyyids of the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd*, dividing it into Three Books, addressed to the intelligent; and if in any part thereof I have transgressed the law or misrepresented anything, either generally or specially, I crave the pardon of God: from Him alone comes guidance, and through Him only do we attain to the truth.

THE IMÂMS OF 'OMÂN.

BOOK THE FIRST.

FROM JULÁNDA-BIN-MAS'ÛD
TO THE GLORIOUS IMÂM OF THE AL-BU-SA'ÎD, AHMED-BIN SA'ÎD, EL-AZDY.
A.H. 41—1188 = A.D. 661—1774.

Salîl-ibn-Razîk, the author of this book, to the reader:—Although our main object is to set forth the biography of the illustrious Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd and his descendants, nevertheless we have deemed it desirable to preface it with an account of all the Imâms of 'Omân, in order to a more complete understanding of the subject, and that those hitherto unacquainted with their history may learn to know that the el-Yémeny, the el-'Omâny Azdites are of great renown.

THE most learned and accurate historians agree in this, that whereas after the disturbances and dissensions which had occurred among the people,[1] the supreme authority was eventually vested in Mo'âwiyah-bin-Harb-bin-Sofyân,[2] nevertheless Mo'âwiyah exercised no jurisdiction whatever over 'Omân. It was not until 'Abdu-'l-Málik-bin-Marwân suc-

[1] The reference here is to the differences among the Mussulmans which led to the assassination of 'Othmân, the election of 'Aly and his subsequent deposition, and the accession of his son Hásan, who eventually resigned the Khalifate in favour of Mo'âwiyah. A succinct account of these intestine feuds, chiefly from original sources, will be found in the *Modern Universal History*, vol. i. pp. 348-412.

[2] The first of the Benu-Omeyyah Khalifahs. He succeeded to the Khalifate A.H. 41 = A.D. 661.

ceeded to the sovereignty that an attempt was made to reduce it to subjection. It took place on this wise:— 'Abdu-'l-Málik had appointed el-Hajjâj-bin-Yûsuf, eth-Thákify,[1] governor over 'Irâk. According to concurrent testimony, Suleimân and Sâid, the sons of 'Abbâd-bin-el-Julánda,[2] of the lineage of its Sultâns, at that time ruled over 'Omân. El-Hajjâj was the first to send troops against them under successive commanders, but they were generally repulsed with the loss of their baggage. At length he was advised to dispatch an expedition under the command of el-Kâsim-bin-Sh'iwah, el-Máziny, who embarked a large force in ships, and, on reaching the coast of 'Omân, anchored near the village of Hatât.[3] Suleimân-bin-'Abbâd attacked him at the head of the Azdites, and after a fierce encounter the invaders were routed, el-Kâsim and a number of his men were slain, and their equipage fell into the hands of the victors. Some state that none escaped; but God knows.

On hearing of this defeat, el-Hajjâj was greatly alarmed, and forthwith sent for Mujjâah-bin-Sh'iwah,[4] el-Kâsim's brother, and ordered him to stir up the people to vengeance,

[1] El-Hajjâj, who flourished during the Khalifates of 'Abdu-'l-Málik and his son el-Walíd, was the most eloquent and warlike captain of the age. Several Arabian authors allege that religious fanaticism and a love of glory were not the only motives which actuated him, but that having little confidence in the permanency of the Omeyyah dynasty he sought to provide a suitable asylum for himself. He successively reduced Bokhara, Khuwarizm, and Kashgar. Another army sent by him crossed Sejistân and Mekrân, and reached the lower Indus. He died A.H. 95.

[2] Most probably the grandsons of 'Abd-el-Julánda, one of the two brothers who ruled over 'Omân during the time of Muhammad. *See* Introduction.

[3] A "Wâdi-Hatât" is mentioned in the sequel as leading to Semaíl from Máskat; hence it is probable that the abovenamed village was not far from that town.

[4] This Mujjâ'ah, whom Belâdzory calls "bin-Si'ir," was subsequently appointed governor of el-Mukrân (Mekrân) and the neighbouring territories, under el-Hajjâj. Although he died a year after, an Arabian poet says of him: There is no monument in el-Mukrân which does not recall and adorn the memory of Mujjâ'ah. *Futûh-el-Buldân*, p. 435. Lugd. 1866.

and to summon the tribes of Nizâr,[1] their followers and allies, to unite in retrieving their disasters in 'Omân. El-Hajjâj manifested the utmost animosity and zeal in carrying out this project, reporting what measures he was taking to 'Abdu-'l-Málik-bin-Marwân, and calling upon the Azdites residing at el-Básrah to join in an expedition against Suleimân-bin-'Abbâd and his adherents. According to the most authentic accounts the force dispatched under Mujjâah numbered 10,000 men. One half left by sea and the other half by land. The latter consisted of horsemen and men mounted on camels. They were encountered by Suleimân and his followers of the el-Azd and others near the water which is five (some say only three) days' journey from el-Balkâah. The said water is now called el-Balkâîn.[2] There a great battle was fought which ended in the rout of el-Hajjâj's force and their pursuit by Suleimân-bin-'Abbâd,

[1] The Nizâr or "Nizâriyyah," as they are more frequently styled in these annals, are, I conceive, the descendants of Nizâr, born about A.D. 61, the son of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnan, the alleged descendant of Ishmael, and reckoned the nineteenth among the progenitors of Muhammad. Nizâr had a numerous progeny: the descendants of his son Iyâd, after residing for two centuries in the Hijâz, migrated into the 'Irâk 'Araby; those of his son Rabi'ah remained in the Hijâz, but those of 'Abdu-'l-Kais, the son of Rabi'ah, went into el-Bahrein, from whence, as already mentioned in the Introduction, they sent a detachment of their tribe to assist 'Ikrimah, Abu-Bekr's general, in suppressing a revolt in 'Omân. These indications confirm the local tradition that the Nizar came originally from the Hijâz, through Nejd. Communities of them exist in different parts of 'Omân, where they are further distinguished by the name of the districts which they severally occupy, as the Nizâriyyah of Semaîl, of Azka, etc. Their relationship to the el-Kuraish tribe gives them social importance, and rival parties in the country have always bid high to secure their alliance.

[2] I am unable to identify this "water." Perhaps it was the stream called "el-Falj" by el-'Idrisy, and which he describes as flowing into the sea near "Julfârah." Niebuhr marks a stream at "es-Sirr," lower down on the coast, but it is not represented in any of our modern maps. The 'Omânis appear to have marched westward, through the district now occupied by the Benu-Yâs, to meet the invaders coming from the opposite direction.

who knew nothing of the approach of the 20,000 men by sea. On the arrival of the latter at el-Yunaniyyah[1] of Julfâr, a man of the people of Tawwam[2] informed them of Suleimân's proceedings, telling them how he had gone forth with his army and defeated their companions who had travelled by land, and that after the victory dissensions had broken out among his followers, which led to his being abandoned by all except a few trusty adherents.

On Mujjâ'âh's arrival at Barkah he was met by Sâîd-bin-'Abbâd, Suleimân's uterine brother, and a severe conflict took place between them till darkness separated the combatants. On surveying the two armies, Sâîd perceived that his was like a white hair in the hide of a black bull compared with that under Mujjâ'âh; so, having already lost a number of men in killed and wounded, he retired with the remainder the same night, and taking with him some of his own and his brother's relatives he repaired to the Jebel-el-Akbar, the mountain of the Benu-Riyâm, called also the Jebel-el-Akhdar, and likewise Rudhwân. The enemy followed, but being

[1] Probably a village on the western littoral of the promontory, which was sometimes called "Julfâr" and sometimes "es-Sirr," from the two most prominent localities on that coast. It is remarkable that our modern maps and charts omit the town of Julfâr, which was situated below Khâsab, not far from Cape Musándim. Ludovico di Varthema touched at the place about A.D. 1505, and describes it as having a good seaport. It was occupied a few years later by the Portuguese, who retained it chiefly for the sake of its pearl-fisheries, until they were expelled by the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid, A.D. 1633. The town and fort were destroyed by a combined British and Máskat expedition in 1819, in retaliation for several acts of piracy committed by vessels belonging to the resident tribe.

[2] Tawwâm was the old name of el-Bereimy, as the author frequently remarks in the sequel. Captain Hamerton, who visited the town in 1850, describes it as of considerable size, situated in a very fertile and well-watered district, and defended by two forts. It has always been a rallying point for the Wahhâbis whenever they made inroads into 'Omân. It is now held by the Benu-Na'im, who pay tribute to the Wahhâby Amir.

unable to ascend the mountain they took up a position in the Wâdi-'l-Mastáll, from whence they besieged them.

Mujjâáh had moored his ships, which numbered three hundred, under Máskat. These were attacked by Suleimân, who succeeded in burning fifty, the rest escaping out to sea. Convinced of his inability to subdue Suleimân, Mujjâáh moved towards the coast, and was met by Suleimân at the town of Semaîl, where a battle was fought between them, which resulted in the overthrow of Mujjâáh, who effected his escape in a ship to Julfâr. Having reported all that had befallen him at the hands of Suleimân and Sâîd to el-Hajjâj, and how they had succeeded in enlisting all the el-Azd chiefs of 'Omân on their side, el-Hajjâj dispatched another force by land, consisting of 5,000 horsemen of the Bedawîn of the Shamâl, under the command of 'Abdu-'r-Rahmân-bin-Suleimân. This man was of the el-Mudhariyyah, and among his followers there was an Azdy of el-Básrah; but neither Suleimân-bin-'Abbâd nor his soldiers knew anything of him. He escaped from the camp by night, and coming to Suleimân and Sâîd apprised them of the impending invasion. On hearing this intelligence they immediately collected their relatives and property, and taking with them a number of their followers and tribe departed for the land of the Zanj,[1] where they died. Thereupon Mujjâáh and 'Abdu-'r-Rahmân took possession of the country, which they treated as a conquered province, committing every species of outrage upon the people. Their success was highly gratifying to el-Hajjâj, who proceeded to appoint el-Khayâr-bin-Sábrah, el-Mujâshâáiy, governor over 'Omân.

On the death of 'Abdu-'l-Málik[2] he was succeeded by his

[1] This is the first intimation given by the author of the emigration of the 'Omân Arabs to the east coast of Africa. According to el-'Idrîsy, the country of the Zanj was conterminous with that of Berbera on the north and Sofâla on the south, including the adjacent islands. See his First Climate, 6th Section.

[2] 'Abdu-'l-Málik died A.H. 86 = A.D. 705, and his son el-Walîd was proclaimed Khalîfah the same day his father died.

son el-Walîd, who removed the collectors who had been entrusted with the affairs of 'Omân, and placed it under the authority of Sâlih-bin-'Abdu-'r-Rahmân. He also placed 'Irâk under Yezîd-bin-Abi-Aslam, who sent Yezîd-bin-Seif-bin-Hâny to be collector in 'Omân. El-Wâlid dying,[1] he was succeeded by his brother Suleimân, who deposed the governors from all the other provinces, but left 'Omân under Sâlih-bin-'Abdu-'r-Rahmân-bin-Kais, el-Laithy. Afterwards he directed that there should be collectors as before, but they were to be subject to the supervision of Sâlih-bin-'Abdu-'r-Rahmân. He then placed 'Irâk and Khorassân under Yezîd-bin-el-Muhállab, el-Azdy, who made his brother Ziyâd governor of 'Omân. Ziyâd discharged his duties to the satisfaction of the inhabitants until the death of Suleimân. The latter was succeeded by 'Omar-bin-'Abdu-'l-Azîz, who governed the people with justice and equity, and died at Deir-Simaân,[2] in the province of Hims, near Kinnasrîn, on Friday the 25th day of Rájab, A.H. 101, [10th February, 720,] after he had held the Khalîfate two years, five months, and five days.

During his reign, 'Omar-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Aziz had placed 'Adiy-bin-Artât, el-Fazâry,[3] over 'Omân, but he subsequently removed him and appointed 'Omar-bin-'Abdallah, el-Ansâry, in his stead. He was of a benevolent disposition, and won the affections of the people, so that they paid their tribute willingly. On the death of 'Omar-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, he said to Ziyâd-bin-el-Muhállab: "this is the country of your people, and it is fitting that you should superintend their affairs."

[1] A.H.96=A.D. 715.

[2] The monastery of St. Simon. Kinnasrîn is about twelve miles from Aleppo.

[3] Ahmed-bin-Yahya, el-Belâdzory, mentions this 'Adiy-bin-Artât as having been removed from 'Omân and appointed governor of el-Básrah, where he began building some apartments for himself on the city walls, but was ordered to desist by the Khalifah 'Omar. He also states that Adiy made the creek of the river into a canal and extended it up to the town. *Futûh-el-Buldân*, pp. 77, 349, 469, Lugd. 1866.

He then quitted 'Omân, and Ziyâd continued to administer the government until Abu-'l-'Abbâs, es-Saffâh,[1] took the supreme power from the Benu-Omeyyah. He appointed Abu-Jaáfar, el-Mansûr,[2] to 'Irâk, and he set Janâh-bin 'Abbâdah, el-Hinâ'y, over 'Omân. The latter it was who built the mosque of Janâh, which is vulgarly called the mosque of Jamâh. He was subsequently deposed and his son Muhammad-bin-Janâh appointed in his stead. Janâh bin-'Abdallah secretly countenanced the doctrines of the el-Ibâdhiyah, who at length took the government of 'Omân into their own hands. Whereupon they ratified in the Imâmate

JULANDA-BIN-MAS'UD.[3]

He was the first of the rightful Imâms[4] of 'Omân, and he greatly promoted the el-Ibâdhy[5] doctrines. He was just, generous, and pious. [The Khalîfah] es-Saffâh dispatched Shîbân against him, on whose arrival in 'Omân Julánda sent Hilâl-bin-'Atiyyah, el-Khorassâny, and Yahya-bin-Najîh with a band of Mussulmans[6] to encounter him. When the two sides met and confronted each other, Yahya rose up and uttered the following prayer, referring to both parties:—"O God, if we hold the religion which Thou approvest, and adhere to the truth which is agreeable to Thee, cause me to be the first

[1] He succeeded to the Khalifate A.H. 132=A.D. 749, and was the first of the el-'Abbâs, or Abbaside dynasty.

[2] Brother to Abu-'l-'Abbâs, whom he subsequently succeeded in the Khalifate.

[3] According to Abulféda, "Julánda" was the name assumed by all the kings of 'Omân at this early period. He says: "And of the el-Azd, also, are the Benu-Julánda, the sovereigns of 'Omân. And every one who became king in 'Omân took the name of Julánda. At the time of Islâm the kingdom was in the hands of Habkar and 'Abd, both descendants of el-Julánda." Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arab.*, p. 475.

[4] For the full import of this title, see Appendix A.

[5] See Appendix B for an account of this sect.

[6] The term "Mussulmans" here implies that the el-Ibâdhiyah were the orthodox and their opponents the sectarians or heterodox.

to fall of my companions, and cause Shîbân to be the first to fall of his companions, and then put them to flight. But if Shîbân holds the religion which Thou approvest, and adheres to the truth which is agreeable to Thee, then let Shîbân be the first to fall on his side." The two parties then came into collision, and the first killed was Najîh, and the first who fell of the opposite party was Shîbân.

After this occurrence Khâzim-bin-Khuzaimah came to 'Omân, and stated that he had come to look after Shîbân and his followers; but on hearing what had befallen them he said: "Let their death and what they have suffered at your hands suffice. My only wish now is to be able to inform the Khalîfah that you are obedient and loyal." Julánda consulted the Mussulmans on this point, but they would not agree to it. It is further stated that Khâzim asked for Shîbân's ring and sword, and that Julánda refused to give them up. This state of things led to a battle between Khâzim and the people of 'Omân, wherein all Julánda's adherents were slain, and none remained alive but Julánda himself and Hilâl-bin-'Atiyyah. Thereupon Julánda said: "To the attack, O Hilâl!" To which the latter replied: "You are my Imâm, and should be before me; rest assured that I shall not survive you."[1] So Julánda advanced and fought till he was slain, and was then followed by Hilâl. Now Hilâl had on a coat of mail, and was armed with a spear, with which he did such execution that the followers of Khâzim were astonished at his bravery. They did not recognize him at first, but on hearing that it was Hilâl they fell upon him and slew him. This battle took place at Julfâr.

The Imâmate of Julánda lasted two years and one month.

[1] There is a play upon the Arabic words used in the original which cannot be conveyed in English. *Imâm* and *amâm* are from the same root, the first means the person who precedes the congregation in prayer, the second *before*, in space. Hilâl said: You are *Imâmy* (in prayer) and should therefore be *amâmy*, *i. e.* in advance of me.

MUHAMMAD-BIN-'AFFÂN.

On the death of Julánda, the Jabâbarah[1] ruled over 'Omân, tyrannizing over the people and committing every species of excess and extortion. Notorious among these were Muhammad-bin-Zâyidah and Râshid-bin-Shâzân-bin-en-Nadhr, the Julándites. In their time Ghassân-el-Hinây, who belonged to the Benu-Muhârib, plundered Nezwa and expelled the Benu-Nâfa' and the Benu-Hamîm, after killing many of them. This happened in the month of Shaabân A.H. 145 [A.D. 762]. In consequence of this state of things the Benu-Harth[2] entered into a confederacy, and one of their number, a slave of Bikr, named Ziyâd-bin-Sâîd, el-Bikry, collected their suffrages, and it was finally agreed that they should attempt to free themselves from their oppressors by getting rid of Ghassân-el-Hinây. They accordingly waylaid him in a place called el-Khôr, where they fell upon him as he was returning sick from the Benu-Hinây, and murdered him. Menâzil-bin-Khánbash, who was collector to Muhammad-bin-Zâyidah and Râshid-bin-Shâzân, was greatly incensed at this outrage, and marched forthwith against the people of Ibra, who made a stout resistance, but were finally overcome with the loss of forty men.

Eventually God had compassion upon those who adhered to the truth, and a confederacy of the Mussulmans was formed who stood up for His truth, and succeeded in putting an end to the government of the Jabâbarah. The change was

[1] That is, Tyrants. The term is used in that sense and under similar circumstances in a subsequent part of this history.

[2] The el-Harth are located chiefly in south-eastern 'Omân. The Arabs of Zanzibar belong mainly to this powerful and enterprising tribe. They appear to be an offshoot of the Benu-Temim, who are still scattered over the north east of Nejd, from the desert of Syria to the borders of el-Yamâmah. They are probably the descendants of el-Harth, el-'Âraj, ...the son of Temim, and therefore of the race of 'Adnân and Ma'add, the ancestors of Muhammad.

effected in this manner:—The learned elders of the people of 'Omân assembled at Nezwa under the presidency of Mûsa-bin-Abi-Jâbir, el-Azkâny, and they agreed to confer the Imâmate upon Muhammad-bin-'Affân. But among those who had come together there were some chiefs who had separate views; so, fearing lest the occasion might prove a source of discord among the Mussulmans, sheikh Mûsa said first to one and then to another: "We have appointed so-and-so of such a village," until he dismissed them all. After their departure he proclaimed that Muhammad-bin-'Affân had been duly elected; whereupon he wrote letters deposing the malcontent chiefs from their authority, and sent governors in their stead. Meanwhile, Muhammad-bin-'Affân retained his post with the army, but his overbearing conduct towards the Mussulmans, his mode of life, together with his obstinacy, so alienated their hearts that they found a pretext for removing him from his command at Nezwa, and finally deposed him, after he had held office two years and one month. They then met together again and elected as Imâm over the Mussulmans

EL-WÂRITH-BIN-KA'AB,

EL-KHARÛSY,[1] EL-YAHMADY, ESH-SHÂRY

He restored the good of former times among the Mussulmans, was upright in his administration, encouraging those who adhered to the truth and restraining impiety and crime, extortion and discord. Even before his elevation to the Imâmate he was admired for his excellent qualities both by high and low, and was conspicuous for his integrity and genius. We give the following as a few instances of his benevolence and enterprise:—He caused the waste places to be cultivated, and relieved those who were oppressed in

[1] A gentilic cognomen from "el-Kharûs." Wellsted, in his map of 'Omân, gives the name of "Wadi Beni Karûs" to two adjoining districts between er-Rastak, the inland capital, and the coast.

the city of er-Rastâk. He propagated the lemon-tree from his own grounds at Wârith, which place is named after him, and he diverted the excess of water from the valleys, especially from that wherein his noble tomb stands, but he overlooked that where he was subsequently drowned.

During his government, [the Khalîfah] Harûn-er-Rashîd dispatched an army consisting of 1,000 horse and 500 foot against 'Omân, under the command of 'Isa-bin-Jaafar. Intelligence of the impending invasion was communicated to the Imâm Wârith by Yezîd-el-Máhlaby, el-Azdy, and he accordingly sent Fâris-bin-Muhammad against him with a large body of soldiers and all the Imâm's forces. The two armies met near Sohâr, and 'Isa with the remainder of his troops was put to flight and embarked from the coast close by. Abu-Hamîd-bin-Fálah, el-Haddâny, and 'Omar-bin-'Omar pursued them in three ships and captured them, killing all his men, but sparing 'Isa, whom they imprisoned in the fort of Sohâr. They also seized their ships and kept them to aid the Mussulmans in defending the true faith. The Imâm Wârith then consulted the learned sheikh 'Aly-bin-'Azrah respecting 'Isa. He replied: "If you put him to death you will do well; and if you spare him you will also do well." The Imâm therefore allowed him to live, but kept him in prison. It is related that on hearing this, a party of Mussulmans, of whom Yahya-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz was one, came to Sohâr without the knowledge of the Imâm, and, concealing themselves in the prison, assassinated him, returning to their own homes the same night.[2] When Harûn-er-Rashîd heard

[1] Harûn-er-Rashid began to reign A.H. 170 = A.D 786.

[2] Most of these facts are corroborated by the historian Ahmed-bin-Yahya, el Belâdzory, who writes. "The inhabitants of 'Omân continued to pay tithes and poll-tax until the Khalifate of er-Rashîd, who appointed 'Isa-bin-Ja'afar-bin-Sulemân-bin-'Aly-bin-'Abdallah-bin-el-'Abbâs governor over that country. 'Isa went against them accompanied by troops from el-Básrah, who began to violate the women and to commit other outrages. This coming to the knowledge of the

of the murder of his friend Jaáfar he determined to send another army against 'Omân, but he died before the troops were dispatched, and so God averted that evil from the Mussulmans.

The Imâm Wârith's residence was at Nezwa, where he continued to lead an upright life, forbidding what was unlawful and ordering what was beneficial, until the Lord took him to Himself. He was drowned in the stream of Wâdi-Killabûh, near Nezwa, together with seventy of his people. The catastrophe took place on this wise:—The prison of the Mussulmans was situated near some spreading sycamores, and in the prison were a number of men who had been confined there by the Imâm's orders. On the occurrence of the flood he ordered them to be liberated, but no one would venture across on account of the violence of the current. Whereupon the Imâm determined to make the attempt himself, and was followed by a number of the bystanders, who were all carried away by the stream and perished, as did also the prisoners. The Imâm's body was found in the branches of a tree, after the flood had subsided, between 'Akr and Sâál of Nezwa, and his tomb is a well-known shrine there unto this day. He held the Imâmate twelve years and six months. Then the people gave their allegiance to

GHASSÂN-BIN-'ABDALLAH,

EL-FEJHY, EL-YÁHMADY, EL-AZDY,

who trod in the footsteps of the good Mussulmans, cherishing the truth and discouraging vice, humbling those who fostered vanity and upholding justice and equity. In his time 'Omân was infested by *Bawârih*,[1] which committed great depre-

people of 'Omân, they resisted them and eventually killed 'Isa, and thereafter refused to be under subjection, and set up one of their own people to rule over them." *Futûh-el Buldân*, p. 77. Harûn-er-Rashîd died A.H. 193 = A.D. 809.

[1] Evidently a mistranscription for *Bawârij*, which signifies large

dations on the coast, but he succeeded in exterminating them. The author of this statement says that these *Bawârih* are what the vulgar call *Zawârik*, and the Imâm Ghassân was the first to attack them. In his time, also, Sákar-bin-Muhammad-bin-Zâyidah was slain. He was one of those who had supported Râshid-bin-en-Nadhr, el-Julándy and his adherents, aiding them with money and arms. The circumstances of his death were as follows:—One of the esh-Shark had set out to attack the Mussulmans, accompanied by the Benu-Hinâh and other confederates in his insurrectionary designs. Moreover, it was reported to the Mussul-

vessels equipped for war. El-Belâdzory, in his chapter on the Conquest of Sind, mentions a predatory people near the mouths of the Indus who possessed ships of this class and name. The passage, as illustrative of the early piracies in the Eastern seas, is interesting. The incidents narrated occurred about A.D. 705, while el-Hajjâj was governor of 'Irak, with a lieutenant under him over Mekran. "During his government, the King of the island of el-Yâkut [Rubies: Ceylon?] sent him some Mussulman women, born in his country, whose fathers had been merchants and were dead. But the ship in which they were being conveyed was attacked by a party of the Méd [?] tribe of ed-Daibul on board of *Bawârij*, and they seized the ship and all it contained. Thereupon one of the women—she was of the Benu-Yarbûa'—exclaimed, 'O Hajjaj!' El-Hajjaj hearing of this said, 'I am here!' and thereupon sent to Dâhir, [the native prince,] requesting him to obtain the release of the women; but Dâhir replied that those who had seized them were robbers, over whom he had no authority. Then el-Hajjâj directed 'Obeid-Allah-bin-Nebhân to go against ed-Daibul. 'Obeid-Allah, having been killed, el-Hajjaj wrote to Budail-bin-Tâhfah, el-Bájaly, who was then in 'Omân, ordering him to proceed [by sea] to ed-Daibul. On arriving there, his horse threw him, and the enemy surrounded and slew him. Others say that he was killed by the Zatts of el-Bud-hah." There is much uncertainty about the latter word. Goeje remarks in a note that Anderson suggests "el-Burhah, the well-known Burbuce or Buroohce tribe." *Futûh-el-Buldân*, pp. 435-6. For a fuller account of the *Bawrâj*, see the *Journal Asiatique* for September 1841, p. 262.

Ed-Daibul, according to Abulféda was "situated on the bank of the Sind river, on the seacoast. It is a small town, and the heat there is great. It abounds in sesame seed, and imports dates from el-Básrah," etc. *Takwîm-el-Buldân*, p. 195 Dresden, 1846.

mans that the brother of Sákar was with the insurgents. They charged Sákar with this, but he denied it and stated that his brother was sick at home. But when God put the insurgents to flight it was fully proved that Sákar's brother was among them, and they accordingly charged Sákar with deceit for having concealed from them his brother's treachery. Sákar was at that time at Semâîl, and the Imâm Ghassân sent horsemen after him, and wrote to Wadh-dhâh-bin-'Okbah, his governor over the fort of Semaîl, to deliver him up to them. On their arrival the messengers apprehended him, and the governor, fearing that they might lay violent hands on him by the way, went with them. The Imâm had moreover sent a second body of horse under Mûsa-bin-'Aly to seize and bring him. The two parties met in the Nejd-es-Sahâmah, and as they proceeded on their way some of the escort fell upon Sákar and killed him, and neither the governor Abu-'l-Wadh-dhâh nor Mûsa-bin-'Aly was able to prevent them; in fact, it is stated that Mûsa-bin-'Aly would have incurred the same fate had he ventured to interfere. We have not heard that the Imâm Ghassân ever denied who it was that killed Sákar. In those days the government was in its prime and strength. Such is the story of Sákar's death; but God knows the truth.

The following is among the recorded decrees of the Imâm Ghassân: (may God have mercy upon him!)—There were some out-houses at Sémed of Nezwa belonging to the Benu-Juláṇda—probably the same as those generally called "the Dark Arches"—situated by the roadside, where a number of libertines used to station themselves in order to molest any females who passed that way.[1] This coming to the knowledge of the Imâm, he directed the people of that

[1] Ibn-Batûta, who visited the coast of 'Omân in the fourteenth century, writes disparagingly of the morals of the people. "Their wives," he says, "are most base; yet, without denying this, the husbands express nothing like jealousy on the subject." Lee's Translation, p. 62.

district either to raze the aforesaid haunts, or to take them within their limits, in order that an end might be put to such scandals. The people accordingly first made another road for wayfarers, and when they had pulled down all the houses the former road was resumed The remains of these buildings are still to be seen near the mosque belonging to Sémed of Nezwa and Sahîlah.

The Imâm Ghassân continued to rule uprightly till he was seized with an illness on the 8th of Dzul-Kaâdah, in the year 207 [A.D. 822], of which he died a few days after. His Imâmate lasted fifteen years and seven days. Allegiance was then given to

'ABDU-'L-MÁLIK-BIN-HAMÎD.

He was of the Benu-Saudah-bin-'Aly-bin-'Amru-bin-'Âmir Mâ-es-Sáma, el-Azdy. He walked in the way of the truth, of justice and integrity, following the good example of his predecessors, who decreed what was right and forbade what was wrong. 'Omân under him enjoyed peace and prosperity. Allegiance was given to him on Thursday, eight days before the end of Shaâwâl, A.H. 208. He continued his beneficent rule till he grew old and was paralysed. In his time disturbances used to arise among his soldiers, and the Mussulmans consequently consulted the learned sheikh Mûsa about deposing him, on account of his age and bodily infirmities. Mûsa accordingly advised them to muster the soldiers and to appoint a regent. This was done, and Mûsa himself having been made regent arrested the evil. 'Abdu-'l-Málik continued, however, to reside in his house: he was not deposed, neither did he cease to be respected while he lived. Throughout his reign he was to his people an Imâm free from reproach and duplicity. His rule, until he became too infirm for the administration, extended over eighteen years. He was an old man when he was first recognised as Imâm. On his death the Mussulmans gave their allegiance to

EL-MUHENNA-BIN-JAIFAR,

EL-FEJHY, EL-YÁHMADY, EL-AZDY.

He also walked in the way of truth and justice, and followed in the footsteps of his virtuous predecessors, and 'Omân under him was at peace. The Imâmate was confirmed to him on Friday, in the month of Rájab, A.H. 226 [A.D. 840]. He was very strict and firm withal. No one could utter vain speeches in his councils; he never preferred one litigant to another; none of his assistants ventured to rise while he was seated; nor did any soldier who received pay approach him without his arms. His anger was terrible, and sometimes he would gnash his teeth with rage. The unfortunate victim of his wrath might as well have died at once. His collector was one 'Abdallah-bin-Sulcimân, of the Benu-Dhábbah, of Manh, whom he used to employ to collect the cattle-tithe. It is related that this official went to the Máhrah country and there applied to Wasîm-bin-Jaáfar, who was bound to pay a couple of three-years'-old camels.[1] The man refused to give more than one, and said: "If you choose to take it, well; if not, look at these graves of your companions: whenever any of them opposed us, and wanted to force us contrary to our will, we killed them." 'Abdallah, who had only one man with him, then left the country, and on his arrival at 'Azz of 'Omân, where his house was, he sent his companion to the Imâm el-Muhenna-bin-Jaifar, whom he found in council at Nezwa. As the Imâm was preparing to leave, he called for the messenger and inquired of him about 'Abdallah and how he had fared on his journey. The man told him in detail about Wasîm and all that had occurred; whereupon the Imâm ordered him not to divulge the matter to anyone. On the arrival of 'Abdallah the Imâm asked him also about Wasîm, and finding his companion's story confirmed he

[1] It is clear from the above that the people of Máhrah were tributary to 'Omân at this period.

wrote forthwith to the governor of Âdam, and to the governor of Sanâ, and to the governor of Jaâlân, directing them, if possible, to secure Wasîm-bin-Jaâfar, of Máhrah, and when they had secured him to let him know. He then sent Yahya-el-Yáhmady, known as Abu-'l-Mukârish, with a number of horsemen, to apprehend him. Then he dispatched another troop which overtook the first at Menâyif; then a third which joined the preceding at the village of 'Azz; then another which came up with them at the village of Manh. Thus troops were constantly being dispatched in quest of the culprit until he was seized and brought to Nezwa, when the Imâm ordered him to be imprisoned. He remained in prison a year, and no one dared to ask the Imâm about him, or to intercede in his behalf, until a party came from Máhrah who solicited the el-Yáhmady chiefs to procure his liberation. The Imâm promised to release him, but required that they should first assent to one of these conditions: first, that they should retire from 'Omân; secondly, that they should declare war against him; or, thirdly, that they should engage to bring their camels every year to the camp at Nezwa: that witnesses, to be selected from among the soldiers, should testify that they were all brought and that none were left behind, and that the witnesses should decide at Âdam on the just amount of tithe which should be paid. To this they replied: "As to the first condition, we cannot leave the country; neither, in the second place, can we think of making war upon the Imâm; but we are quite ready to bring our camels as has been proposed, and to pay what has been ordered." Thereupon the Imâm appointed witnesses, and the camels were brought every year and made to go round a pillar which he caused to be erected in the village of Fark, as a sign to remind the people of Máhrah of their engagement.

At this period Mughîrah-bin-Wásin, el-Julándy, with a number of his tribe, rebelled against the Mussulmans, and proceeded to Tawwâm-el-Jauf, where Abu-'l-Wadh-dhâh was

governor on the part of Muhenna-bin-Ǧaifar, and killed him. When the Mussulmans heard thereof, Abu-Marwân, the governor of Sohâr, repaired with his people to Tawwâm, taking with him el-Mattâr, el-Hindy, and his followers of the el-Hindy. On reaching Tawwâm they attacked the Benu-Julánda, and God put them to flight. Some were killed and others were scattered in all directions. Then el-Mattâr, el-Hindy, and his unruly followers destroyed the hamlet belonging to the Benu-Julánda with fire. There were camels, oxen and sheep in it at the time, all of which, being tethered, were burnt. It is related that one of el-Mattâr's men threw himself into the brook to wet his clothes, and that he then rushed into the fire to try and cut the ropes so that the poor animals might escape. As many as seventy head of cattle were consumed; some say not more than fifty; but God knows. It is also recorded that some of the women of the Benu-Julánda who had escaped, taking a female servant with them, after remaining a long time in the desert, being greatly pressed for food, sent their servant to the village by night to beg meat and drink. On reaching the village about midnight she obtained a little meal and an empty milk-skin, and took the latter to the brook and filled it with water. One of el-Mattâr's men, happening to see her going towards the women with the meal and water, scattered the meal on the sand and poured the water out of the skin. Abu-Marwân, however, had not ordered the burning of the hamlet, or any of these outrages; on the contrary, he had forbidden them, but he was disobeyed. It is recorded of the Imâm that he sent two officers to the people whose houses had been destroyed and directed that they should be indemnified. The number of the force which accompanied Abu-Marwân is said to have amounted to 12,000; but God knows.

El-Muhenna held the Imâmate till his death, which took place on the 26th of Rabîâ-el-Âkhir, 237 [A.D. 851]. He

had ruled ten years and some months and days. His administration was carried on to the satisfaction of the Mussulmans. His tomb is well known at Nezwa. The Mussulmans then gave their allegiance to

ES-SALT-BIN-MÂLIK,

EL-AZDY, EL-KHARÛSY,

on the selfsame day whereon his predecessor had died. At that time the most eminent man among the Mussulmans in learning and piety was Muhammad-bin-Mahbûb, (may God have mercy upon him!) and they gave their allegiance to es-Salt-bin-Mâlik, as they had done to his upright predecessors. He was a lover of truth and justice, and held the Imâmate longer than any of the Imâms of 'Omân before him, until he became very old and feeble. His principal weakness was in his legs, but we have no authentic account of the state of his mind, or of his sight and hearing. When his predestined time drew nigh, God chose to try the people of 'Omân as He had tried those before them. Hence it was that Mûsa-bin-Mûsa and his confederates formed themselves into a party, and the consequence was that disunion arose among the people, and their loyalty towards the Imâmate was weakened, and they abstained from frequenting the house of the Imâm.[1] Then Mûsa-bin-Mûsa nominated

RÂSHID-BIN-EN-NADHR

to the Imâmate, on Thursday, three days before the expiration of the month of el-Hijj, 273 [A.D. 886], and the Imâm es-Salt died on Thursday, towards the middle of Dzul-Hijj, 275. In his days died also the learned Muhammad-bin-Mahbûb, in the town of Sohâr, and his tomb is well known there up to this time, A.H. 1274 [A.D. 1857].

Then serious disturbances arose in 'Omân, and anger and

[1] Equivalent to keeping aloof from the Imâm's court.

strife increased, and the people were divided in their opinions. The cause was this: when es-Salt was removed from the Imâmate, and Râshid-bin-en-Nadhr ruled in his stead, several party conflicts took place in 'Omân. Among these was the battle of el-Râwdhah, in et-Tanûf, wherein Fahm-bin-Wârith and Musâab-bin-Sulcimân engaged the troops sent against them by Râshid, and were overcome. Also the battle which occurred at er-Rastâk, between Sûny and 'Ainy, when Shâzân, son of the Imâm es-Salt, fought against Râshid, but was vanquished by him. Eventually Mûsa-bin-Mûsa withdrew from Râshid-bin-en-Nadhr, and did all in his power to mislead, thwart and check him, and at last succeeded in deposing him.

'AZZÂN-BIN-TEMÎM,

EL-KHARÛSY,

succeeded him on Wednesday, three days before the expiration of Sáfar, A.H. 277 [A.D. 890]. Among those who were present at the swearing of allegiance was Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân. Mûsa and 'Azzân continued on friendly terms for some time, but differences arising between them, 'Azzân removed Mûsa from the office of Kâdhi. Nevertheless, 'Azzân stood in great dread of Mûsa, and ultimately sent a force against him, composed chiefly of men whom he released from prison with that object. These proceeded to Azka, and entering the Hujrah[1] of the en-Nizâr began to slaughter the inmates, to steal and plunder, and ended by setting the building on fire, in which several excellent men were burnt to death. Mûsa-bin-Mûsa was also killed near the pebbles close to the stone mosque in the quarter of

[1] *Hujrah*, which primarily means a house or inclosure, is used throughout this work to denote a fortified mansion or block-house. Most of the principal villages throughout Yemen and 'Omân possess one or more such strongholds, which are regarded as the common property of the resident inhabitants. Fortalice, perhaps, is the nearest English equivalent, but I have preferred retaining the original name.

the el-Jinûr [el-Jibûr?]. In fact, they committed such outrages upon the people of Azka as were never before heard of. This took place on Sunday, one day before the expiration of Shaabân, A.H. 278.

Insubordination now began to spread far and wide, mutual animosity increased, and each party strove to injure the other as much as posssible. 'Azzân, on his side, cherished his partisans, assigning stipends to those who abetted him, and withdrawing the salaries of such as did not join in the raid on Azka. A movement was now set on foot to avenge that massacre, in which el-Fadhl-bin-el-Khawâry, el-Kúrashy, en-Nizâry, took the lead, and was joined by the el-Mudhriyyah[1] and the el-Haddân, and also by some of the Benu-Hârith from el-Bâtinah. Fadhl first went to consult with 'Abdallah-el-Haddâny in the mountains of the el-Haddân, and then proceeded to Tawwâm. He then returned to the el-Haddân, bringing with him el-Khawâry-bin-'Abdallah, es-Salûky, and from thence went on to Sohâr, on the 23rd of the month. On Friday they attended the Friday prayer, Zebîd-bin-Sulcimân leading, after which he addressed the people. Then el-Khawâry prayed from the pulpit, and they remained in the mosque all Friday and Saturday. On Saturday night they set forth to attack el-Ahîf-bin-Himhâm, el-Hinâ'y, and his confederates who sided with 'Azzân-bin-Temîm; for 'Azzân, on hearing of the projected attack, had dispatched el-Ahîf with a party of the el-Yâhmad, among whom was Fahm-bin-Wârith. They marched until they reached Mujázz of el-Bâtinah, from whence they sent for es-Salt-bin-en-Nasr, who joined them with a body of horse and foot. El-Fadhl-bin-el-Khawâry and el-Khawâry-bin-'Abdallah now hastened to encounter them, and a conflict ensued in which many of the el-Mudhriyyah were slain, and the remainder fled. This

[1] El-Mudhriyyah, that is, the descendants of Mudhâr, the son of Nizâr; hence their near relationship to the Nizâriyyah of 'Omân. See note, p. 3.

engagement took place on the 4th of Shawâl of the above-named year.

Outbreaks and conspiracies went on increasing among the people of 'Omân, and the orders of the Imâm were disregarded by them, for they would not listen to the word of God, and refused to walk in the footsteps of their righteous forefathers. Hence their perplexities were multiplied, and so irresolute were they that no less than sixteen councils were assembled, at which nothing was decided. At length what was decreed came to pass. Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Kâsim, and Beshîr-bin-el-Mûndhir, of the Benu-Sâmah-bin-Láwa-bin-Ghâlib, went to el-Bahrein, which was at that time under Muhammad-bin-Nûr, the agent of el-Mûtádhid,[1] the 'Abbaside [Khalîfah], to whom they complained of the bitter dissensions which had arisen among them, begging him to join them in an expedition against 'Omân, and making him many promises in the event of his acquiescence. Muhammad-bin-Nûr readily assented to their proposals, but suggested that they should first repair to Baghdâd, and submit them to the Khalîfah in person. Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Kâsim accordingly went to Baghdâd, but Beshîr remained with Muhammad-bin-Nûr. Muhammad, on reaching the Khalîfah el-Mûtádhid, submitted the case to him, and after obtaining an order from him, addressed to Muhammad-bin-Nûr, directing him to proceed against 'Omân, he returned to el-Bahrein. Thereupon Muhammad-bin-Nûr began to collect troops from all the tribes, and from the nobility of the en-Nizâriyyah. He also obtained men from the et-Tai of esh-Shâm, so that he was able to set out with a force of 25,000, of which 500 were horsemen, and an equal number of horsemen clad in coats of mail, with their attendants and baggage.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached 'Omân the whole country was alarmed, fresh dissensions broke out among the people and chiefs, who were at their wits' end,

[1] El-Mu'tádhid-b'Illâh began to reign A.H. 279 = A.D. 892.

and so great was the general consternation that many left 'Omân with their families and property, thereby laying themselves open to deserved contempt for pusillanimity. Sulcimân-bin-'Abdi-'l-Málik, es-Salîmy, with some of his followers, went to Hormûz, and the people of Sohâr went to Shirâz and el-Básrah, taking their families and goods with them. In the meantime Muhammad-bin-Nûr advanced with his troops and took Julfâr, from whence he marched to Tawwâm, capturing es-Sirr and its neighbourhood, and then started for Nezwa. 'Azzân-bin-Temîm, being abandoned by the people, left Nezwa for Sémed-esh-Shân, and Muhammad-bin-Nûr entered the former town, which surrendered to him at once. He then marched towards Sémed-esh-Shân, and came up with 'Azzân-bin-Temîm in its vicinity, and a fierce engagement took place between the two parties on Thursday the 25th of Sáfar of that year, and the people of 'Omân were worsted and put to flight. 'Azzân-bin-Temîm was among the slain, and the country fell into the hands of the conquerors. It was not that God had changed the people, but they had changed themselves through their intestine quarrels,[1] each party striving for the sovereignty; therefore God gave them up to be ruled over by their enemies. Thus far the rule of the Ibâdhiyah, from the time they began to govern until the country was taken from them, had lasted one hundred and sixty years, all but a month and twelve days; but God knows.[2]

Muhammad-bin-Nûr sent the head of 'Azzân-bin-Temîm to the Khalîfah el-Mûtádhid, at Baghdâd, and then returned to Nezwa, where he took up his abode. Thereupon el-Ahîf-bin-Himhâm, el-Hinây, wrote to all the tribes and people of 'Omân, urging them to rise up against Muhammad-bin-Nûr

[1] "God did not change what was in them until they themselves had changed it." *Kurân*, xii, 13.

[2] The meaning here is that the Ibâdhiyah were deprived of the government over 'Omân for the time being; they resumed it some time afterwards.

and expel him the country. A great many answered the appeal and joined him with a large body of soldiers. Muhammad-bin-Nûr on hearing this lost heart and took to flight, followed by el-Ahîf and his army. It had been decided, as the best strategy, that no attempt should be made to overtake him, but that he should be allowed to escape. God, however, had decreed otherwise, and in order to fulfil His designs they marched quickly, and came up with him at Dabâ,[1] where a fierce battle was fought, wherein many were killed on both sides; but Muhammad-bin-Nûr fled, and was pursued as far as the sea-coast at es-Sîb.[2] At this juncture the enemy was reinforced by a large body of mounted warriors, and others of the el-Mudhriyyah, two men riding on each camel, who were dispatched by 'Obeidah-bin-Muhammad, esh-Shâmy, to the assistance of Muhammad-bin Nûr. On reaching the spot the riders alighted, and seizing their weapons joined Muhammad-bin-Nûr in an attack upon el-Ahîf and his followers. In this engagement the people of 'Omân were overcome, and el-Ahîf with many of his own tribe and others was slain. None were saved except those whose death was deferred. Thereupon Muhammad-bin-Nûr returned to Nezwa, and continued to rule over 'Omân with the greatest severity. He dispersed the inhabitants and ravaged the country, destroying much of its cultivation and turning the delight of the people into contempt. He cut off the hands and ears, and scooped out the eyes of the nobles; he inflicted unheard-of tortures and outrages upon the people; he destroyed the water-courses, burnt the books, and utterly desolated 'Omân.

[1] Dabâ, the "Dibbah" of our charts, a seaport on the east coast of 'Omân. It was here that Abu-Bekr's generals encountered and defeated the early rebels against Islâm, as mentioned in the Introduction. It is described as being at that time the principal maritime town and market of 'Omân.

[2] Es-Sîb, a small town on the coast about thirty miles north of Máskat. A large portion of the market-boats for Máskat load here, the locality being conveniently situated for the people residing in the cultivated parts of the interior.

Before returning to el-Bahrein he appointed Ahmed-bin-Hilâl, who resided at Behlâ,[1] governor over the whole of 'Omân, and placed one el-Bujairah, misnamed Abi-Ahmed, as his subordinate over Nezwa. The latter was informed one day that Abu-'l-Hawâry and some of his companions had been talking about Mûsa-bin-Mûsa, whereupon he sent a soldier to summon him to his presence. The soldier found him in the *mihrâb*[2] of the mosque of Ibn-Sâîd, (known as that of Abu-Kâsim), belonging to the esh-Shéjeby, after the morning prayer, reading the Kurân. The soldier having announced his errand, Abu-'l-Hawâry replied: "I have no business with him," and continued reading. The soldier was astonished and felt at a loss what to do, until a messenger arrived from el-Bujairah directing him not to molest Abu-'l-Hawâry. Such was the effect of the blessed Kurân. The soldier is related to have said that he had called upon Abu-'l-Hawâry to come forth lest the *mihrâb* should be sprinkled with his blood.

El-Bujairah continued to rule over Nezwa until the people rose up against him and killed him. They then dragged his body and buried it below the gate Mawârr, just within the valley, by the side of the road leading to Fark, where they deposit their ashes and rubbish. Thereupon they gave their allegiance to

SHEIKH MUHAMMAD-BIN-EL-HÁSAN,

EL-AZDY, EL-KHARÛSY,

and shortly after deposed him. Next, they vowed allegiance to

'AZZÂN-BIN-EL-HIZR,

EL-MÂLIKY, EL-YÁHMADY,

whom they also deposed. Then to

[1] Behlâ, one of the towns of ezh-Zhâhirah, a few miles to the north-west of Nezwa.

[2] The niche in the wall of a mosque which marks the direction of Mekkah.

'ABDALLAH-BIN-MUHAMMAD,

EL-HADDÂNY,

known as Abu-Sâîd, el-Kármaty.[1] Him they subsequently deposed, and then elected to the Imâmate

ES-SALT-BIN-EL-KÂSIM.

In the meantime, however, having elected Muhammad-bin-el-Hásan a second time, they deposed es-Salt. As no fault was found with the former on this occasion he died holding the Imâmate. Next, they gave their allegiance to

HÁSAN-BIN-SÁÎD,

ES-SÁHTANY,

who died a month after; then to

EL-HAWÂRY-BIN-MÁTRAF.

EL-HADDÂNY,

in spite of all opposition. He encouraged the profligate and licentious, and whenever the Sultân[2] came to 'Omân to levy tribute from the inhabitants, he used to resign the Imâmate and retire to his private house, and the Sultân took no steps to restrain his tyranny and oppression. On the departure of the Sultân he used to resume the Imâmate, saying to those around him: "the government belongs to God, and

[1] El-Kármaty, that is, belonging to the sect of the Karâmitah. A short account of their history and tenets is given in a succeeding note.

[2] The author being of the Ibâdhiyah sect very rarely gives the title of "Khalîfah" to the sovereigns of the Muslim empire, evidently through fear of being supposed to recognize them as legitimate *Successors* of Muhammad, which the Ibâdhiyah deny.

By the Sultân coming to 'Omân probably nothing more is meant than that he sent a representative into that country. The "Sultân of Baghdâd" specially indicated was either el-Muktáfy-b'Illâh or el-Muktádhir-b'Illâh, successors to el-Mu'tádhid, A.D. 902-932.

those who disobey are guilty of revolt against God." His agent with the Sultân was one Yâsir of the Benu-Sâmah. (The Sultân here referred to is the Sultân of Baghdâd.) They then deposed him and bestowed the Imâmate upon his nephew,

'OMAR-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-MÁTRAF,

who followed the example of his uncle, for whenever the Sultân's agent came he submitted to him and resigned the Imâmate, resuming it again with full powers when the agent left.

Then came the Karâmitah,[1] whose increasing numbers in

[1] The *Karâmitah* began to raise disturbances in the Muslim empire about A.H. 276=A.D. 889. Opinions differ as to the correct origin of the designation. The followers of this sect bore an inveterate hatred to Mussulmans generally, pretending that their own founder was a true prophet, who had given them a new law which abrogated all preceding revelations, and which allowed them to drink wine and to dispense with many of the requirements of Islâm. They further turned the precepts of the Kurân into allegory, teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imâm, and fasting that of concealing their doctrines from strangers. Under several fanatical leaders they caused continued annoyance to successive Khalifahs, committing great outrages in 'Irâk, Arabia Syria and Mesopotamia, and at length established a formidable principality, whose power was at its meridian under Abu-Tâhir, renowned for his capture of Mekkah, A.H. 317, and the indignities perpetrated upon the Ka'abah by his soldiery. The el-Bahrein branch of the sect, to which Abu-Tâhir belonged, and which is specially referred to in the text, recognized his father, Abu-Sa'id, as its first chief. According to Nowairy, quoted by De Sacy, "Abu-Sa'id attempted the conquest of that country, but a detachment of six hundred men whom he sent on the expedition having been nearly exterminated by the people of 'Omân, he abandoned the project." Abu-Sa'id was murdered in a bath by one of his eunuchs, A.H. 301 A.D. 913. He was succeeded by his son Abu-'l-Kâsim Sa'id, who was shortly after displaced by his brother, the famous Abu-Tâhir. The malediction invoked upon the Karâmitah by the author is a conclusive proof that their tenets had nothing in common with the sect to which he belonged, namely, the Ibâdhiyah, with whom Palgrave associates them. (*Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii, pp. 262, 264.) For an exhaustive essay on the origin and history of the

'Omân prevented 'Omar from ever again exercising the functions of Imâm. The Karâmitah had already overrun many countries, and had seized the supreme power at Mekkah and in Syria, where the tribes and their chiefs submitted to them, and all the surrounding countries stood in awe of them, for wherever they went violence and depravity accompanied them. They were followers of Abu-Sâîd-el-Hásan, el-Janâby,[1] who abolished prayer, and fasting, and the pilgrimage, and the *Zakâh*.[2] Moreover, el-Hásan arrogated to himself such attributes that the weakminded exalted him into a god, other than the only true God, who, according to the doctrines of these tyrants, had bestowed the highest honour upon him. His career was brought to a close (may God's curse rest upon him!) by 'Abdallah-bin-'Aly, who with a force of 400 men defeated his large army after a struggle which lasted seven years. With this overthrow the government of the Karâmitah came to an end.

After an interval of several years, during which there was no Imâm in 'Omân, the Imâmate was conferred on

MUHAMMAD-BIN-YEZÎD,

EL-KINDY,[3]

but he was subsequently deposed, on the plea that the appointment was made by violence; (at this period the Sultân

Karâmitah, see De Sacy's Introduction to his *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, pp. lxiii-cexxiii. Also Goeje's *Mémoire sur la Secte des Carmathes du Bahrein ou Hadjar*. Lugd. 1862.

[1] De Sacy styles him "Abou-Said Hasan, fils de Behram, surnommé Djénabi, parce qu'il était de Djénaba." Abulféda says: "Jannâbah, or, as Ibn-Hallikân writes it, Jannâbah, is a small town of el-Bahrein, from whence sprang Abu-Sa'îd, el-Jannâby, the libertine, the Kármaty, who attacked the Hijj and killed many of them." *Takwîm-el-Buldân.*

[2] *Zakâh*: obligatory alms for pious uses, such as building mosques, etc.

[3] The *el Kindah* were a Yémeny tribe, the issue of Kindah the offspring of 'Odad, the son of Kahlân, the son of 'Abd-Shems-Sába, the son of Himyar. They were spread over the east of Yemen, from Hadh-

of Baghdâd overcame 'Omân and held it with two camps, one of which was at es-Sirr and the other at el-'Atîk,) whereupon Muhammad-bin-Yezîd, el-Kindy, fled and his Imâmate ceased. They then gave the Imâmate to the

MULLAH-EL-BÁHARY.

who resided at Sâûl of Nezwa; but not being satisfied with him they deposed him. After which the people of 'Omân continued to be divided in their opinions until the appearance of

SÁÎD-BIN-'ABDALLAH-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-MAHBÛB-BIN-ER-RAHÎL-BIN-SEIF-BIN-HUBAIRAH,

FÂRIS-RASÛL-ALLÂH.

Ibn-Kaisar says: "I have not been able to find the date when allegiance was given to him, nor how long he retained the Imâmate." In another place he says: "I have discovered that the first who gave his allegiance to the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah was el-Hawâry-bin-'Othmân, and, after him, 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Muăthir. This appointment also was made in spite of much opposition. Then, quoting from Rûh, (may God be merciful to him!) he states that "the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah was more learned than any of those who swore fealty to him, and than any of his compeers." And, again: "We know of none among the Imâms of 'Omân superior to Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah, for he was a learned and upright Imâm, and died

ramaut to Nejrân and el-Yamâmah, and were divided into numerous sub-tribes, one of which, the es-Sakâsik, is named in a subsequent part of these annals as having representatives in 'Omân. The el-Hind, also, mentioned on p. 18, are closely related to the el-Kindah, for Hujr-'Akîl-el-Murâr, a prince of that tribe, and the first of a Nejdean dynasty named after him, married Hind, or Hind-el-Hinúd, a young female of the same stock, between A.D. 460-480. See Perceval's *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. ii, pp. 264-6.

a martyr;" he adds, however: "the Imâm Julánda-bin-Mas'ûd[1] may perhaps be compared to him." On the other hand, the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Sâîd-bin-Abi-Bekr says: "the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah was far superior to Julánda-bin-Mas'ûd, who is not to be compared to him, for he was an upright Imâm, and was far in advance of his cotemporaries in learning. Moreover, he died a martyr." He further gives the following account of the manner in which the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah came by his death, which is said to have occurred A.H. 328 [A.D. 939]; but God knows. A woman of el-Ghashb, of er-Rastâk, was drying grain in the sun when a sheep came and began eating it; in order to drive it away she threw a stone which broke the sheep's leg; thereupon the woman who owned the animal commenced beating her. The latter screamed for aid, and a large concourse of people soon joined both sides and a serious conflict took place. On hearing this the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah approached, accompanied by a soldier, intending to act as a mediator between the combatants, but somehow or other he fell in the scuffle. After him allegiance was given to

RÂSHID-BIN-EL-WÂLID

on this wise:—there assembled together sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Muăthir, and Naâmân-bin-Abdu-'l-Hamîd, and Abu-Muhammad-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Sâlih, and Abu-'l-Mûndhir-bin-Abi-Muhammad-bin-Rûh. These men were looked up to at that time with the same confidence and respect as were those of the assembly who gave their allegiance to the Imâm Sâîd-bin-'Abdallah. None questioned their virtue or ignored their probity, for they were the most eminent of their class. Thus there are men forthcoming to suit all times, just as there is a rhyme for every word, and contemporaries are never wanting to extol their virtues, having full confidence in them. The man of

[1] See *ante*, p. 7.

to-day stands upon the foot-print of his predecessor. The former has nothing to envy, nor the latter anything to renounce.

The above-named met in the house of Râshid-bin-el-Walîd, at Nezwa, under the presidency of Abu-Muhammad-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Muăthir, and after one and all had agreed to disavow the principles which had actuated Mûsa-bin-Mûsa and Râshid-bin-en-Nadhr[1] and produced such disasters in the government, they gave their allegiance to Râshid-bin-el-Walîd. Then they went forth to the people on the plain of Nezwa, where a large concourse of the people of 'Omân from Nezwa and all the towns to the east of 'Omân and elsewhere were assembled, consisting of the *élite* of the population of every rank, and all gave their submission to him. In none was there the least sign of disaffection or disloyalty. Then Abu-Muhammad-'Abdallah-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Saihah stood up and proclaimed him Imâm, and called upon the people to give him their allegiance, which they did freely and openly, not one dissented nor did any appear to envy. The people, who were collected in crowds, had come singly and in pairs, and the Imâm took their promises and engagements. He then appointed collectors and governors over all the towns and districts, and led the Friday prayer at Nezwa. He and his collectors received the *Sadakât*[2], he organized the army, reformed the administration and carried his reforms into execution, and, as far as God pleased, the towns and districts acknowledged him. In fact, there was not a town left in 'Omân which recognized any other authority, which did not submit to his administration, and did not give him its allegiance. On the other hand, in his conduct of public affairs as Imâm he manifested the most unswerving integrity, plainly showing that there was neither violence nor culpability in his acts to make him afraid,

[1] See *ante*, p. 20.

[2] *Sadakât*, *i. e.*, voluntary alms given for religious purposes

and that he was not actuated by love of gain or self-interest to call forth any dissimulation on his part; on the contrary, he was the friend of his subjects, tolerant of their opinions, gentle towards their waywardness, indulgent towards their failings, long-suffering towards their crimes, and ever ready to benefit them. He was impartially just towards high and low, rich and poor, great and small, condescending to all, diligent in looking into their affairs, making himself equal with those below him, and gladly listening to the counsels of those who advised him. He persevered in the same course even when driven by his people to endure misfortune, separation from enjoyments and friends, reproach and injury, contumely and defamation, bearing all these things patiently, and praying that the result might confound the abettors of mischief. Many of his subjects who entertained the most malevolent designs against him were anxious that some evil might befall him; for the devil had been busy with them, and envy and malice had got the better of them, until the course of affairs turned against him. Then the decree of God was fulfilled in the disaffection of the generality of the people and the rebellion of most of the chiefs, who maligned him to the Sultân, to whom they made overtures and whom they prepared to meet in order to cöoperate with him, assembling themselves together for that purpose. He did all he could to prevent this, which led to fresh dissensions, and they departed from Behlâ in a body. The Sultân was now aproaching from es-Sirr, whilst the Imâm's party was left few in number, the majority having abandoned him. Nevertheless, he set out from Nezwa, in order to prevent them from joining the Sultân; but when he found to what extent he had been abandoned, and how bitter was the enmity against him, he perceived at once that he was unable to encounter the Sultân. So, fearing that he might be suddenly overpowered if he remained where he was, he fled with his adherents from Behlâ to Kádam, hoping that they might be safe there. He

remained at Kádam until he heard that his enemies had entered el-Jauf,[1] when he departed from thence with his scanty followers to the Wâdi-'l-Báhar, where he rallied together all the chiefs and nobles who were still loyal to his cause, and, by the aid of God, was enabled to maintain that position.

At this time the Sultân and his nobles were at Nezwa, but by the advice of those who were with him and sympathized with him Râshid-bin-Walid did not attack them, trusting that such forbearance on his part towards the Mussulmans and his own countrymen would tend to strengthen his cause and ultimately give him the victory. He therefore stopped short at Nezwa, close to the road leading to the 'Akabat-Fîh,[2] and not far from the the Sultân el-Jâir's[3] army. But what God had forecordained came to pass: his adherents attacked the enemy and were overcome, whereupon they fled and were scattered in all directions. This engagement took place at dawn, and by the evening of the same day he was abandoned by all his followers, and in utter despair of receiving any aid from his people. The Sultân el-Jâir now seized upon the whole country, the people on their part doing all in their power to conciliate him, while the Sultân

[1] El-Jauf, according to the information obtained by Niebuhr, is a small town on the borders of the desert, about forty miles to the south-east of Nezwa. Wellsted does not notice it in his *Travels in Arabia*. The author repeatedly remarks in the sequel that the town is vulgarly called "el-Jau."

[2] 'Akabah, (in construct case, 'Akabat,) means the summit of a mountain or a steep declivity; sometimes a difficult pass which is easily defended against an enemy. There are many such localities in the mountainous parts of 'Omân, generally bearing distinctive names.

[3] The lieutenant of one of the Abbaside Khalifahs is probably alluded to in this passage, but I am at a loss to determine which of them is indicated. The designation "el-Jâir," (the Tyrant), is evidently a nickname. As the Imâm Sa'id-bin-'Abdallah, Râshid-bin-Walid's predecessor, is said to have died A.H. 328, and el-Khalil-bin-Shâdzân to have succeeded him about A.H. 405, it must have been one of the five Khalifahs who reigned during that interval. The principal Arabian historians throw no light on the affairs of 'Omân at this period.

el-Jâŭr on his part used every species of dissimulation, until he succeeded in inducing all the districts to submit to him.

Meanwhile the Imâm was a fugitive among the mountains and ravines, commiserated by the Sultân and people, dreading by night that some misfortune would befall him, and awaking in the morning to find himself cut off from relatives and home, while his people were secure in their dwellings, doing homage to their Sultân. Finding there was no way open to him to make another attempt, and no other alternative, he consulted with men of discretion, and, acting on their advice, he decided to make his submission. He accordingly returned to his residence and sent in his submission. Thereupon a messenger was sent to him from the Sultân, assuring him of perfect immunity. It is stated that the promise was given by word only and not on oath. It appears, further, that the Imâm never made himself of those who frequented the court of the Sultân, although the latter frequently urged him to do so. Thus his Imâmate came to an end, and his authority passed into the hands of another. As far as we know, no one has ever spoken evil of his administration, or reflected on him for the vicissitudes which occurred during his Imâmate. He lived a little longer, held in general esteem, and died deplored by all. One author states that Abu-Muhammad-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Abi-'l-Muăthir was killed at the battle of el-Ghashb, during the lifetime of Rashîd-bin-el-Walîd, and while loyal to him.

To proceed: When the commotions consequent upon the invasion of the Abbaside Khalîfahs had subsided in 'Omân, and they ceased to send reinforcements thither, owing to revolt within their own territories,[1] the chiefs of 'Omân conferred the Imâmate on

[1] Judging from the context, the period here referred to was some years prior to A.H. 400=A.D. 1009. Even for half a century before that date, the Baghdâd Khalîfate possessed only the appearance of preeminence. The Arabian 'Irâk had fallen into the hands of the Amir-el-Omarâ; Fars was governed by the el-Bûyah; the Persian 'Irâk recog-

EL-KHALÎL-BIN-SHÂDZÂN.

He was an upright man, and walked in the footsteps of his virtuous predecessors, to the great satisfaction of the people. He was impartial in his judgment between high and low, rich and poor, and through his wise administration 'Omân enjoyed peace and prosperity. He restrained injustice and tyranny, lived beloved by his subjects, and died revered. His rule extended over forty years and some months. After him allegiance was given to

RÂSHID-BIN-SA'ÎD.

He also walked in the good way of his predecessor and imitated him in his praiseworthy life. He died in the month of Muhárram, A.H. 445 [A.D. 1053]. The Imâmate was then conferred on his son,

HAFS-BIN-RÂSHID-BIN-SA'ÎD,

who only held it for a short time, when he was called away by death. They then appointed

RÂSHID-BIN-'ALY,

praised by high and low for his excellent qualities. He restrained the vicious and tyrannical, and died in the month of el-Kaádah, A.H. 446. After him allegiance was given to

nized rulers of the same family; Mesopotamia acknowledged the el-Hamdâny sovereigns; Egypt and Syria had revolted; Africa had been conquered by the Fâtimites; Spain was governed by a descendant of the house of Omeyyah; the Karâmitah held el-Yamâmah and el-Bahrein; the Khalîfahs had been obliged on several occasions to abandon Baghdâd; in fact, although the Abbaside dynasty continued to exist nominally for 250 years afterwards, it was too weak even at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era to retain any of its foreign conquests.

arrival he demanded of him the revenues of 'Omân and tribute from its inhabitants. Abu-'l-Mââly excused himself from payment on the ground that he only possessed one town in 'Omân. Whereupon Mahmûd offered him as many soldiers as were necessary to enable him to enforce his demand; but el-Mââly urged that the people were too poor to pay, and moreover that any such demand would cause great disturbances among them. Mahmûd now determined to effect his object by stratagem, and accordingly sent for all the Amîrs of the Bedawîn of 'Omân, whom he invested with robes of honour, and to whom he gave presents, on condition of their joining him against 'Omân. He himself then took ship and went to Zhafâr,[1] which he plundered, killing many of the inhabitants, and returned to Kalhât with a large booty. Leaving some of his party with the ships, he proceeded by land with the remainder. They lost their way in the sand, and were driven to such extremities for want of provisions and water that the price of a *mann*[2] of meat rose as high as

the government of the country at that time by the Benu-Nebhân, that he calls the Sultân of 'Omân "an Arab of the el-Azd, named Abu-Muhammad-ibn-Nebhân." (Lee's Translation, p. 62.) 'Abd-er-Razzâk, who sojourned at the place on his voyage to India, A.H. 846, gives a lugubrious account of his sufferings there, owing to the excessive heat of the atmosphere. (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 10.) It was burnt by Albuquerque in 1508, at which time it is described as "a beautiful strong town, but not so populous as heretofore, whose buildings are after the style of those in Spain." Kalhât declined with the rise of Máskat as an entrepôt of trade, and in 1835, when Wellsted touched there, its ruins covered an extensive tract, but only one building—a small mosque—remained in a state of tolerable preservation. *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i, p. 41.

[1] The "Dofár" of our charts, a fertile district on the north-east coast of Arabia, in lat. 17 degs. north. It comprises five towns, congregated around the ruins of an ancient city, now called el-Balâd, near the sea-shore. The remains of six other towns are still to be seen in the neighbourhood. The people are independent but live in a fearful state of anarchy. For a full description of Zhafâr, see a paper by M. H. J. Carter, in vol. vi of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

[2] The "maund" of Anglo-Indians. The weight of the *mann* varies

one dinâr. It is stated that five thousand of their number perished from hunger and thirst on that disastrous journey."

The author above quoted proceeds to say: "Another aged sheikh has given me the following account of the adherents of Mahmûd-bin-Ahmed, el-Kûsy, who had been left with the ships at Kalhât. On Mahmûd's departure by land into 'Omân, they set out to plunder Taiwa[1] but were met by the Benu-Jâbir and their allies who killed every one of them. They then proceeded to Kalhât, where the ships were at anchor, and burnt them all, killing those who had been left in charge of them. The numerous graves on the seacoast near the town of Taiwa, which are still called 'the Graves of the Turks,' are the graves of these men." I saw them with my own eyes in the year 1257 [A.D. 1841].[2]

The author of the *Kashf-el-Ghummah* also states—and other writers make a similar statement—"I have read in another history that the Awlâd-er-Râis invaded 'Omân in the month of Shawâl, A.H. 675 [A.D. 1276], during the rule of Kahlân-bin-'Omar-bin-Nebhân, who went out to meet them in the plain with a large number of the people of el-'Akr

in different parts of the East. For an elaborate article on the value of the Dinâr, see Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. ii, pp. 439-443.

[1] Taiwa, the Taiwee of our charts, is a small town a few miles to the north of Kalhât. The surrounding country is still inhabited by the Benu-Jâbir. Some of the tribe extend into the interior as far as the Wâdi-Semail.

[2] This expedition from Hormûz must have occurred very shortly after the former from Shîrâz, as the same Nebhâny king, namely, 'Omar-bin-Nebhân, is stated to have been still reigning, in conjunction with his brother. "The Turks" mentioned in the text were most probably Tatars, for the Seljukian dynasties, both of Irân and Kermân, were extinct prior to A.H. 590, and it is not likely that at that period the kings of Hormûz, who must then have been subject to Hulâku Khân's successors, were in a condition to undertake a foreign invasion on their own account. The Hormûz referred to was undoubtedly the petty kingdom, of Arab origin, on the continent of Persia; for the city called by the same name, and situated on the island of Jerûn (Abulféda calls it Zarûn) opposite, was not founded till A.H. 700=A.D. 1300. See Texcira's *Hist. Pers.*, p. 337, *et seq.*

of Nezwa, but the latter were dispersed and the Awlâd-er-Râïs entered the place and burnt it, carrying off all that was in it and taking their women captive. They also burnt the shops attached to the mosque, committing all these outrages in the course of half a day. But on the first of el-Kaïdah of the same year, Kahlân marched against them with an army of seven thousand men and entirely routed them and their allies of the el-Haddân, killing three hundred of them.[1] He then adds: "The interval between Muhammad-bin-Khânbash[2] and Mâlik-bin-el-Hawâry probably exceeded five hundred years, during which time the administration was in the hands of the Benu-Nebhân, after whom came the Imâms [again], the former being kings over some portions of 'Omân, whilst other parts were under the latter." All this, and much more, I have related in the work to which I have given the title *es-Sahîfat-el-Kahlanîyyah*.

I shall now proceed to give a few extracts respecting the Benu-Nebhân, premising that their kings were men of great renown in 'Omân, who attained pre-eminence by their mighty acts and successful wars. I shall not attempt to enumerate all on account of their number, although the reign of each is conspicuous for some special glory in the annals of 'Omân.

[1] This does not seem to have been a foreign invasion but merely an attack on 'Omân proper by the "descendants of er-Râïs," apparently the name of a tribe, intimately related to the Benu-Nebhân, located in one of the adjoining provinces.

[2] The author has not recorded an Imâm of that name in the preceding pages; but he mentions a Menâzil-bin-Khânbash (p. 9) as having been a collector in 'Omân about A.H. 115. Mâlik-bin-el-Hawâry succeeded to the Imâmate, A.H. 809. See p. 36.

KINGS OF THE BENU-NEBHÂN.[1]

EL-FELLÂH-BIN-EL-MUHSIN

is the most renowned of the kings of the Benu-Nebhân for liberality, integrity and statesmanship. He resided at Makniyât,[2] in the district of es-Sirr, and built the lofty and impregnable fort there, and called it el-Aswad [the Black Fort]. It was he also who introduced the mango tree into Makniyât, having been led to do so from the accounts which he had heard of the excellence of its fruit. The tree was subsequently spread over 'Omân, where it had not been previously known. El-Fellâh was a patron of poets and poetry, and was eulogized by many of the poets of his day. On his death he was succeeded by his son,

'ARÂR-BIN-EL-FELLÂH-BIN-EL-MUHSIN,

who resembled his father in goodness and generosity. He died ten days before the expiration of el-Hijj, A.H. 99.[3] After him came

MUZHAFFIR-BIN-SULEIMÂN-BIN-SULEIMÂN,

who only reigned two months and then died. He was succeeded by

[1] A short account of the origin of the Benu-Nebhân is given in the Introduction. What follows under this head consists of detached fragments, of uncertain date, but presumably posterior to the invasion of 'Omân from Hormûz. The author here represents the Benu-Nebhân as exercising some degree of authority up to A.H. 1026=A.D. 1617.

[2] Makniyât seems to have been the capital of the Benu-Nebhân. Wellsted describes it as having been once a large city but now a very insignificant place. The Wahhâbis invaded it in 1800, when they seized the castle, burnt the houses, and destroyed most of the trees in its vicinity. *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i, p. 215.

[3] A third figure is evidently wanting here, but the context does not enable me to supply it with any degree of certainty.

MAKHZÛM-BIN-EL-FELLÂH-BIN-EL-MUHSIN,

against whom rose up Nebhân-bin-el-Fellâh, who drove him out of Behlâ and made over its fort to his cousin 'Aly-bin-Dzâhal, with whom was associated Seif-bin-Muhammad. He then went to Makniyât and took possession of its fort. Next he expelled his cousin Sultân-bin-Himyar from Behlâ, fearing lest he might seize the fort there by stratagem; whereupon Sultân-bin-Himyar went to Sohâr. (Behlâ was now in the hands of 'Aly-bin-Himyar [Dzâhal?], and Seif-bin-Muhammad was its governor.) He then went to Nezwa but returned to Behlâ again and occupied el-'Akr with his followers. Seif-bin-Muhammad was at the village of Sait at the time, but on hearing what had occurred he moved with his men and entered the fort without opposition, and sent to inform Nebhân-bin-el-Fellâh that the forces [of the enemy?] had entered the district, requesting him at the same time to proceed thither with his followers, where he himself would hold on to collect reinforcements. Meanwhile 'Omair-bin-Himyar had seized all the fortifications of the country. Seif-bin-Muhammad still continued in the fort waiting for the arrival of Nebhân and his followers, but as they did not come he began to despair of succour and therefore evacuated the fort, taking with him all the arms, and occupied the village. After 'Omair had been a short time in the fort of Behlâ he sent to Seif-bin-Muhammad, begging him to detach himself from Nebhân-bin-el-Fellâh and to join him. To this he consented, and an offensive and defensive alliance was entered into between them, confirmed by an oath on both sides. Thereupon 'Omair-bin-Himyar appointed Seif-bin-Muhammad governor over the fort of Behlâ, promoting him above all his cousins. This step, however, created no animosity between Seif and them.

At that time Sultân-bin-Himyar, and Muhenna-bin-Muhammad-bin-Hâfizh, and 'Aly-bin-Dzâhal-bin-Muham-

mad-bin-Hâfizh resided at Sohâr with Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, el-Hadîfy, who offered to take them to their cousin Nebhân-bin-Fellâh at Makniyât, in order to effect a reconciliation between them. (Makhzûm-bin-el-Fellâh was engaged at this period in building the fort at Yánkal.) The reconciliation between the cousins not having been effected, Sultân-bin-Himyar and 'Aly-bin-Dzáhal, with their respective followers, went from Semâîl to Behlâ, and the former took up his abode in the building belonging to the Benu-Salt. He was soon after attacked by 'Omair-bin-Himyar accompanied by Seif-bin-Muhammad, and a fight took place between them; but as Sultân-bin-Himyar had strengthened the building to withstand a siege the assailants were repulsed. Thereupon 'Omair-bin-Himyar summoned all his adherents from the villages, and sheikh Sâid-bin-Ahmed, en-Nâ'by, with a party of men from Nezwa and Manh went forth against Sultân-bin-Himyar and surrounded him as completely as the halo surrounds the moon. Seeing that it was useless to resist, he asked for quarter and was allowed by sheikh Sâid-bin-Ahmed to depart unmolested with his followers, taking their arms with them. He then went to ezh-Zhâhirah, and together with 'Aly-bin-Dzáhal and Muhammad-bin-Hâfizh remained a considerable time at Makniyât, but Nebhân becoming suspicious of them he sent them thence and they repaired to Mombâsah,[1] where they joined Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, el-Hadify, and abode with him a year. Sultân-bin-Himyar then proposed to Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, el-Hadify, that he should invade the estate of 'Omair-bin-Himyar, situated in the town of es-Sîb, in el-Bâtinah, which was occupied by Sinân-bin-Sinân-bin-Sultân and 'Aly-bin-Himyar and his brother Sâîd-bin-Himyar. Accordingly, Muhammad-bin-Muhenna and Sultân-bin-Himyar, with their followers, started from Sohâr to attack the place. News of this having reached Sinân and the two brothers,

[1] There appears to be a locality so called in 'Omân.

the sons of 'Omair, they prepared to encounter them, and a desperate hand-to-hand battle was fought in which 'Aly-bin-Himyar and many of his adherents were slain; whereupon Muhammad-bin-Muhenna returned to Sohâr. When 'Omair-bin-Himyar, who was at Behlâ, heard what had befallen his brothers and cousin he made a solemn vow that he would not be quits with Sohâr until he had reaped it with the sword, or burnt the place with fire and scattered its people in every direction. He began forthwith to collect troops both by sea and land, and went in person to Máskat in order to obtain a levy from thence. He also sent to the Málik of Hormûz who joined him with a number of men in ships. At this juncture a vessel from India, bound for Persia, having many soldiers on board fully equipped for war, was driven by stress of weather into Máskat. 'Omair seized the ship, and having made prisoners of the soldiers took them on with him to the town of es-Sîb. After he had been there some days, Muhammad-bin-Jufair, whose residence was at es-Sîb, hearing of his presence set off with his followers to the assistance of Muhammad-bin-Muhenna at Sohâr, and was received by him into the fort with great delight. After he had been in the fort some time, ambition prompted him to take possession of it, and he accordingly gave directions to one of his slaves to seize Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, who had gone out on business, while his followers, some of whom were in one of the towers, should proceed to capture the fort. Thereupon an alarm was raised and a fierce contest ensued which ended in the retirement of Muhammad-bin-Jufair and his party.

When intelligence of this outbreak reached 'Omair-bin-Himyar, he set forth with his followers both by sea and land, and reached Sohâr on the 9th of Rabîâ-el-Akhir. The fight lasted from morning till evening of that day without any advantage having been gained by either party. A day or two after the Christians were landed from the ships with

their arms, and, in advancing to the attack, they caused a fence of cotton to be driven before them to protect them from the shot of the garrison. When they approached the fort they opened fire on it with their guns, and they had one gun which went on wheels. At one angle of the enclosure was the tower of Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, which was occupied by a large body of men. The Christians made towards this point, pushing forward their cotton fences, firing all the while, until a breach was effected, when the defenders evacuated it and the Christians entered. On hearing that, Muhammad-bin-Muhenna rallied his followers, and there was a severe conflict between the two sides that night, wherein 'Aly-bin-Dzâhal and Muhammad-bin-Muhenna, el-Hadify, were slain.

When 'Omair-bin-Himyar heard of their death he collected his troops and marched to Sohâr, and the two parties meeting in the centre of the town there was a fierce battle between them, which resulted in the overthrow of Sultân-bin-Himyar and the loss of many of his followers. Many also of the inhabitants of Sohâr were killed. Thereupon 'Omair returned to the town of Semail greatly delighted.

At this period Makhzûm-bin-Fellâh [the nominal king of the Nebhân] held the fort of Yánkal. He seized two of the people, killing one and wounding the other. The latter was looked upon as dead, but a man of Yánkal approached him by night, carried him to his house, tended and fed him till he recovered, when he sent him away, and the man lived a long time after.[1]

When Nebhân-bin-Fellâh heard of the death of his brother he went from Makniyât to Yánkal, placed a governor there of his own and then returned to Makniyât, where he had already resided thirty months since his departure from Behlâ.

[1] I am at a loss to understand this passage. It would appear from what follows that Makhzûm was the victim, or that he died about the same time.

Subsequently he removed to Yánkal, leaving a garrison in the fort at Makniyât. These had become so weary of his tyranny and oppression that they determined to stir up the people to put an end to him; they accordingly dispatched a messenger to 'Omair-bin-Himyar and another to Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây, to join them. On their arrival with their followers they entered the fort without any opposition, and some days after a detachment from both parties started for Yánkal. On learning this, Nebhân-bin-Fellâh fled with four men to the domain of his uncles of the *Riyâyisah*.[1] This occurred on the 12th of Sáfar, A.H. 1026 [A.D. 1617].[2] 'Omair-bin-Himyar and Seif-bin-Muhammad remained at Yánkal for some days and made over the district to the inhabitants, in order that they might enjoy the benefits of it. He then went to Makniyât, where he assembled the people together, and inquired what Nebhân used to exact from them. On hearing that he used to take one half of the produce of the date-trees, and one quarter of the harvests of grain, he reduced the rate to one tenth of the produce, and assigned the Beit-el-Mâl[3] for the support of the garrison of the fort, over

[1] A plural form of Râis, equivalent to "Awlad-er-Ras," a tribe already mentioned in the narrative.

[2] It is difficult to reconcile several of the statements made in the foregoing narrative with the fact, which the author himself confirms in the sequel, that Máskat and Sohâr were in the hands of the Portuguese at this period. However, as in most of their conquests in those parts they were generally satisfied with holding the principal defences, and allowed the native rulers to carry on the internal administration of their respective districts so long as they paid tribute to the king of Portugal, often cooperating with them in their intestine feuds, it is just possible that there is a substratum of truth in the account of the assistance rendered to one party by the Christians, obviously Portuguese. A notable instance of the intervention of the latter in behalf of their tributaries is recorded by Faria y Sousa, A.D. 1521, when being themselves masters of Hormuz they joined the "king" of that place in an expedition against Mukrim, his vassal of "Lasah," (el-Hasâ,) to oblige him to pay his usual tribute for the island of el-Bahrein and el-Katîf on the mainland. See Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. vi. pp. 188-90.

[3] *Beit-el-Mâl* means the Government Treasury, that is, the State Reve-

which he placed 'Omair-bin-Muhammad-bin-Abi-Sâîd, and then, accompanied by Seif-bin-Muhammad, returned to Behlâ.

Whilst these events were in progress, Nebhân-bin-Fellâh, with a force supplied by his uncles of the Awlâd-er-Râîs, entered the district of ezh-Zhâhirah and alighted at Tawwâm. A few days after, one of his principal adherents at Yánkal came with offers of assistance, declaring that if he would make the attempt he and his partisans would open the fort to him. He accordingly marched with his men and entered Yánkal by night, towards the middle of Rabîâ-el-Âkhir, A.H. 1026, and succeeded in taking all the defences, with the exception of the fort, then garrisoned by the Benu-'Aly, and, as they would not surrender, Nebhân laid siege to it, which led to frequent skirmishes between the two parties. One of the garrison was then dispatched to Kâtan-bin-Kâtan and Nâsir-bin-Nâsir, the Hilâlis, who resided at that time with the Bedawîn of the esh-Shamâl, to summon them to the aid of 'Omair-bin-Himyar, en-Nebhâny, and he was accompanied by Muhammad-bin-Jufair, who held the fort on behalf of Nebhân-bin-Fellâh. The contest was shortly after renewed between the besiegers and the besieged, which resulted in the complete overthrow of the former, some of whom were slain, some asked for quarter, and the remainder were scattered over the country in all directions.

When Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây, heard that Nebhân-bin-Fellâh had entered Yánkal, he set out with his troops to attack him, but learning on the way what had befallen him he returned to Behlâ. At this period 'Omair-bin-Himyar was busy collecting troops to aid the Sultân Mâlik-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab, el-Yaâruby, against the Benu-Lamk. He succeeded

nue from tithes, *zakâh* or obligatory alms, derelict property, and property to which there is no other legal heir, and was designed originally to be expended in providing for the poor, prosecuting "holy wars," and other enterprises for the public welfare. In the above instance it was to be applied to the support of the local garrison.

in overcoming them, whilst Seif-bin-Muhammad remained at Behlâ.

The misrule of the Benu-Nebhân had caused such widespread evils throughout 'Omân, that in order to put a stop to their tyranny and oppression the heads of the people assembled together seven years after the death of Mâlik-bin-el-Hawâry,[1] on a Thursday in the month of Ramadhân, 839 [A.D. 1435], and appointed as his successor

ABU-'L-HÂSAN-'ABDALLAH-BIN-KHAMÎS-BIN-'ÂMIR,

EL-AZDY,

who died on the 21st of Dzul-Kaâdah, A.H. 846 [A.D. 1442], without reproach. They then conferred the Imâmate on

'OMAR-BIN-KHATTÂB-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-AHMED-BIN-SHÂDZÂN-BIN-SALT,

EL-YÂHMADY, EL-AZDY, EL-KHARÛSY,

in the year 835.[2] He it was who collected the property of the Benu-Nebhân and conferred it on those who had any claims against them. This matter was adjudged as follows: The assembled Mussulmans met together, and after estimating the blood which had been shed by the Benu-Nebhân and the property which they had unjustly appropriated, the value was found to be in excess of all their available

[1] Mâlik-bin-el-Hawâry died A.H. 833, (see *ante*, p. 36.) It appears from what follows that although the Benu-Nebhân were no longer supreme over 'Omân, they nevertheless continued to make efforts to regain their ascendancy up to the Imâmate of Nâsir-bin-Murshid, A.H. 1034=A.D. 1621.

[2] This date here is obviously incorrect, as his predecessor died A.H. 846. Judging from two dates further on, this should probably be 855.

assets. Sheikh Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân-bin-Ahmed-bin-Mufârraj, who was the Kâdhi at the time, acted as Wakîl on behalf of those who had suffered at the hands of the Âl-Nebhân. His decision was, that everything pertaining to them, their land, date-trees, houses, arms, utensils, produce, and whatever else they possessed, was Beit-Mâl.[1] Sheikh Muhammad-bin-'Omar, on the other hand, is said to have ruled as follows: the property submitted for adjudication belongs in strict justice to all those of the people of 'Omân who have been injured, whether alive or dead, old or young, male or female; but as the whole of the claims are unknown, and it would therefore be impossible to adjudge to each its proper share, and as all property which cannot be rightly apportioned must be considered as having nô owner, the property in question goes to the poor. The just Imâm, however, who took the precedence over all the nobles in the administration of the affairs of 'Omân, decreed that every one who could establish his claim should receive a share of the property, to be decided in equity; but whatever claims were not submitted, and those which could not be proved, were to be considered unknown, and such unknown portions were to be adjudged to the poor, whose representative was the Imâm, it being his prerogative to receive all derelict property, and all property adjudged to the poor, and all property without an owner, to be applied to the benefit of the Mussulman rule. There were various other opinions on this subject, but the Imâm's decree was affirmed for execution, and anyone who should attempt to alter it must abide by the consequences:—"God is the hearer and the knowing."[2]

This decree was passed on Tuesday evening, seven days before the expiration of Jumâd-el-Âkhir, A.H. 887 [A.D. 1482]. It took place during the second appointment of

[1] For the import of this word, see note [illegible], p. 16

[2] *Kurân*, ii. 117, etc.

'Omar-bin-Khattâb, for on his first accession he had only held the office one year when Suleimân-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muzhâffar, en-Nebhâny, aided by the people of the Wâdi-Semâîl, rose up against him and overthrew him and his army. Subsequently, during the year 894, Muhammad-bin-Suleimân-bin-Ahmed-bin-Mufárraj, the Kâdhi above mentioned, appointed him a second time. After him he set up

'OMAR-ESH-SHERÎF,

who held the office one year, and confined himself to Behlâ. Then the people of Nezwa appointed Suleimân-bin-Suleimân a second time,[1] and not long after they swore fealty to

AHMED-BIN-MUHAMMAD,

ES-RAIKHY,

on whose death allegiance was given to

ABU-'L-HÁSAN-BIN-'ABD-ES-SALÂM,

who held the Imâmate for less than a year, when Suleimân-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muzhâffar rose up against him. He died before actual hostilities took place, whereupon allegiance was sworn to

MUHAMMAD-BIN-ISMA'ÎL,

owing to the following circumstances:—He resided on the western side of the road leading to the Bâb-en-Nizâr, at Azka.[2] Now it so happened that in the midst of his tyranny and oppression, Suleimân-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muzhâffar, en-Nebhâny, was haunted by a voice bidding him to be on his

[1] As this Suleimân was a Nebhâny, his appointment shows that the Beni-Nebhân still retained considerable influence in the country.

[2] I take this to be Wellsted's "Zikki," about 20 miles to the east of Nezwa. He describes it as "a village romantically situated in a hollow, under some hills, in which also there are several towns." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i, p. 169.

guard; and when alone in his room in the fort of Behlâ, apart from his chiefs and commons, the voice would speak and say: "Enjoy thyself, O offspring of the en-Nebhân, a few days longer, for thy rule will soon pass away: prepare for death." One of the chiefs noticing his dejection inquired the cause of it, and on being told what the voice had uttered, he persuaded him to regard it as a delusion of the devil, and advised him to set off at once for Nezwa, where he would find what his heart desired and his eyes longed after. Whereupon he and his friends mounted their camels and departed for Nezwa, and on arriving there alighted at the mansion-house, which Sulcimân-bin-Sulcimân had caused to be constructed for his own special accommodation. Early next morning he saw a woman going to the canal of el-Ghántak, and forthwith left his companion and followed her, she being unaware of his presence. Before she had taken off her clothes to bathe he fell upon her, but she fled pursued by him until they both reached the quarter near the Wâdi. In the meantime Muhammad-bin-Ismâîl had come forth, and she appealed to him for protection; whereupon he seized the aggressor and plunged his dagger into his heart, killing him on the spot. The rescued woman then entered the house while he went and communicated the tidings to the people of el-'Akr, at which they were so much delighted that they and those of the neighbourhood joined in making him Imâm. This occurred A.H. 906 [A.D. 1500]. Muhammad-bin-Ismâîl walked uprightly during his Imâmate, and on his death his son,

BARAKÂT-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-ISMA'ÎL;

was appointed his successor, the selfsame day whereon his father died. Then, on Saturday, ten days before the expiration of Muhárram, A.H. 965 [A.D. 1557], he left the fort of Behlâ and went to Nezwa, whereupon Muhammad-bin-Jufair-bin-'Aly-bin-Hilâl, el-Jabry, entered the former place. (This was after the sultân, Sultân-bin-el-Muhsin-bin-Sulei-

mân-bin-Nebhân, had entered and taken possession of Nezwa, A.H. 964.) The fort of Behlâ continued in the hands of Muhammad-bin-Jufair till the Âl-'Omair purchased it from him for three hundred lacs. They accordingly occupied the fort on Wednesday, nine days before the expiration of Jumâd-el-Âkhir, A.H. 967.

The author of the *Kashf-el-Ghummah* thinks it probable that 'Omar-bin-el-Kâsim, el-Fudhaily, lived in the time of Barakât-bin-Ismâîl; but God knows. Another Imâm was now set up in the person of

'ABDALLAH-BIN-MUHAMMAD-EL-KARN, EL-HINÂY.

He was appointed at Manh, on Friday the 25th of Rájab, 967, and he made his entry into the fort of Behlâ two days before the end of that month and year; but on Saturday, three days before the expiration of Ramadhân, A.H. 968, Barakât-bin-Muhammad-bin-Ismâîl entered the fort and expelled him.

To sum up: of the rulers of the Benu-Nebhân there was not one Imâm or Málik whom the God of grace and benevolence could approve of. On the contrary, most of them were tyrants and oppressors, and that led to their downfall:—"Do not imagine that God overlooks the actions of the evil-doers."[1] When, therefore, He decreed that the evils which had so long afflicted the people of 'Omân should come to an end and their wounds be bound up by justice, He caused the sun of salvation to shine upon them, and by its pure beams to scatter the mists of injustice, in the person of

[1] *Kurân*, xiv. 43. The author gives a very different opinion of the Benu-Nebhân on p. 40.

NÂSIR-BIN-MURSHID-BIN-SULTÂN,

BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-ABI-'L-'ARAB-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-ABI-'L-'ARAB-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-HIMYAR-BIN-MUZÂHIM-BÎN-YA'ARUB-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-MÂLIK, EL-YA'ARUBY, EL-'ARABY, EL-HIMYARY, EL-AZDY, EL-YÉMENY,

THE UPRIGHT IBÂDHY.

God be gracious to him! The above is his descent according to the learned genealogists; but God knows the right.

This upright Imâm arose in 'Omân at a period when the people of er-Rastâk were greatly divided, and much contention and strife existed among them on many matters. Their Málik at the time was Mâlik-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab, el-Yaàruby.[1] The learned and devout Mussulmans then consulted together about setting up an Imâm who should be invested with full powers to decree what was lawful and prohibit what was unlawful, and they accordingly looked out for one fitted for the office. The most prominent man among them at the time was the learned and pious sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâîd, esh-Shákasy. The result of their deliberations was that they should elect and appoint the magnanimous and upright Nâsir-bin-Murshid. They then met together, he being present, and they unanimously gave their votes for him and urged him to accept the supreme power. Those who formed the assembly were seventy in number, consisting of the *élite* of the learned. After much demur he yielded to their

[1] Some notices of the el-Ya'arubah, the descendants of Ya'arub the offspring of Kahtân, are given in the Introduction. The name is often spelt Ya'arab and Ya'arib; but I have preferred the usage of those Oriental authors who, following the tradition that Ya'arub was the first to cultivate primitive Arabic among the descendants of Kahtân, derive the name from the third person singular of the aorist of the verb *'araba-ya'arubu*, to speak pure Arabic. For some interesting remarks on this subject, see Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. pp. 50-52.

solicitations, and they swore fealty to him, A.H. 1034 [A.D. 1624]. All are agreed that his residence at the time was at Kesra, belonging to the town of er-Rastâk. At that period

The Málik of er-Rastâk was Mâlik-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab.

The Málik of Nakhl, Sultân-bin-'Abi-'l-'Arab.

The Málik of Semäil, Mâni'-bin-Sinân, el-'Omairy.

The Málik of Sémed-esh-Shân, 'Aly-bin-Kátan, el-Hilâly.

The Málik of Ibra, Muhammad-bin-Jufair.

Azka was in the hands of the people of el-'Akr.

Manh was in the hands of el-Leghâberah.

The fort of Behlâ and the fort of Belâd-Sît were in the hands of Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây.

The fort of el-Ghabby in the hands of the Benu-Hilâl.

The forts of Makniyât and Bât in the hands of the el-Jibûr.

The fort of Yánkal in the hands of Nâsir-bin-Kátan, el-Hilâly.

The forts of Tawwâm in the hands of the Benu-Hilâl.

The fort of Láwa in the hands of Seif-bin-Muhammad-bin-Jufair.

The fort of Julfâr in the hands of a Persian named Nâsir-ed-Dîn.

But Sohâr, Máskat, and Karyât were in the hands of the Christians, according to concurrent testimony.[1]

It is related that before Nâsir-bin-Murshid's accession to the Imâmate, when his justice extended to high and low, that continued misrule had overwhelmed 'Omân and knowledge was entirely obliterated throughout the country, insomuch that the inhabitants were reduced to the most abject condition. In fact, their trials had reached the highest pitch: their wealth had been violently taken from them and their blood shed, and there was no one to stand up in behalf of the right, nor any learned man capable of advocating their cause.

When the oath of fealty had been given to this upright

[1] They were seized by Alfonso de Albuquerque A.D. 1508.

Imâm, Nâsir-bin-Murshid, he marched with his followers to er-Rastâk, then wholly in the hands of his cousin Mâlik-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab, el-Yaáruby, who no sooner saw the banners of the Imâm than he forthwith surrendered the castle and fort to him without any opposition.

From thence the Imâm and his troops proceeded to Nakhl, then in the hands of his uncle Sultân-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab. After a siege of several days he captured it. On his departure some of the people who were inwardly disloyal to him seized upon the fort; but he soon returned and reduced them to submission. Being solicited to overlook their breach of faith, he pardoned them and then made 'Abdallah-bin-Sâîd, esh-Shákasy, governor over them, returning himself to er-Rastâk.

Some few days after, messengers came to him from the people of Nezwa, inviting him to come and take possession of the place. He accordingly marched with his army and reached Shárjat-Séfer, belonging to Sémed-el-Kindy, where he remained a night, but as the people did not come to him as they had promised he returned to er-Rastâk. He had taken the road by el-'Akk, both in going and returning, without visiting Semaîl; but on his arrival at er-Rastâk, sheikh Ahmed-bin-Suleimân, er-Ruwâhy, accompanied by a number of the er-Ruwâhah and others sent by Mâni'-bin-Sinân, el-'Omairy, came to solicit him to assume jurisdiction over Semaîl. He accordingly went, taking with him the men of the el-Yáhmad who had been his staunch supporters from the first, and others, and on his arrival at Semaîl the people made over the government to him. Leaving some of his force with Mâni'-bin-Sinân, he proceeded with the remainder to Nezwa. It had been pre-arranged between him and Mâni'-bin-Sinân and the Benu-Ruwâhah that he should go by way of the Wâdi of the latter to Nezwa; he did so, having with him the Kâdhi sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâîd, esh-Shákasy. On reaching the town of Azka, the people

placed the government in his hands; so, leaving some of his principal men in the fort, he went forward with the rest to Nezwa. On his arrival the inhabitants readily submitted to him, and taking up his abode in the mansion-house of el-'Akr he assumed the supreme authority. After he had been there some time, the people, moved by envy and self-interest, took counsel with the Benu-Abi-Sâîd, then the most prominent men of el-'Akr, and it was agreed that he should be expelled on his way to the mosque on Friday morning. Having been informed of this design by his friends, and after ascertaining its truth, he ordered all the conspirators to be driven out of the district, but forbade their being treated with violence. They accordingly dispersed themselves over the country, some going to Mâni'-bin-Sinân, el-'Omairy. Now Mâni' had covenanted with the Imâm to be loyal to him, but by receiving these men he obviously broke faith with him. Some of them also joined Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây, who at that time held the fort of Behlâ, and he headed them against the Imâm, and a fierce war raged between the two parties. Whilst the war was in progress the Imâm ordered the fort which es-Salt-bin-Mâlik had erected to be rebuilt. On its completion the principal inhabitants of Manh came to invite him to assume jurisdiction over them, and on his arrival there they surrendered the fort to him, and after setting up his authority he returned to Nezwa.

Next, the people of Sémed-esh-Shân came to him with a similar request. The place at that time was held by 'Aly-bin-Kátan, el-Hilâly. The Imâm accordingly sent a large force against it under the sheikh, the Fakîh Mas'ûd-bin-Ramadhân, who captured the fort in spite of all opposition, and the people surrendered to him. On the subsequent arrival of the Imâm they swore allegiance to him, and he assumed the supreme power.

Next the people of Ibra came to him on a similar errand. Ibra was then held by Muhammad-bin-Jufair-bin-Jabr. The

Imâm, in this case also, sent Mas'ûd-bin-Ramadhân against it with an army, and he took it. All the esh-Sharkiyyah now joined themselves to the Imâm, and those of Jâalân submitted to him, and the only places where his authority was not recognized were Sûr and Karyât,[1] which still remained in the hands of the Christians.

On the Imâm's return to Nezwa he collected a large army to proceed against Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây, who held the fort at Behlâ. When the army was mustered in the plain of el-Merkh, the commander Mas'ûd-bin-Ramadhân noticed some symptoms of treachery among them; whereupon he returned to inform the Imâm at Nezwa, who forthwith suspended the expedition against Behlâ. He then collected another army and invaded ezh-Zhahirah, seizing the Wâdi-Fâda, the old fort of which he ordered to be rebuilt. The people of the heights of Dhank[2] co-operated with him on this occasion under their chief sheikh Khamîs-bin-Râshid. The el-Fiyâlîn and the el-Wahâsha also submitted to him.

On his return to 'Omân[3] the Imâm visited the different places over which he had acquired sovereignty, and finding the people generally stedfast in their loyalty he went to er-Rastâk accompanied by many of the Benu-Riyâm.[4] He had

[1] Karyât, the "Curiate" of the Portuguese writers, is, or rather was, a small town about ten leagues to the north of Kalhât. Being ill received there, Albuquerque plundered and then burnt the place, together with fourteen vessels which he found in the harbour. 'Abd-er-Razzak landed there from Hormúz before proceeding to Kalhât, on his way to India (see note 2, p. 37).

[2] I take this to be the "Rank" of Niebuhr's map and the "Runk" of Wellsted's, situated in the district of ezh-Zhâhirah.

[3] That is, to the district of 'Omân proper.

[4] The Benu-Riyâm are of Máhrah origin, for among the author's genealogical notices of the el-Azd, he interpolates a short chapter on "Máhrah-bin-Haidân," from whom the Máhrah tribes derive their descent. "Haidân," he says, "had two sons, Máhrah and 'Amr. The latter begat Mâjid, Gharíd, Gharib, Yezíd, en-Nu'mâ, edh Dhaighar, el-Lahâ and Janâdah, which families go by the name of the Al-Wuhaidân. Máhrah begat Samátra, who had three sons, el-Imry, Náda'am

not been there long when Muhammad-bin-Jufair, el-Jabry, surrounded Nakhl and took all but the fort. On hearing thereof the Imâm went against him with an army composed of the el-Mââwal and other tribes, and after putting Muhammad-bin-Jufair's army to flight he returned to er-Rastâk. He had only been there a few days when the sheikh Khamis-bin-Ruwaishid came to solicit his aid against ezh-Zhâhirah; he accordingly collected a large force and accompanied it to es-Sákhbary, where the men of es-Sirr and the edh-Dhahâhakah joined him, and from thence he proceeded to the fort of el-Ghabby, which was garrisoned by the Benu-Hilâl[1] and a number of *Bédu* and *Hadhr*.[2] There was a fierce engagement between the two parties, in which Jâ'id-bin-Murshid, the Imâm's brother, was slain, and the troops of the Benu-Hilâl fled; nevertheless the Imâm could not prevail against the fort. He then went and seized 'Obra, and afterwards

and ed-Dair. El-Imry begat el-Kámar, [from whom in all probability the Bay of el-Kámar takes its name], and el-Kamrâ, and el-Masálla, and el-Masáka. The Benu-Riyâm belong to the el-Kámar tribes: they inhabit a town on the coast of the sea of 'Omân, and they also possess a strong mountain in 'Omân, which is called the Mountain of the Benu-Riyâm and also Jebel-Rudhwân." Wellsted gives an account of them and of the mountains which they occupy in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 129-51.

[1] The Benu-Hilâl I take to be the descendants of Hilâl, one of the four sons of 'Âmir-bin-Sa'asa'ah (born about A.D. 381), a descendant of Ma'add and 'Adnân through Khasâfah, the son of Kais-'Ailân. The other sons were Ghâny, Nu'mân and Rabî'a. They became the heads of four families, called after their names, which originally settled in the Hijâz, to the eastward of the mountains which separate the Tihâmah from Nejd, but subsequently migrated farther into the interior. The author's narrative describes the Benu-Hilâl at this time as located at el-Hasâ, but what led them thither I have failed to ascertain. Their Ma'addic origin accounts for their enmity towards the el-Ya'arubah, the el-Yémeny Imâms of 'Omân.

[2] The *Bédu* are the pastoral and the *Hadhr* the town or village-dwelling Arabs. Pocock translates the names *Nomades et Urbani*, and gives some interesting notices of the origin and import of the terms. *Specimen Hist. Arab.*, pp. 88-90.

returned to es-Sâkhbary, from whence he marched once more against the fort of el-Ghabby, and after a siege of some days succeeded in capturing it; he then made over the fort and people to sheikh Khamîs-bin-Ruwaishid, er-Ruwaishidy.

Another account states that the Imâm first sent his brother Jâ'id-bin-Murshid with an army against the fort of el-Ghabby, and that in the battle which took place between him and the Benu-Hilâl, aided by the people of el-Ghabby, Jâ'id was slain; that in consequence of this failure the Imâm assembled a large army of the Hadhr, wherewith he seized the fort of that place and all other forts in the district which still held out against his authority; but God knows the truth.

It is generally agreed, however, that when the Imâm captured the fort he placed over the people of el-Ghabby the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Ruwaishid, er-Ruwaishidy, a man renowned for integrity and bravery. Over the fort of Bât he placed a native of er-Rastâk, whose name I have forgotten, associating with him sheikh Muhammad-bin-Seif, el-Haukâny, whom he ordered to capture the remaining towns of ezh-Zhâhirah. This he effected, with the exception of the town of Dhank, which was at that time in the possession of the Benu-Hilâl, between whom and the two governors aforenamed there were frequent affrays, one party making incursions on the territory of the other. Eventually a decisive engagement took place between them, when God gave the victory to the forces of the Imâm. Many of the Âl-Hilâl were slain, the remainder escaping mounted on their camels. Kátan-bin-Kátan saved himself by surrendering the fort of Dhank and all it contained to the Imâm.

The two governors then undertook the siege of the fort of Makniyât, at that time occupied by a commander belonging to the el-Jibûr. When the latter heard thereof they summoned to their aid the Bédu and Hadhr of the Benu-Hilâl, who were joined by the Benu-Râis. Fearing lest they might

attack the fort of Bât, which had then but a slender garrison, the two governors abandoned the attempt on Makniyât and marched towards Bât, near which place a battle was fought which lasted from morning-prayer till noon. The Mussulmans fought desperately, insomuch that their hands drooped with wielding their weapons, and so great was the slaughter among the rebels that they left off burying them. When news of this signal defeat reached the Imâm, he marshalled a strong army and proceeded to Behlâ, where he arrived on the eve of the feast of the Hijj, and besieged it for two months. The el-Jibûr coming to the assistance of Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinây, were met by the Imâm's forces, and a battle ensued in which the former were overcome, and Kâsim-bin-Madzkûr, one of their chiefs, and a number of his men were killed, the remainder taking to flight. Seif-bin-Muhammad held the fort for some time after, but eventually surrendered it to the Imâm, who placed a governor of his own there, whose name I have not found recorded in history.

The Imâm then went to Semâil to coerce Mâni'-bin-Sinân, el-'Omairy, but on his arrival Mâni' came forward, begging permission to evacuate the fort, promising to be loyal in future. The Imâm then ordered the old fort to be rebuilt, and on its completion placed a governor in it of his own and then returned to Nezwa.

He next collected a large army of Hadhr and marched against Makniyât, and after a siege of three months, and a severe engagement with the rebels, he captured the fort and placed it under the command of Muhammad-bin-'Aly-bin Muhammad, el-Harâsy.

Meanwhile Sâid-bin-Mas'ûd, el-Khayâly, and his adherents, continued to excite disaffection against the Imâm, keeping up a correspondence with the el-Jibûr, until they succeeded in bringing them towards the coast, where they attacked many of the edh-Dhahâhakah and some of the Imâm's officers. Whereupon Muhammad-bin-Seif, at that time the Imâm's

governor at el-Ghabb[illegible]hem with his soldiers, and several engagem[illegible] between him and the rebels, notably at '[illegible]yah, el-Mát-harah, ez-Ziyâdah and other [illegible]e foundations of Islâm were shook thereby [illegible]many of Muhammad-bin-Seif's followers ab[illegible]l his few remaining adherents were surr[illegible] rebels and in danger of being overpowere[illegible]'he retired to the fort of el-Ghabby, where [illegible] himself, whilst the enemy pressed on the si[illegible]is situation reaching Muhammad-bin-'Aly [illegible] governor at Makniyât, he entered el-Ghab[illegible]owers, unperceived by the rebels, and fal[illegible] with spears and swords hacked them to [illegible]des. Some of them fled to es-Sâkhbary, a[illegible]el Fayâfy and the town of Yánkal, the fort of [illegible]at time in the hands of Nâsir-bin-Kátan, el-[illegible] gave the Mussulmans the victory over the

Then Nâsir [illegible]d a treasonable correspondence with Seif-bin [illegible]-Hinây, who broke faith with the Imâm b[illegible]s overtures. Accordingly, the followers of [illegible]nd entered Nezwa, the garrison of the man[illegible]'Akr siding with them, so that the fort alo[illegible] the Imâm. This they besieged closely, an[illegible]apt to get at the Imâm and his garrison l[illegible]el ening through one of the walls; but God i[illegible]alf of the Imâm by sending to his succour a[illegible]men from Azka, some of the Benu-Riyâm fr[illegible]as, and reinforcements from Behlâ. This tim[illegible]abled him to attack the rebels, over whom G[illegible]omplete victory. The result served to ence[illegible] and greatly to strengthen his administ[illegible]

Afte[illegible]some of his discreet and trusty adherent[illegible]o raze the fort of Mâni'-bin-Sinân,

at Semâil, and to expel [illegible]n, in consequence of certain acts of his wi[illegible]nce of treachery. On hearing this Mâni' fl[illegible]t its inhabitants would not receive him. [illegible] Christians, who held Máskat, but shortly [illegible]imately he went to Finjâ, and attached him[illegible]l-bin-Jufair, el-Jabry, who was then at [illegible] The Imâm now ordered the sheikh 'Abdal[illegible]l-bin-Ghassân, his governor at Nezwa, a[illegible] the work entitled *A Treasury for the* [illegible] *of the Best*[2] [Sovereigns?], to proceed ag[illegible]s with a large army which he had assemb[illegible]ose. On his arrival at Balâd-Sît, Muhamm[illegible]nây, and his followers evacuated the fort a[illegible]o ask pardon of the Imâm, which he accorde[illegible]his governor 'Abdallah had razed the fort. [illegible]he tribes of 'Omân had submitted to his au[illegible] assembled a large army, and taking with [illegible]sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâid, er-Rastâky, he st[illegible]he inhabitants of which had rebelled. [illegible]fter a few days' siege, and appointed Ni[illegible]el-'Obry, governor over the people, with [illegible]minister justice among them.

A few days after the Imâm's r[illegible]k he assembled a large army and placed [illegible]mand of sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-[illegible]Nézawy, ordering him to proceed to el-Ja[illegible] He was accompanied on this expedition [illegible]mîs-bin-Ruwaishid, ed-Dhanky, by Hâfizh-[illegible]Nézawy,

[1] "Wellsted's "Luwa," and the "Lua[illegible]'s *Memoir on the Navigation of the Gulf of Persi*[illegible]bes it as "a large fort, with a town two miles inla[illegible]38" N., long. 56° 39' 48" E. It is a place of some i[illegible]evenue of it and the places attached to it is abo[illegible]owns." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. [illegible]

[2] The original title is, *Khazânet-el-Akhyâr* [illegible]

el-Hínawy,[1] by Muhammad-bin-Seif, and Muhammad-bin-'Aly and their followers. He took the place and all its villages and conferred the government over Tawwâm, on behalf of the Imâm, upon sheikh Ahmed-bin-Khalf, esh-Shâmy. Thereupon sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad and the other aforenamed chiefs determined to go to Láwa, for the following reasons:—The el-Jibûr had broken their word; moreover, serious dissensions had arisen among them owing to the murder of Muhammad-bin-Jufair, el-Jabry, who in his lifetime had been governor of the fort of Láwa, some approving of the deed others denouncing it. After his death the fort had fallen into the hands of Seif-bin-Muhammad-bin-Jufair, el-Hilâly, his brother Muhammad-bin-Jufair, el-Jabry, fleeing to Sohâr, where he joined the Christians. Mâni'-bin-Sinân was also at Sohâr with the Christians at that time, and from thence they made frequent attacks upon the army of the Imâm which was besieging Láwa, and supplied the garrison with arms and provisions. Nevertheless, the Imâm's troops under the commander-in-chief, 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, el-Kindy, en-Nézawy, continuing to press forward the siege, the adherents of Muhammad-bin-Jufair made overtures for peace. This, however, was a mere stratagem on their part to ascertain the strength or weakness of the Imâm's army. Outwardly they professed to be urging the garrison to surrender the fort, whereas in reality they were inciting them to resist, promising to provide them with men and money to that end. Their deceit and treachery becoming known to the Amîr 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, he sent against them a picked body of men, headed by Muhammad-bin-'Aly, who came up with them before daybreak at Mánkal-el-Mily, on the sea-shore, to the southward of the fort. The millstones of war were then set

[1] A synonym occasionally used by the author for el-Hináy, which confirms the statement ventured in the Introduction that the tribe bearing that name are the descendants of Hána or Hína, the brother of Nebhán.

a-going by the two parties, and a severe conflict ensued; after which Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his men returned to Láwa and in conjunction with their comrades besieged the fort still more closely. No further succour coming to Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Hinâÿ, he despaired of breaking through the siege, and asked sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad to to a truce in order that he might surrender the fort. The request having been granted, he and his adherents left the fort, taking with them their arms and provisions, whereupon it was occupied by the Wâli[1] and his principal followers. Nâsir-bin-Kátan having assisted in the siege was liberally rewarded by 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, who also promoted him.

Before leaving Láwa the sheikh 'Abdallah appointed Muhammad-bin-'Aly to the command of the fort, and on his return to Nezwa was received with great honour by the Imâm, who was highly pleased with his success, as were also the Mussulmans generally.

Some days after, the Imâm dispatched the sheikh Mas'ûd bin-Ramadhân with a large army to attack the Christians who held Máskat and el-Mátrah. Mas'ûd encamped with his army at the latter place, near Táwy-er-Rûla, where the two parties came into collision; but God gave the victory to the Imâm's troops, who destroyed several of the towers and other conspicuous buildings of Máskat and killed many of the Christians. Whereupon the latter sued for peace, which Mas'ûd was authorized by the Imâm to grant, conditionally on their surrendering all the buildings and land which they held at Sohâr.[2] This they agreed to do, and after obtaining a covenant from them to that effect Mas'ûd returned to the Imâm. Another condition was that they

[1] *Wâli* is the title generally given by the author to the civil governor of a town or district. A military commander in charge of an expedition he designates *Amîr*.

[2] The fortifications excepted, as will be seen in the sequel.

should pay an annual tribute to the Imâm, and should not molest the Mussulmans who repaired to Máskat. They consented to this also, and Mas'ûd did not leave until he had received the tribute from them. These latter facts I give on the trustworthy authority of several aged friends, among whom I may mention sheikh Maárûf-bin-Sâlim, es-Sâyighy, and Khâtir-bin-Hamîd-el-Bedâ'iy, and Hamîd-bin-Sâlim, el-Aáma, all men of well-known probity.[1]

Now Mâni'-bin-Sinân was secretly inimical to the Imâm and did all in his power to foment dissatisfaction against his government, insomuch that Maddâd-bin-Halwân requested the Imam's permission to compass his death by treachery, which being lawful the Imâm gave his consent. Maddâd was at that time commander of the garrison at Láwa, where Hâfizh-bin-Seif was governor, who also used to consult him in all difficult or important matters. Maddâd forthwith began a correspondence with Mâni', promising that he would secure his entrance into the fort. Hâfizh-bin-Seif was in the plot, but left its direction entirely to Maddâd, between whom and Mâni' messengers were continually going and coming. Mâni' resided at the time at the village of Dabâ, but when he felt sure of Maddâd he proceeded to Sohâr, remaining several days at el-Mánkal, which appertains to it, expecting to hear from Maddâd that the plot was ripe for execution. Maddâd reassured him on that point, but at the same time informed the governor on what night the attempt to enter the fort was to be made. The governor accordingly sent bands of soldiers over the country to apprehend Mâni'. They watched him as he was approaching Láwa, surrounded him on all sides and then killed him, together with a number of his followers, the remainder escaping. When the Imâm

[1] The Portuguese annalists of the period, as far as I know, are silent respecting these successes gained over their countrymen in 'Omân, which, however, proved preliminary to their ignominious expulsion not long after.

heard what Hâfizh and Maddâd had done to Mâni' and his followers he was greatly elated, as were also all the Mussulman champions of the faith.

The Imâm then assembled an army, attaching to it the men of the Beni-Yaḥrubah, and placed the whole under 'Aly-bin-Ahmed, whom he ordered to proceed to Julfâr, appertaining to es-Sîr, which was held at the time by Nâsir-ed-Dîn, the Persian, with a large body of his countrymen. On his arrival 'Aly surrounded the fort and maintained a fierce struggle with its defenders. Now, attached to the fortress of Julfâr was a projecting tower, garrisoned by some of Nâsir-ed-Dîn's followers, who fought desperately day and night, whilst the Christians who were provided with vessels called vulgarly Ghurbâb kept up a constant fire from their guns to prevent the Mussulmans from approaching the fort. These latter, therefore, decided to assault the tower, which they did on a starlight night, and succeeded in capturing it. They then assailed the fort, which also fell into their hands. After placing a governor—whose name is not recorded in history—over the place on behalf of the Imâm, 'Aly returned to the latter, but shortly after came back to Julfâr as governor of that town and its dependencies. According to another account he remained in the fort after capturing it, and wrote to the Imâm announcing his success, who thereupon conferred the governorship of the place upon him.

While there he was joined by the ed-Duhâmish under Khamîs-bin-Makhzûm, who came to aid him on behalf of the Imâm. Now there was a fort on the sea-shore at Julfâr —not that which had been taken by 'Aly—belonging to the Christians.[1] This was surrounded and besieged by the ed-

[1] The foregoing account of these two attacks on Julfâr, as also the narrative which follows of the construction of a fort by the Imâm near Sohâr, while the principal fortress of that town was in the hands of the "Christians," confirms the remarks made in a foot-note to p. 46 respecting the tenure on which the Portuguese held most of their stations

Duhâmish, who were liberally supplied with provisions and arms by 'Aly-bin-Ahmed, until at length the Christians sued for peace, which 'Aly accorded on condition that they evacuated the place. Whereupon 'Aly appointed a man of his uncle's family, the Âl-'Aly, Wâli over Julfâr and its dependencies, and returned with his soldiers to Nezwa, where he was highly congratulated by the Imâm for his successful enterprise.

The Imâm then wrote to Hâfizh-bin-Sinân, the governor of Láwa, ordering him to build a fort on the shore at Sohâr. Whereupon Hâfizh dispatched letters to his friends residing within the dependencies of Julfâr, and others, summoning them to his aid, and shortly after he was joined by a number of men from the Benu-Khâlid, the Benu-Lâm, and the el-'Amûr.[1] Moreover, a number of the Sohâr people had been

in the Persian Gulf and on the coast of 'Omân. Julfâr at this time appears to have been nominally subject to their tributary the "King of Hormûz," but they had a separate fort there and cooperated in defending the Persian garrison as well as themselves.

[1] Until subjugated by the Wahhâbis the Benu-Khâlid were the most prominent tribe on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf. They occupied the country extending a little above el-Katîf to the boundary of the Benu-Yâs, in about longitude 53°, including the districts of 'Ojair, el-Hasâ or Hájar, and Kátar. Palgrave calls them a "Kahtânic" tribe, and one of the first known colonists of the coast of el-Hasâ. Among his genealogies of the el-Azd, under the heading of "the el-Azd, descendants of Khatâmah," our author mentions a Khâlid bin-Sadus-bin-Asma'-bin-Sa'ad bin-Nebhân, who may have been the forefather of the existing tribe bearing his name. I have pointed out in the Introduction, however, that Khatâmah himself was of the stock of Ma'add, and that his descendants were regarded as Azdites through his intermarriage with a family of Kahlân, (the descendant of Kahtân), the progenitor of el-Azd.

The Benu-Lâm are a branch of the great Tai tribe, and therefore of Kahtânic origin, through Kahlân; for Lâm, born about A.D. 470, was the descendant of Tai, the descendant of Odad, the descendant of Kahlân. The Tai settled originally in the mountains of Ajâ and Selmâ, to the north-west of Nejd. I have met with no account of the cause of their migration towards the coast. At the present day the Benu-Lâm are mostly to be found on the banks of the Tigris, between el-Kurnah and Baghdâd. By the "el-'Amur," one of the several Benu-'Âmir tribes may

urging him to come and take the place; so that altogether he had a large army. The first night of the march he spent at el-'Akk, arriving at Sohâr the following morning, without the enemy being aware of his approach. This occurred on the last day of Muhárram, A.H. 1043 [28th July, 1633]. On their halting at a spot called el-Bidâah, the Christians became aware of the presence of the Mussulmans, and a fierce conflict ensued between the two parties, the Christians harassing the Mussulmans with showers of shot from the fort and its towers, insomuch that the governor moved his position to a greater distance. Nevertheless, hostilities continued, during which a cannon-ball coming among the troops forced its way to the governor's council, and struck Râshid-bin-'Abbâd, one of the principal officers, killing him on the spot. He died a martyr; may God have mercy on him! However, the foundations of the fort were laid and the work completed in accordance with the Imâm's orders, and the governor occupied it with his troops, the war between him and the Christians continuing to rage as fiercely as ever.

About this time certain messengers whom the Imâm had sent to Máskat returned, stating that the Christians there had refused to pay the tribute agreed upon, and, moreover, had treated them harshly. Thereupon the Imâm dispatched an army against them under the sheikh, the Kâdhi, Khamîs-bin-Sâîd, esh-Shákasy. On reaching Bûshir[1] he received messages from the Christians soliciting peace, but he would not listen to them. From thence he proceeded to el-Mátrah,[2]

be intended. If so, I take it to be the Benu-'Âmir-bin-Sa'asa'ah, the descendant of Hawâzin, of Ma'addic origin through Kais-'Ailân. They played a conspicuous part among the tribes of Nejd and were for a long period the bitter enemies of the Benu-Temîm.

[1] Bûshir, the "Buscier" of Wellsted's map, is a small town seven miles to the southward of Máskat.

[2] The "Muttarah" of our charts and Wellsted's "Matarah," a considerable town situated in a cove about a mile to the north of Máskat, from which it is only separated by a range of hills, so rugged that the

where a deputation of the principal Christians waited on him with the same object. Eventually he agreed to their request on the following conditions:—They were to pay tribute; to restore the fortified posts which they had seized at el-Mátrah; to permit all those who went to them to trade freely; to abstain from war; to surrender the fortified posts which they held at Máskat,[1] in addition to those which they were to make over at el-Mátrah. On their acceptance of these conditions he consented to suspend hostilities and returned to the Imâm, who, on hearing what had taken place between him and the Christians, praised him highly for his energy and success.

The Imâm next assembled another army and dispatched it to Sûr,[2] under the command of his cousin Sultân-bin-Seif-bin-Mâlik, el-Ya'ruby. On reaching the place he invested the fort, which was at that time in the hands of the Christians, and eventually captured it. From thence he marched to Karyât, which was also garrisoned by the Christians, and took that also after a severe engagement. In this way the Imâm acquired possession of all the province of 'Omân, with the exception of Máskat, el-Mátrah and the fort of Sohâr, which were still held by the Christians.

In the meantime Nâsir-bin-Kátan and his adherents con-

communication between the two places is maintained principally by boats.

[1] It is clear from the sequel that only certain outposts were to be surrendered.

[2] Sûr, situated on the coast of 'Omân in lat. 22° 35' N., and 59° 33' E., is the port of the district of Ja'alân. The town, according to Wellsted, consists of a large collection of huts, erected on either side of a deep lagoon; but the bazaar, which is a mile and a half distant, boasts of a few stone houses, the best of which are occupied by natives of Cutch who monopolize a large share of the trade. On the west quarter there is a large fort—probably built by the Portuguese—mounting a few old guns. The harbour is good, and the inhabitants possess three hundred bágalas with which, during the fair season, they trade between the shores of India, Africa, and the Arabian and Persian Gulfs.

tinued to make incursions into 'Omân. His residence at this time was at el-Hasâ,[1] from whence he made annual inroads into 'Omân, plundering the Bédu of their sheep, and committing other outrages, returning with his booty to el-Hasâ. These proceedings coming to the knowledge of the Imâm he wrote to his governor, Muhammad-bin-Seif, el-Haukâny, directing him to lie in wait for Nâsir-bin-Kátan on the confines of 'Omân. The governor accordingly selected a band of renowned warriors, and on hearing of Nâsir's approach concealed them below the sand which forms part of the boundary of ezh-Zhâfrah. On learning this, Nâsir retired into the fort of ezh-Zhâfrah, where he was joined by the Benû-Yâs,[2] and then sent one of his followers to Muhammad-bin-Seif soliciting peace, which the latter, whose provisions were running short and who saw no prospect of receiving reinforcements at that distance from his country, deemed it prudent to grant, on condition that the property plundered should be restored or made good. This being agreed to, a reconciliation took place between the two parties.

[1] A small province on the mainland opposite the island of el-Bahrein, bounded on the west by a range of hills which separates it from Nejd. An interesting account of its past history and present condition and resources is given by Palgrave in his *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 136-217.

[2] Palgrave, who describes the Benu-Yâs as "an ill-famed clan, half Bedouins, half villagers, and half pirates," represents them as belonging to the original inhabitants of 'Omân, adding that they trace their descent from the "Kahtânee family of Modhej." (*Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 231) Another of their traditions is, that they are the descendants of Yâs-bin-'Amr-bin-Kais-bin-Nizâr, which makes them a Ma'addic race. Their main centre is Abu-Zhâby (the Abothubbee of our charts), situated on a sandy island in lat. 21° 29′ 21″ N., long. 54° 32′ 20″ E., with a population of 1,200 souls, which is much increased during the pearl-fishery season. The Benu-Yâs number about 3,000 men, but on an emergency they can muster about 5,000 more from various sub-tribes, and also from the el-Munâsir, whom Palgrave regards as a people of different origin. They have a Sheikh of their own, and have generally been on good terms with the rulers of 'Omân.

But no sooner had Muhammad-bin-Seif departed than Nâsir-bin-Kátan began to collect the Bédu and Hadhr of the Benu-Yâs and other tribes, intending to attack the fort of Tawwâm, being encouraged thereto by some of the disaffected in that place. He accordingly marched to Tawwâm —now called el-Bereimy—and invested the fort, which at that time was held by Muhammad-bin-Khalf, esh-Shákasy, on the part of the Imâm. When the Imâm's governors in el-Bâtinah and ezh-Zhâhirah heard thereof they assembled a large force of Bédu and Hadhr and marched to Muhammad-bin-Khalf's assistance. On hearing of their approach Nâsir-bin-Kátan immediately raised the siege, and all his followers fled like runaway slaves. On the arrival shortly after of the principal Wâli, the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Ghassân, el-Kindy, en-Nézawy, he ordered all the forts of el-Jauf—generally styled el-Jau—to be razed, which was accordingly done, so that all the Imâm's enemies were scattered like the dispersion of Sába.[1] Nâsir-bin-Kátan then joined the Christians at Sohâr, and among other of the Imâm's adversaries who were with them at the time was 'Omair-bin-Muhammad, el-'Omairy, and they consorted together. Some of the runaways posted themselves at the pass of Julfâr, where they used to plunder travellers, and made inroads from thence upon the surrounding district. Muhammad-bin-Seif marched against them with a party of his followers; having killed some of them the remainder fled like a herd of camels pursued by lions.

Nâsir-bin-Kátan, however, continued his depredations on the subjects of the Imâm. On one occasion he attacked the camels of the Benu-Khâlid and the Benu-Lâm, taking a number of them and plundering the women of their orna-

[1] An Arab proverb founded on the story contained in the chapter of the Kurân, entitled *Surat-Sába*, of the destruction of the descendants of Sába by the famous inundation styled *Sail-el-Arim*, which Perceval refers to the rupture of the dyke or reservoir at Mârcb, near San'aa, A.D. 120. *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 85.

ments, retiring to el-Hasâ with the spoil. On another occasion he marched along the seashore, with the intention of plundering the Arabs of the coast of 'Omân. The latter collected a considerable force and placed it under the command of 'Aly-bin-Ahmed, el-'Alowy, with whom were associated Muhammad-bin-es-Salt, er-Riyâmy, and 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, el-'Obry,[1] and Ahmed-bin-Balhásan, el-Bûshiry, and Râshid-bin-Hishâm, and other chiefs. 'Aly-bin-Ahmed marched with his force towards Láwa, and coming suddenly on Nâsir's people, who were not aware of their approach, hailed them with shouts, and there was a severe skirmish between the two parties, during which Nâsir fled, followed by the advance-guard of his pursuers. The first who overtook him were Ahmed-bin Balhásan and Murâd-bin-Hishâm, and some other chiefs, at a place called el-Kharûs, and these Mussulmans were engaged before the main body of the Imâm's army had come up, and the foremost of them were slain; (God have mercy upon them!) When their comrades reached the spot they found the dead bodies but saw nothing of the enemy, who had effected their escape. So after burying those who had fallen in the fight they returned to 'Omân.

Then one of the rebels named Muhammad-bin-'Othmân —he is also called Ibn-Hamîd—commenced committing depredations in the district of es-Sirr, appertaining to ezh-Zhâhirah. The governor there at that time was Muhammad-bin-Seif, el-Haukâny, with whom was associated Sâîd-bin-Khalfân, el-Kúrashy, who ordered Muhammâd-bin-'Othmân, to appear before him to account for his misdeeds. (Some say that he was summoned by Sâîd and that they had an interview in the mosque esh-Sherîâah; but the first is the more correct statement. Another account is that

[1] That is, of 'Obra, Wellsted's "Obrí," which he describes as one of the largest and most populous towns of 'Omân. He places it within the province of ezh-Zhâhirah.

Muhammad-bin-Seif ordered his soldiers to seize him wherever he could be found; that they fell upon him at a spot near Dhank, slew some of his followers, and then bound him; but God knows best.) On being brought before him, Muhammad-bin-Seif required that he should restore all that he had plundered, and on his refusal imprisoned him in the fort of el-Ghabby, and went himself to the Imâm at er-Rastâk to report the case. Whereupon the Imâm ordered that he should be sent to the prison at er-Rastâk, so as to prevent him from doing further mischief, and also as an example to others. He died in the prison at er-Rastâk a few months after.

Then the Imâm collected another army and placed it under the command of the aforenamed Sâîd-bin-Khalfân, associating with him 'Omair-bin-Muhammad-bin-Jufair, el-Jabry. They marched towards ezh-Zhâfrah, in order to seize the camels of Nâsir-bin-Kâtan, el-Hilâly, and were met by the Benu-Yâs not far from the camels, at a spot called esh-Shâab, near ezh-Zhâfrah, where an encounter took place between them. The foremost of the Benu-Yâs at that time was Sukair-bin-'Isa, who was slain on the occasion, as was also his brother Muhammad-bin-'Isa and several of their followers, whereupon the remainder sued for pardon. The governor then returned with his victorious army, and coming to a watering-place called Daâkas, where Nâsir-bin-Kâtan's camels were grazing, he seized them and left them in charge of 'Omair-bin-Muhammad-bin-Jufair. Now, the latter had a brother named 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, some of whose people advised him to take the camels to Nâsir-bin-Kâtan, which he did. Nâsir's party moreover continued to make incursions into 'Omân, insomuch that the Bédu and Hadhr were obliged to flee to the towns to escape their depredations.

Nâsir-bin-Kâtan's next expedition was directed towards the south, where he halted with his followers and closed the roads. The Imâm thereupon sent an army against him

under the command of Seif-bin-Mâlik and Seif-bin-Abi-'l-'Arab, both of the el-Yaârubah, and Hizâm-bin-'Abdallah. The advanced party of the Imâm's forces coming up with the rebels attacked and slew them all, although they were few against many; for "victory is from God alone: how often has a small army, by the will of God, overcome a great army; and God is with those who are patient."[1]

In fine, the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid was a man of perfect integrity and an eminent example of justice personified. God bestowed him upon the Mussulmans, and through him He humbled the infidels, the polytheists, and the evil-doers. He drove out the conspirators from their lurking-places, broke up their haunts, overcame their leaders, checked their rebellion, crushed the tyrants and oppressors, God giving him power over them, aiding him against them, assisting him to victory, and in every way vouchsafing him support, so that he raised Islâm to great preeminence. He put a check on what was evil, and it was kept under; he favoured justice throughout 'Omân, and it became conspicuous. Under him the Bédu and Hadhr acquired the ascendancy, for there were but a few Christians left, and those, since he had undertaken to wage war upon them, kept themselves entrenched within the forts and walls of Máskat, so that they grew feeble and dispirited, their power was broken, their confederates were scattered, and slaughter and death awaited most of them.

He died (God have mercy upon him and pardon him!) having the esteem and love of all good men. His death took place on Friday, ten days before the expiration of Rabîâ-el-Âkhir, A.H. 1059 [22nd April, 1649] after a rule of twenty-six years. He was buried at Nezwa, where his grave is revered by all true worshippers.

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[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-'Imrân*, (iii.) 122. *Sûrat-el-Bâkarah*, (ii.) 250.

The following is an epitome of this Imâm's extraordinary virtues, which will be remembered while day and night last.

A man was asleep in the mosque of Kasra, at er-Rastâk, and saw one of the corners of the mosque lighted up as if by a lamp. On awaking he found that the Imâm was reclining in that spot. This was before Murshid had been elected Imâm.

His mother married again after the death of his father, and the Imâm directed her to prepare his meals before she prepared their own, lest a particle intended for her husband should become mixed with his food. One day she forgot the injunction, and first kneaded the dough for her husband and then made it into bread. Next, without previously washing the vessel, she poured the flour for her son's bread into it. The result was that her hand stuck to the pan, and she was unable to detach it until her son came and released her of it, pardoning her at the same time.

One day after he had been proclaimed Imâm by the nobles and commons some fellows assembled in a house belonging to one of their number at er-Rastâk, where they began abusing the Imâm. The wife of the owner of the house forbade them, but they would not desist. Whereupon she left them and forthwith the roof of the house fell in and killed them all.

A she-camel belonging to an Arab ate some of the provender belonging to the Beit-el-Mâl, and immediately its skin became covered with pimples. It remained in that state until the Imâm saw it; (the people generally had seen the eruption.) The camel then came and knelt before the Imâm, and remained in that posture until its owner arrived, of whom the Imâm inquired into the case, and was informed that the animal had eaten some of the grain belonging to the Beit-el-Mâl, which had caused the disease. The Imâm forthwith pardoned the man and loosed the animal, stroking

it with his hands on its head and neck, and God healed it of its malady.

A basket of dates during his reign sufficed to feed one hundred men for several days, and so did a basket of rice,—a proof of his meritoriousness.

One hot day as he was asleep on the roof of his house a man came with the intention of assassinating him. He placed himself at the Imâm's head with a drawn dagger in his hand, but he was powerless to strike because God restrained him. On awaking, the Imâm, perceiving the assassin standing near his head, asked him what he wanted. "Nothing will avail me but your pardon," he replied; "for I came to murder you." The Imâm forgave him, and no evil befell him for what he had attempted.

A Bédawy having lost a she-camel went in search of it over hill and dale. At length he came upon a foot-print, the size of which excited his wonder. Following its traces he arrived at a green meadow, full of trees, flowers and fruit, and heard a voice from the outskirts saying to him: "Be congratulated, for your camel is in such a place. Go, then, and tell the upright Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid to persevere in the course which he is pursuing, for it is the career of the best of men, [Muhammad,] upon whom be the richest blessings and peace!" The Bédawy returned in great fear, the tips of his fingers pressed together over his distracted breast, and found his camel in the spot indicated by the speaker. Mounting it, he rode off to the Imâm, whom he found in company with others, and related what he had witnessed and what had been said to him. It so happened that the Imâm himself had seen in a dream a Bédawy coming to him and announcing that he was leading the life of the best of men, [Muhammad,] and had recounted it to some of his friends before the Bédawy's arrival.

The Imâm's household was supplied with provisions from the stores of the Beit-el-Mâl, but he did not possess a caldron

for cooking the food. His wife therefore managed to save a small portion of the rations for several successive days, which she sold, and bought a copper caldron with the money. Thereupon the Imâm questioned her very particularly as to how she came by it, and, on hearing her explanation, said: "You may use it, but take great care of it, for it belongs to the Beit-el-Mâl;" at the same time he ordered the person in charge of the grain to diminish the daily supply to his household to the extent which his wife had found sufficient.

One day the Kâdhi Muhammed-bin-'Omar called upon the Imâm and found him much depressed. On asking the reason he received no reply; but on pressing him to explain why he was so much cast down he discovered that it was because he was entirely without means to enable his household to keep the feast. The Kâdhi forthwith mentioned the circumstance to the eminent Wâli, 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, who ordered ten dirhems to be sent to him from the Beit-el-Mâl.

Among other extraordinary virtues attributable to this Imâm are the following:—During his entire residence at 'Akr, of Nezwa, subsequent to his election, not one individual great or small died until after his own death: this is a well-known fact. Again, during his reign no person was destroyed by wild beasts. God vouchsafe to him pardon and approval! for his good deeds were many, and his transcendent virtues deserve to be recorded among those of the most renowned sovereigns.

On his death the upright Muslims of 'Omân assembled and decided that the successor to the eminent Nâsir-bin-Murshid should be his cousin,—

SULTAN-BIN-SEIF,

BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-ABI-'L-'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-ABI-'L-'ARAB-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-HIMYAR-BIN-MUZÂHIM-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-MUHAMMAD-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-YA'ARUB-BIN-MÂLIK, EL-YA'ARUBY, EL-'ARABY, EL-YÉMENY, EL-HIMYARY, EL-AZDY, THE UPRIGHT IBÂDHY.

After receiving the homage of the people of 'Omân, its chiefs and commons, he began to administer justice and to fight in God's cause with the utmost vigour. He was nicknamed *Sâhib-el-Kâf*, [the Lord of the Kâf], owing, as some say, to his knowledge of alchymy. Others think that it arose from the fact that he had his stirrup-leathers marked with the letter *Kâf*, which I judge more probable; but God knows best.

On assuming the reins of government he commenced hostilities against the Christians who still remained at Máskat, marching against them in person. He persevered until God gave him the complete victory over them.

The author—who implores God to defend him and the orthodox Mussulmans from all evil—states as follows: I, Hamîd-bin-Muhammad-bin-Razîk, received this information from several aged trustworthy men, who were brought up in the time of Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif-bin-Mâlik, el-Yaáruby, and who all agreed in substance although their words differed, that when the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid died his cousin remained only a few days in 'Omân after the Imâmate had been conferred upon him, and then set out to attack the Christians who held possession of the towns of Máskat and el-Mátrah. These Christains were called Portuguese, who had large territories in India, and at that time they were the most powerful of the Christian nations, all of whom were their confederates and allies. Every epoch has its empire and its heroes.

When the Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif had decided to fight the Portuguese he pitched his camp at Táwy-er-Rûla, near el-Mátrah. He had a large army under his command, with which he assailed the enemy every morning and afternoon. The Portuguese, on their part, were well prepared for these attacks, and showed no signs of cowardice or of yielding. They had filled the two forts of Máskat, its towers, walls, and mountains, with picked men,[1] and waited patiently for the coming assault. The Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif's troops advanced against them as far as the Bîr-el-Râwiyah, of Máskat; but the Portuguese had erected towers on the mountains of Máskat and garrisoned them with musketeers, so that whenever any of the Imâm's soldiers approached

[1] Máskat is situated at the extremity of a small cove, in the gorges of an extensive pass, which is subdivided by *'Akabahs*, or hills, into three valleys, called the Large, the Middle and the Small Wâdis, through which there are roads leading round to el-Mátrah and the village of Killabûh to the westward, and to the village of Sidâb, about four miles to the southward. Landward the town is surrounded by a wall in which there are eight towers mounting artillery, and two fortified gates. Arid rocks, three hundred feet high, rise almost perpendicularly from the sea and form the cove. This boundary, on the eastern side, consists mainly of an islet—called "the Island" by the author—about a mile long and a quarter of a mile wide, indented with creeks and defended towards the mouth of the harbour by a half-moon battery; a corresponding work is erected on the opposite side, a little lower down in the cove. The islet is only separated from the double hill which bounds the town on the east by a narrow channel, which is nearly dry at low water. On the summit of the hill just named stands the "Eastern Fort," and on the opposite side, rising above the town, is the "Western Fort," both strongly built and tolerably well armed. Some of the guns, however, are very old, and belonged to the Portuguese. I saw one in 1861 in the Eastern Fort bearing the date 1625. Besides these fortifications there are several small watch-towers on the surrounding hills and also over the pass on the south-east to, leading Killabûh.

The reader will understand from the narrative that the attack on the Portuguese was made by land, from the vicinity of el-Mátrah, the assailants marching from thence by one of the Wâdis towards the outposts beyond the town wall, where the wells are, the weakest point and the most difficult to defend.

they fired upon them. They had also suspended an iron chain in the air from the tower, now called after my father the "Tower of Muhammad-bin-Razîk," to the tower now known as "el-Murabbâ," [the Square Tower,] whereto were attached iron cradles, in which men were concealed who discharged shot on any of the Imâm's followers who ventured near them. They also occupied the whole of Jebel-es-Sâály as well as Jebel-el-Makulla, and the reverberations caused by the shots fired by those concealed in these mountains and in the other posts, especially towards nightfall, were continuous, whilst their guards and spies went to and fro with news night and day.[1] They showed the greatest determination and were everywhere on their guard. The two batteries they filled with their experienced gunners and musketeers, so that they cut off all means of access to them from without. The war in the meantime between them and the Imâm's troops was of varying fortune: the Portuguese were unable to expel their assailants from their position at el-Mátrah, neither could the latter force an entry into Máskat. The Imâm's soldiers, however, used to creep up to them by stealth, and kill any they saw near er-Râwiyah, or any that showed themselves near the place called Hállat-el-'Ajam-wa-'l-Jâriyah, and elsewhere, and they used to shout out to the Portuguese on the walls: "Come forth, and let us settle matters! Brave men do not hide themselves within forts and behind walls." They assailed them, moreover, with all kinds of reproaches, but none ventured out, through dread of coming in contact with the swords and spears of the besiegers. On the other hand, the latter were deterred from an assault by the guns and muskets of the besieged.

[1] Owing to the peculiar configuration of the cove a single discharge reverberates through the hills like a continuous peal of thunder, as I had frequent opportunities of noticing during my two visits to Máskat in 1860-61. As here related of the Portuguese, the Arab and Beloochee sentinels from their different posts on the forts and watch-towers still keep up an incessant chanting shout from 7 P.M. till sunrise, each appearing to vie with his comrades who shall shout the loudest.

The struggle went on in this way for a long time, and the Imâm and his party began to despair of effecting an entrance into the place, when a dispute arose between the Portuguese and one of the Worshippers of the Cow, to wit, the polytheist named Narûtem, a Banian,[1] on the subject of betrothal and marriage. This Narûtem had a beautiful daughter whom the Portuguese commandant, whose name was Fareira [Pareira], had asked in marriage, through the medium of one of the clergy attached to their church in the Western Fort, who acted as Pareira's agent in the matter. Narûtem, however, declined the match on behalf of his daughter. Pareira then offered him a large sum of money, but he still refused, and sent the commandant the following answer: "The thing which the commandant requires neither becomes him nor me, he being a Christian, whereas I am of a different religion. He and his co-religionists hold it lawful to drink wine, and to eat ox-flesh and the flesh of other animals. Neither in ancient nor modern times have Christians intermarried with us." Pareira's messenger replied: "You must not thwart the commandant, for he has been most generous towards you; he has given you the keys of the shops in the two forts and elsewhere, has made you agent for the treasury and country, and has invested you with plenary authority, and he declares that if you do not give your con-

[1] There are more Banians in Máskat than in any other town of Arabia. Wellsted estimated them in 1836 at 1,500, and remarked that their number was rapidly increasing. "They possess a small temple there, are permitted to keep and protect a certain number of cows, to burn their dead, and to follow in other respects the uninterrupted enjoyment of their respective religious tenets....They mostly embark at Porebunder, from the north-west provinces of India, and in the prosecution of their commercial avocations frequently remain for a period of fifteen or twenty years....They constitute a body of the principal merchants of the place, and almost monopolise the pearl trade from the Persian Gulf. They enter as largely into the supply of grain from India, and have also extensive dealings in Indian cloths and piece-goods." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 18-21.

sent to the marriage I am to marry your daughter to him forcibly, and he will punish you and yours with fines, penalties, and other punishments, such as have not been inflicted on any before you. Hence, I advise you to yield, for he who disobeys great sovereigns is sure to bring on himself destruction." Pareira's messenger added many more speeches to the same effect.

When Narûtem perceived that there was no chance of escaping from the difficulty except by strategem, he assumed a soft manner towards the messenger and feigned obedience, saying to him: "Go and tell the commandant to be of good cheer, and be you of good cheer also, for I shall take this matter in hand and shall rely on him." The two then set out together and found Pareira holding a grand review of his soldiers on the Island, and after they had saluted him with the salute which Christian subjects give to their commanders, he took his visitors by the hand, and dismissing the troops led them up to his quarters, and said to them: "What have you decided about the betrothal?" To this Narûtem replied: "Know, O Amîr, that the affair submitted to me by your messenger is a very difficult one, owing to the difference of our religions, and because it is unprecedented; but, if it must be so, grant me a year's delay that I may prepare the dress and ornaments which virgins amongst our women usually wear on marriage. Their fine jewellery can only be made by the goldsmiths of the town of Nâjinah,[?] but a year will suffice to prepare it; and you know that what is future is not far off. In the mean time, as one acquainted with the vicissitudes of war, I venture to give you a little advice. The ruler of 'Omân, Sultân-bin-Seif, has not yet withdrawn his sword from you; he lies in wait for you with forces as numerous as the drops of rain, and [illegible]diers are exulting over you because you are afraid to their challenge; hence you are humbled and he is ant. I fear, moreover, that his forces will assault

you by climbing over the walls like lions. He is even now—so my mind tells me—waiting for an opportunity to attack the town and to force an entry through the gates, and I have no doubt that, with the aid of a few ladders, they might effect that object and thereby leave you nothing but the two forts, the Eastern and Western, wherein they would besiege you closely. In that case you would be cut off from all supplies, more especially water, which he would prevent you from obtaining, and you and your followers would be driven to great distress through thirst, for the besieged cannot stand out against a lack of water. Now, the water which is in the tanks of the two forts is foul and swarms with insects, and causes disorders in the bowels, and if obliged to drink it the besieged will be sure to suffer from its effects. Again, the gunpowder and provisions which are stored in the two forts and the two batteries are old and worthless. My advice therefore is that you let off the water now in the tanks, have the tanks well cleaned, and fill them with fresh water before the siege begins. Let the powder also be brought out and restored by being pounded anew. The old wheat, too, should be discarded, and new grain substituted in its place; for if we put new wheat with the old, the weevils in the latter will enter into the new and spoil it, and fatal sickness will be the result." Narûtem added much more to the same effect, on hearing which Pareira commissioned him to carry out these suggestions, for he knew nothing of the artifice intended thereby, and judged that the counsel was sincere. Moreover, he agreed to defer the marriage for one year, as he had been requested.

When Narûtem had taken out all the water, provisions, and ammunition from the two forts, he wrote a letter to the Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif and sent it by one of his own people. The substance of the letter was as follows: You, O Imâm of 'Omân, have been at el-Mátrah besieging the Portugnese in Máskat for a long time, and hitherto you have effected

nothing. If you wish to succeed you must proceed in this way: on Sunday next march quickly to Máskat, for I have done so and so to them because they acted in such and such a manner towards me about the betrothal. Consequently, the two forts and the two batteries are now quite stript of weapons, provisions and ammunition, and the community do not carry their arms on Sunday, that being their feast day, and are engaged in drinking wine and in playing on musical instruments; therefore if you can make your way into Máskat you will gain your object. Then hasten on with your force to the entrances of the two forts and set fire to the closed gates, for I have removed all the old gunpowder therefrom, and have replaced it with powder sprinkled with vinegar, which can do no harm. Do not delay beyond the day which I have named, for if you reject my advice, and follow the contrary counsel of others, you will not succeed though you prosecute the siege for years.

When the Imâm read the letter and Narûtem's advice as contained therein, and the trick which he had played off upon the Portuguese in consequence of the dispute connected with the proposed marriage—the truth of which the writer affirmed with a solemn oath—he sent an affirmative reply by the messenger, but kept the matter secret from the nobles and commons. The messenger returned in high glee to Narûtem, who on hearing that the Imâm had acquiesced in his proposal was so overcome with joy that he could have flown to the Imâm without wings.

On the appointed Sunday the Imâm offered up the Prayer of Dawn with his people, and then the Prayer of War; after which he prayed that God would give the Muslims the victory over the polytheists. He then marshalled his troops and set forth with them at quick time. On reaching the
[illegible] the mountains forming the Great Wâdi of Máskat,
[illegible]ted those who should attack the wall, and those who
[illegible]rush onward to the entrances of the two forts and

the other posts held by the Portuguese from Máskat to el-Mátrah. The selection was made singly and collectively; that done, he set out at their head, they calling out: "God is most great! O God, make the orthodox Muslims victorious over the beardless Portuguese!" On reaching the suspended chain they fired their muskets and hurled stones at those who were in the cradles, but their fire was not returned, for God restrained the occupants and they retreated. When the assailants reached the walls they placed ladders against them and seized all the gates, none of the Portuguese opposing them but such as were reeling drunk, incapable of firing or using their muskets, beyond striking with them at random. These the Mussulmans dispatched with sword and spear, and left them prostrate like the trunks of uprooted date-trees. They then formed into two divisions, one of which rushed towards the Eastern and the other to the Western fort, against which they planted ladders; and when the garrison attempted to fire upon them the guns would not go off, because the powder had been tampered with. Then there was a hand-to-hand struggle, and swords, spears, and daggers were broken on heads and breasts, the Imâm and his soldiers eventually taking possession of the wall, the two forts, the two batteries, and all the other posts of the enemy, with the exception of the tower called Kâsim, which was still held by a famous Portuguese warrior, named Cabreta [Cabrera?], who sallied out against the Imâm and his army whenever an opportunity offered. He had a large garrison with him, but one day when he came forth and attacked the Mussulmans who occupied the Island he was obliged to retreat before them. They pursued him as far as the cotton-market, where there was a great fight, but they assailed him with spears and rotten eggs, and slew him and all his followers. So God rid the Mussulmans of him and his polytheist companions.

Then the Imâm directed a party of his followers to

march against the garrison of the fort at el-Mátrah. He had hardly given the order when the Commandant came in person to the Imâm asking for quarter, and offering to surrender the fort. The proposal was accepted by the Imâm, and he accordingly desisted from all hostilities against him or his comrades. The Portuguese had now but two large ships to oppose the Imâm; one of these, which was anchored a good way from the fort of el-Mátrah, opened fire upon the town, which was answered by the guns on the fort, but the shot did no harm, owing to the intervening distance. The other ship began to fire upon the inner portion of Máskat, and the shot went beyond Sidâb, doing much damage;[1] on seeing which the Imâm ordered the Mussulmans to attack it, but they excused themselves, saying that such large ships could only be successfully attacked by vessels of equal size. Thereupon the Chief of the Auxiliaries[2] said to him: "O Imâm, lives are valuable, and are only sold for a large price: if you provide the requisite money I will find the men." To this the Imâm consented; whereupon the Chief of the

[1] I am at a loss clearly to understand this passage. It is tolerably certain that the vessel was not in the cove-harbour, for there it would have been exposed to the cross-fire from the forts and batteries. Most probably it was cruising not far from land, behind the Eastern fort, where there is low ground, and from whence the distance to the town would be between a mile and a mile and a half; but then the direction of the fire against the city walls would be west, whereas Sidâb, as already mentioned in a preceding note (p. 79), is about four miles to the southward. The only solution of the difficulty which occurs to me is that the vessel, in moving up and down the coast, occasionally discharged shots at Sidâb, which is situated near the shore. I have given the distance between that village and Máskat on the authority of the Minister to the late Seyyid Thuwainy. Niebuhr, who marks its position in his *Tab.* xv, (*Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii.) but incorrectly styles it "Soddof," makes it much less.

[2] In the original, *Sâhib-el-Maghyâth*. I have not met with the designation elsewhere, but, judging from the context, the business of the officer so styled was to obtain mercenaries for the Imâm's service. Possibly, he also had the command of them.

Auxiliaries went to 'Omân and chose one hundred men, to whom death was sweeter than wine to the lips of the wine-bibber. On their arrival he gave them a large sum of money, and they then proceeded to attack the two ships in small boats. And God gave them the victory over the infidels, for they destroyed the two ships and killed all the polytheist crews.[1]

The Imâm then appointed Bin-Bekârab, el-Yaâruby, Wâli of Máskat, and left many soldiers with him. He enjoined him to be firm, to decree what was lawful and to forbid what was unlawful, and to administer justice impartially. He also exempted Narûtem and his family from taxation, as a recompense for the services which he had rendered to him and to the Mussulmans.

When the Imâm returned to Nezwa, all the people, high and low, congratulated him on his achievements and on the conquest which God had vouchsafed to the Mussulmans through him over the polytheists. He then ordered a *Jihâd*[2] against the polytheists who swept the coast of the sea of

[1] The incidents mentioned in the foregoing account of the capture of Máskat from the Portuguese is so strikingly characteristic of the two contending parties, and the tone throughout is so dispassionate and impartial, that there can be little doubt of the general authenticity of the narrative. Owing to the negligence, or the national pride, of cotemporary Portuguese annalists, we possess no version of theirs wherewith to compare it. Captain Alexander Hamilton's story of the immediate cause of the attack, which he attributes to the insolence of the Portuguese governor in having sent "a piece of pork, wrapped up in a paper, as a present to the Arab king" who was then in the neighbourhood with his army, in reply to a civil message from the latter requesting him to grant him "the liberty of his markets to buy provisions," is presumably a fable, with as little foundation as most of his other transmitted hearsay statements regarding the Arab King and his "Queen, who was of Seid extraction, who are a tribe or family descended from Mahomet, by Fatima his daughter and Ali his apostle." See *Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels*, vol viii. p. 285. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, from which the foregoing is an extract, embraces his trading and travelling experience from 1688 to 1723.

[2] A war against infidels

'Omân, and he successfully assaulted ed-Diyûl, and Dáman, and Killabûh, and 'Akkah,[1] and many other towns and villages of the polytheists, so that the latter were in great dread of him, and their incursions upon 'Omân were repressed, and all aid given by them to the enemy was cut off. The booty taken from the polytheists was very great.

Then the Imâm commenced building the renowned fort at Nezwa, which was completed in twelve years and cost

[1] By "ed-Diyûl" there can be no doubt that the island of Diu, in the province of Guzerat, is intended. Hamilton gives the following details of the attack upon that place by the 'Omânis at this period:—"About the year 1670 the Muscat Arabs came with a fleet of *trankies*, and took an opportunity to land in the night, on the west end of the island, without being discovered, and marched silently close up to the town, and at break of day, when the gates were opened, they entered without resistance. The alarm was soon spread over the town, and happy was he who got first to the castle-gates, but those who had heavy heels were sacrificed to the enemy's fury, who spared none; so in a moment that fair city, and churches, were left to the mercy of the Arabs, who for three days loaded their vessels with rich plunder, and mounted some cannon in a beautiful church and fired at the fort, but to little purpose. The governor, who was in the castle, could soon have obliged them to move farther off the castle by the force of his heavy cannon, yet the priesthood forbid him firing at the church on pain of excommunication, lest some unlucky shot should sacrilegiously have defaced some holy image. But the Arabs, like a parcel of unsanctified rogues, made sad havoc on the churches' trumpery, for besides robbing them of all the sanctified plate and cash, they did not leave one gold or silver image behind them, but carried all into dismal captivity, from whence they never returned that I could hear of. And as for the poor images of wood and stone, they were so rudely treated by those barbarous infidels, that they came well off if they lost but a limb, and I saw some who lost their heads," *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 312.

Dáman is in all probability the town of the same name, situated on the coast of the Northern Concan, and still held by the Portuguese.

Killabûh, Niebuhr's "Kalboo" and the "Khulboo" of our charts, is a small town situated in a cove formed by the north-east point of the Riyâm cove and Râs Máskat. The Portuguese appear to have kept possession of it for some time after their expulsion from Máskat and el-Mátrah. As the place is destitute of fortifications they probably held it with their ships.

'Akkah: I am unable to identify this place.

lacs of silver and gold. He also renewed the aqueduct of the tank between Azka and Nezwa; and, what through inadvertence has been overlooked by most historians, he fostered trade, and during his Imâmate sent men to India, Persia, Sanâa, el-Básrah, and 'Irâk to supply the demand of the Mussulmans for horses, arms, etc. To sum up, Omân revived during his government and prospered; the people rested from their troubles, prices were low, the roads were safe, the merchants made large profits, and the crops were abundant. The Imâm himself was humble towards the one Almighty God, compassionate towards his subjects, condoning their offences when such condonation was lawful, and never keeping himself aloof from them. He used to traverse the streets without an escort, would sit and talk familiarly with the people, and saluted the small and great, the freeman and the slave. Thus he persevered in ordaining what was lawful and forbidding what was unlawful, always observing the fixed times of prayer, until he died. God have mercy upon him and absolve him! He died on the morning of the 16th of Dzul-Kaâdah, A.H. 1059 [11th November 1649],[1] and was buried where the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid was buried.

[1] This date is evidently wrong, for the year is the same in which Nâsir-bin-Murshid, Sultân-bin-Seif's predecessor, is recorded to have died, (see p. 74.) That date is presumably correct, since Nâsir-bin-Murshid was recognized as Imâm A.D. 1624 (p. 54) and ruled twenty-six years (p. 74), which would bring the date of his death to A.D. 1650 or 1649. The mistake—probably of the transcriber—is most unfortunate, because it prevents our ascertaining the exact time when the Portuguese were expelled from Máskat—a point on which all available authorities differ. Hamilton places that event "about the year 1650;" Niebuhr, "about 150 years" after their capture of the town in 1508; Wellsted says that "Seif-bin-Sultân [it should be Sultân-bin-Seif] drove the Portuguese out of Muscat in 1658," which tallies with Niebuhr's approximate statement. The Arabic narrative leads us to infer that Sultân proceeded with his army from er-Rastâk towards Máskat very shortly after the death of his predecessor in April, 1649. From the remarks made by the Banian, in his treasonable correspondence with

BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULṬÂN,

BIN-SEIF-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULṬÂN,

EL-YA'ARUBY.

On the death of his father Sultân-bin-Seif, Belârab his son was nominated to succeed him, and on being confirmed in the Imâmate he exhibited justice and integrity in his administration, following therein the example of his good predecessors, and was eulogized by the people. He used to be called Abu-'l-'Arab [the Father of the Arabs] on account of his liberality. He rebuilt Yabrîn and erected the lofty fort there; he himself also removed thither from Nezwa, and established a college there for masters and pupils, whom he supported, insomuch that science was greatly cultivated through his munificence, for many students profited thereby who became learned theologians and renowned scholars. Among the former were the sheikh Khalf-bin-Sinân, el-Ghâfiry, and the sheikh Sâid-bin-Muhammad-bin-'Obaidân, and many others; and among the latter Rashîd-bin-Khamîs, el-Hábashy, el-Aâma, and others. The last-named sheikh wrote several poems in eulogy of his patron and was liberally rewarded by him.

Serious differences then broke out between Belârab-bin-

the Imâm, it appears that the latter had been besieging Máskat for "a long time" before the stratagem for the capture of the place was submitted to him. Taking all these circumstances into consideration on the one hand, together with other facts stated in the narrative, and, on the other, the difficulty of keeping a large body of Arabs together for a protracted period, I am disposed to fix the date of the final expulsion of the Portuguese from Máskat some time during the year 1651-52.

The erroneous date given for the death of Sultân-bin-Seif, namely, A.H. 1059 = A.D. 1649, I should alter to A.H. 1079 = 1668; this would allow for the twelve years spent by him, subsequently to the expulsion of the Portuguese, in building "the renowned fort at Nezwa," and also give a reasonable duration to the reigns of his two immediate successors, Bel'arab-bin-Sultân and Seif-bin-Sultân, the latter of whom is recorded to have died A.H. 1123 = A.D. 1711.

Sultân and his brother Seif-bin-Sultân, and many of the learned Fakîhs and devout sheikhs of 'Omân who took part in them, following the counsels of the demented, brought upon themselves the most deplorable calamities. In consequence of this state of affairs, Belârab-bin-Sultân left Nezwa and set out towards esh-Shamâl; on his return, the inhabitants refusing to admit him, he went to Yabrîn. Then most of the people of 'Omân assembled to confer the Imâmate on his brother Seif-bin-Sultân, but none really approved of that step, so that there arose dissensions among them and the cabal was dissolved. Nevertheless, Seif commenced hostilities against his brother and captured all the forts of 'Omân from him, and treated as enemies any of the Arabs or Hadhr who sided with him, so that eventually the fort of Yabrîn was the only place left in his possession. Many battles were fought between the two brothers, and Belârab was called by some "Balâ-'l-'Arab" [the Calamity of the Arabs], whilst others designated Seif as the "Scourge," and Belârab as the "Butcher," on account of the blood which was shed through their quarrels. As to the people, they were divided in their opinions respecting the rivals: some maintained that Belârab was the rightful Imân and his brother a rebel; others that Seif was justified in supplanting Belârab, both parties following the bent of their inclinations. Ultimately, Seif-bin-Sultân assembled a large army and besieged his brother in the fort of Yabrîn, where the latter died during the siege. It is recorded of him that despairing of receiving any succour from without, he performed his ablutions and two *raka'as*,[1] and then prayed for death, for which he was prepared. God heard his petition, and he died forthwith. This fact has been mentioned by more than one learned and trustworthy authority. On the death of Belârab

[1] The Muslims have five set times for prayer during the day, each of which prayers is said to be of so many *raka'ahs*, or inclinations of the head.

his followers asked for quarter and permission to leave the fort. Seif granted the request and thereafter ruled over the whole of 'Omân, none of the el-Yaârubah or others contesting his right to the Imâmate.

SEIF-BIN-SULTÂN.

Seif-bin-Sultân continued to administer the Imâmate with justice and impartiality, protecting the weak from the oppression of the strong, and all the tribes of 'Omân, as also those of other provinces, submitted to him. He attacked the Christians, and drove out some of them from their settlements, capturing from them Mombâsah, the Green Isle [Pemba], Kilwah, and other places.[1] Moreover, he improved a large portion of 'Omân by making water-courses and planting date and other trees. He amassed great wealth—in the pursuit of which he was very intent—and

[1] It is much to be regretted that the author gives so few details of the reign of Seif bin-Sultân, one of the most enterprising and successful of the Imâms of 'Omân. The places on and near the east coast of Africa mentioned as having been captured by him from the Christians were taken by the Portuguese A.D. 1503. The date usually given of their expulsion by the Arabs is A.D. 1698, which would be during the administration of Seif-bin-Sultân. "In that year," writes Colonel Rigby in his *Report on the Zanzibar Dominions*, "the inhabitants of Mombassah, rendered desperate by the tyranny of their Portuguese rulers, sent a deputation to Saif-bin-Sultân, the Imaum of Oman, requesting his aid to free them from their oppressors; the Imaum, in consequence, sent a naval force which wrested Mombassa from the Portuguese. Keelwa and other settlements soon after submitted to the Imaum, and the Portuguese were massacred or expelled from all their possessions north of Mozambique." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. lix. p. 29. New series.

Hamilton relates that in 1694 the Máskat Arabs made a descent on Salsette, an island adjoining Bombay, and "committed great depredations in plundering and burning villages and churches, killing the priests, and carried about 1,400 captives into irredeemable slavery." In the following year "they quarrelled with the Carnatic rajah, a potent prince by land; yet they came with their fleet and plundered and burned the towns of Barsalore and Mangalore, two of the best and richest towns on that coast." *Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels*, vol. viii. pp. 328, 290.

had many male and female slaves. 'Omân was strong under his administration and became the best of countries. He persevered in the same praiseworthy course till he died at er Rastâk, where also he was buried, and where his grave is well known. His son Sultân built a fine dome over it, which was subsequently destroyed by the Wahhâbis. He died on Thursday night, the 3rd of Ramadhân, A.H. 1123 [4th October, 1711.]

The learned sheikh Muhammad-bin-'Arîk, el-'Adwâny, states in his history that when the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân died he had acquired possession of one-third of all the date-trees in 'Omân; that he repaired the es-Sâyighy canal at es-Rastâk, the el-Yazîly in ezh-Zhâhirah, the el-Kûthir at el-Hazm, and also the el-Barzamân and el-Misfâh canals; that he possessed seven hundred male slaves and twenty-eight ships; among the latter were the el-Fálak, the el-Malk, the er-Rahmâny, the Kaâbrâs, and the es-Sâlihy. The el-Fálak was armed with eighty large guns, each gun measuring three spans at the breech. He also planted at Naâmân-Barkah 30,000 young date-trees and 6,000 cocoa-nut trees, besides those which he planted at Bîr-en-Nashâ-wah, er-Râssah and el-Mandzariyyah. Moreover, he acquired the property of the Benu-Lamk and the Benu-'Adiy of the Wâdi-es-Sâhtan, by purchase. His appointed successor was his son,

SULTÂN-BIN SEIF, [II]

BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MUHAMMAD,

EL-YA'ARUBY.

At God's command this Imâm made war on the enemy by sea and land, and encountered the Persians in many places. He removed from er-Rastâk to el-Hazm, and built the fort there, expending thereon all the money which he inherited from his father, besides borrowing many additional

lacs from the property of the mosques and other religious endowments. He also attacked and took el-Bahrein[1], and none in 'Omân or elsewhere ventured to oppose him. The people of 'Omân stood in great awe of him. The following anecdotes illustrate this fact:—One day he went out accompanied only by his slave Abu-Sâîdîn. When they reached the rear of Dahâs-es-Salimiyyîn—others say it was below et-Tabâkah—they saw an Arab mounted on a camel laden with two baskets of dates, which he was bringing from ezh-Zhâhirah to the market of er-Rastâk. Thereupon the Imâm directed his slave to keep back, but to come forward quickly when he beckoned with his hand. The Imâm carried a small skin of water on his left side; the Arab a sword and shield slung over his shoulder. When the former approached the Arab, who did not know whom he was addressing, the Arab accosted him, saying: "O carrier of the water-skin, give me a drink out of your skin." To which the Imâm replied: "And what if I chose to refuse; what would you do then?" "Why, if Seif-bin-Sultân were not in existence," rejoined the other, "I would smite you with this sword." According to another version the Imâm then began to bandy words with the Arab, in order to discover whether he belonged to any of the gangs of professional plunderers whose outrages were now restrained through fear of punishment. During the colloquy he made a sign to the slave, who joined him instantly and began abusing the Arab roundly, saying: "How dare you contend with the Imâm?" No sooner had the Arab recognized that the free man was the Imâm and the slave his servant, than he cut the ropes which bound the packages of dates and set off at a gallop, never stopping until he reached the country of the Benu-

[1] From the Persians, who had occupied it on the expulsion of the Portuguese and their tributary the "King" of Hormûz from the latter island, A.D. 1622, by Shâh 'Abbâs, aided by an English fleet of five ships belonging to the East India Company.

Máhrah. On returning to er-Rastâk the Imâm made inquiries about the Arab, and was informed that he belonged to the ez-Zafîty, and had laden his camel with two baskets of dates. The Imâm then dispatched one of his soldiers with the value of the dates, and directed that if he did not find the man he was to ask for his relations and give them the money; also to tell them that they would find the dates at a place which he indicated. The messenger accordingly departed, and not finding the man he inquired of his relatives where he was, but they had heard nothing of him since he had started on his journey. The soldier then told them the whole story and gave them the money, whereupon they set out and found the two baskets of dates in the spot which had been named to them. This act on the part of the Imâm led them to extol him exceedingly. Following the footprints of their kinsman's camel they discovered him hiding among the Benu-Máhrah, from whence he accompanied them to their home.

The following is another illustration of the awe which this Imâm inspired:—There was a merchant of Yemen who used to come to er-Rastâk every year with goods, such as *Wars*[1] and other articles, and sojourned there, buying and selling, till the opening of the monsoon, when he generally carried his profits to Máskat, from whence he sailed to

[1] *Wars*, sometimes called "bastard saffron," is a dull red, sand-like powder, the product of a shrub resembling the Sesame. I was informed at Aden that the plant grows to five feet in height and bears clusters of round seeds which are covered with pollen, which when removed by rubbing or shaking the seed-clusters together forms the *Wars*. The shrub is a native of the interior of Yemen, where the *Wars* is used by females to impart a light yellow tinge to the skin. It is exported to 'Omân and the Persian Gulf, where it is largely used with the same object. Much of it goes to Surat, in India, where they use it to dye silks. The Arabs also use it as an internal remedy in leprosy, and externally as a lotion to remove freckles. An inferior kind of *Wars* is brought to the Aden market from Hurrur, in Africa. Niebuhr describes "Uars" as "une herbe qui teint en jaune et dont on transporte quantité de *Mokha* dans *l'Oman*." *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 133.

Yemen. He came one year, as was his wont, and sold and bought, and made much gain. When about to return home he was seen by an Arab of ezh-Zhâhirah leaving the market with two bags of money on his shoulder. The Arab's cupidity being excited, he followed the merchant stealthily until he was out of er-Rastâk and saw him put up for the night in the plain called Shâab-el-Merkh, and stole the two bags while the owner was asleep. He then rode off quickly on his camel to an Arab named Sâlim-bin-Huwaishil, a sharp fellow, whom the Imâm had made Tracker[1] to the Beit-el-Mâl, and who resided at 'Arâar, of er-Rastâk. The robber hailed this man during the night, and told him what he had done to the Yémeny, and then offered him one of the bags of money, pressing him to take it. Sâlim reflected for some time, but finally accepted it, and said: "Go your way, and should the Imâm order me to follow up your footprints I will deceive him." So the robber galloped his camel and at sunrise reached the village of Wadâm, where he sold the camel to one of the Arabs of the place, and then hiring a small craft embarked in it for Mekrân.

[1] Literally, "whom the Imâm had appointed *li-kass-il-âthar*," that is, for following the footprints or traces. Wonderful stories are told by the Arabs of the success of these Pathfinders; but the wonder is diminished in some degree when it is remembered that the Bedawin tribes generally have distinctive marks, called *Uthrah*, made with an iron instrument called *Miatharah*, upon the under part of their camels' feet, in order to be able to follow their footprints on the ground. The custom of having men specially trained for this purpose appears to have prevailed in Sind during the rule of the Amirs, and is, I believe, still retained as a part of our police system in that province. "The Zemindars of villages," writes Lieut. Hugh James in his *Report on the Perguna of Chandookah, in Upper Sind*, "took care to have at least one tracker with them, and these were brought up to their business from boyhood, and were generally very expert: thefts have been traced after an interval of time had elapsed, and at a distance from the place of perpetration, almost incredible,—through the running stream, over the newly-ploughed field, through standing corn, over the hard soil of the desert, through the crowded town, and along the high road, the criminal was hunted down." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xvii. p. 741.

When the merchant awoke and missed the bags of money he smote his cheeks and rent his clothes for grief, and returned at once to er-Rastâk and reported what had befallen him to the Imâm. The Imâm immediately sent for Sâlim the Tracker and directed him to follow up the traces of the robber. Sâlim then inquired of the Yémeny where the robbery occurred. The latter did not know the name of the place, but from his description of it the Imâm concluded that the spot was that known as Shââb-el-Merkh. Sâlim accordingly set out early that day and returned at sunset. On being asked by the Imâm what discovery he had made, he replied: "O Imâm of the Muslims, I have gone over all the road and I saw a mass of footprints, but I was unable to trace them. Despise me, if you will, but exonerate me from blame, for the unknown is full of mysteries." Thereupon the Imâm looking intently at him said: "O Sâlim, such an excuse will not save you from punishment; but go again and trace the footprints, for my mind tells me that your heart has prompted you to some wicked act. Therefore discard all excuses, for the soul is not subjected to evil beyond what the merciful Lord permits." The officers also of the Imâm said to him: "Go, O Sâlim, and do what the Imâm bids you; perchance God may direct you in the right way." Sâlim accordingly set out, but returned again with the same answer as before. The Imâm then ordered him to be flogged, and forbade any one to give him water during the punishment. When he was on the point of dying from thirst, one of the Imâm's principal officers took pity upon him, and begged the Imâm to allow Sâlim ten days to follow up the traces and discover the thief, urging that God might aid him in finding him. Sâlim accordingly set out to follow up the traces, and saw from the foot-print of the camel of his accomplice that it had turned off towards the seacoast. He traced it first to Wadâm, and then up to the house of the man who had

purchased it, where he found the camel. "Where is the owner of this camel?" said he, addressing the man. "I am its owner now," he replied; "for I bought it of an Arab of ezh-Zhâhirah for so much, and he took the price from me and then embarked for Mekrân." "He is a thief," said Sâlim, "and stole a large sum of money from a stranger, a merchant of Yemen, and the Imâm has ordered me to apprehend him." Had I known that," said the other, "I would have seized him myself and sent him to the Imâm." "Then, hire a boat for me," rejoined Sâlim, "for I must find him out wherever he may be." He accordingly hired a boat for him belonging to some poor seafaring people, and when Sâlim reached Mekrân he followed the robber's traces, which led him towards Bakdhy [or Yakdhy] on the way to Sind. Marching quickly onward he came up with him near Sind, and found him asleep under a tree, with the bag of money under his head. He snatched the bag away from him and drew his sword, but the man fled and disappeared out of sight. Sâlim then hired another boat to Wadâm, and on arriving there requested the Arab who had purchased the camel to go with him to the Imâm to relate all that had taken place between him and the robber, informing him at the same time how he had found the thief asleep under a tree and taken the bag from him. They accordingly set out together, the man riding the camel and Sâlim walking before him. On reaching his own house Sâlim entered it alone, and put the money which he had shared with the robber into the bag which he had lately seized from him. When they came into the Imâm's presence Sâlim narrated the whole affair; whereupon the Imâm dismissed the purchaser of the camel, remarking that he was blameless, but he ordered Sâlim to be put in chains and kept in prison for a year. On releasing him he said: "Were it not that judgment should be based on clear evidence I would have had your hand cut off. Now, begone!" and he appointed another to be

Tracker in his stead. On Sâlim's return with the money the Yémeny merchant had taken it from him, and counting it had found it all right. He then thanked the Imâm and set out for Máskat, many persons attached to the Imâm escorting him. On reaching Yemen he told the story to high and low, and all praised the Imâm, saying: "Glory to the upright Imâm! there is none like him."

On the death of the Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif great discussions arose among the people of 'Omân, and party spirit ran very high. The illiterate wished him to be succeeded by his son Seif-bin-Sultân, then a boy, who had not attained to puberty or to the age of discretion. The intelligent and pious, on the other hand, were for giving the Imâmate to Muhenna-bin-Sultân, judging him fit for it and capable of administering it; moreover, they did not see how he could be kept out of the government. The Imâmate of a child, in their opinion, was not proper in any way: such an Imâm could not lead in prayer, how then could he preside over a state, conduct the administration, have at his disposal the wealth, and blood, and revenues of the country? Neither would it be lawful for him to be placed in charge of the wealth of God [pious endowments], or the property of orphans and absentees; for possessing no power over himself, how could he exercise authority over others? But when the sheikh 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, edz-Dzahly, saw the bent of the people towards Seif-bin-Sultân, although he did not concur in it, yet, fearing that a revolt might arise among them, and that, armed as they were, blood might be shed, he said, in order to appease and disperse them, "Seif-bin-Sultân is your *Amâm*."[1] Thereupon they proclaimed him Imâm, and a public salute was fired on the occasion. The news was accordingly spread throughout 'Omân that

[1] For the difference between the words *Imâm* and *Amâm*, see note 1, p. 8.

SEIF-BIN-SULTÂN [II.]

BIN-SEIF-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK-BIN-BEL'ARAB-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-MÂLIK,

EL-YA'ARUBY,

was Imâm; but when the commotions among the people had calmed down they [the chiefs] introduced

MUHENNA-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-SEIF,

EL-YA'ARUBY,

into the fort by stealth and conferred the Imâmate upon him, in the same year in which his father Sultân-bin-Seif died, namely A.H. 1131 [A.D. 1718], as recorded above.[1]

On assuming the reins of government Muhenna-bin-Sultân began to decree what was lawful and to forbid what was unlawful, and to administer with justice and equity. The people were lightened of their burdens during his time, for he abolished the customs at Máskat and did not appoint a Wakîl there;[2] the community made large profits by trading, prices were low, the harvests were abundant, and none of the learned questioned his authority. He pursued this course for a year, when he was killed. We shall now relate the painful circumstances of his death during a revolt which put an end to his rule over 'Omân.

When he was recognized as Imâm, as above stated, the el-Yaârubah and the people of er-Rastâk persisted in their enmity towards him, as also towards the Kâdhi 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, edz-Dzahly, (God have mercy on him!) and they persisted in urging Yaârub-bin-Belârab-bin-Sultân[3] to come

[1] The date is not given before.

[2] The *Wakîl* or Agent, as distinct from the *Wâli* or Governor, and the *Amîr* or Military Commandant, had charge of the customs and of the general finances of the place.

[3] The son of Bel'arab, who was the son of Sultân, Nâsir-bin-Murshid's cousin and successor. *Vide* p. 89.

forward as his rival, until at length he yielded to their solicitations and then went and seized Máskat, which he effected without an army, because the inhabitants were not loyal to Muhenna-bin-Sultân. The name of the Wâli of Máskat at the time was sheikh Mas'ûd-bin-Muhammad, es-Sârimy, and the Imâm Muhenna was then at Falj-el-Bareily, near el-Jauf, which the common people call el-Jau. On hearing the news he returned to er-Rastâk, and used his utmost endeavours to induce the people of 'Omân to aid him against his enemies; they not only refused, but they humbled him and besieged him in the castle of er-Rastâk. The malcontents were then joined by Yaârub, who had arrived from Máskat, and who after besieging him for a long time at length invited Muhenna to come out of the castle, promising him and all those who were with him quarter. Muhenna, reflecting on his condition, saw that he was hopelessly degraded, that he had nothing to expect from the people of 'Omân, since all those whom he had considered as brothers had proved themselves traitors, and that it was useless to continue the contest. He accordingly accepted the proposal and descended from the castle, by which act he virtually abdicated the Imâmate. On reaching Yaârub, the latter ordered him, his relatives, followers and party to be bound and flogged, in violation of his promise; subsequently some of Yaârub's men fell upon him while he was in prison and murdered him and his companions. Yaârub-bin-Belârab was now master of the situation, but he did not claim the Imâmate, for that belonged of right to his cousin Seif-bin-Sultân, who was still under age and incapable of carrying on the administration; but he assumed the regency, whereupon all the forts and tribes submitted to him. These occurrences took place, A.H. 1133, [A.D. 1720.]

Matters remained in this state for some time, when the Kâdhi 'Ady-bin-Sulemân absolved Yaârub from all his

past misdoings—such as his oppression of the Muslims, his attack on and murder of Muhenna, and his forcible seizure of the government. He declared Yaârub assoiled from the guilt of rebellion and discharged him from making restitution for the wrongs he had perpetrated, on the ground that repentance acquits the penitent. Thereupon they conferred the Imâmate on him, A.H. 1134, [A.D. 1721.]

YA'ARUB-BIN-BEL'ARAB

having assumed supreme power all the people submitted to him. After remaining a few days at er-Rastâk he went to Nezwa, where he arrived on the 29th of Shaâbân of the same year. The people of er-Rastâk, however, were not satisfied that he should be Imâm, preferring Seif-bin-Sultân to him. They accordingly commenced writing to Belârab-bin-Nâsir, Seif-bin-Sultân's uncle, who was then residing at Nezwa with the Imâm, exciting him to rise up against the latter. Thereupon he left Nezwa, on the 6th of Shawâl of the same year, and went to Balâd-Sît, where he engaged the Benu-Hinâh, on oath, to join him in the revolt, he promising to remove from them the disabilities which the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid had imposed upon them with regard to building, carrying arms, etc. He also gave them large presents and they followed him to er-Rastâk, where they carried on hostilities until they succeeded in driving the Wâli Nebhân from the town. They also set fire to the gate of the castle and burnt the whole of its front, whereby many men and chiefs of the Benu-Hinâh and the Benu-'Adiy lost their lives; some say that the number amounted to one hundred and fifty persons. Many valuable books also, such as the *Bayân-esh-Shâra'*, and the *el-Musánnif*, and the *Kitâb-el-Istakâmah*, and the volumes of the *Tilsimât*, and other unique books were burnt on the occasion. Through this fire, however, a large treasure was discovered in the castle.

When the news of these occurrences at er-Rastâk reached

Yaârub-bin-Belârab he mustered his army and gave the command to sheikh Sâlih-bin-Muhammad-bin-Khalf, es-Salîmy, and ordered him to march on er-Rastâk. The latter proceeded as far as the town of el-'Awâby, but finding that there was no chance of his being able to force an entrance into er-Rastâk he returned to Nezwa. On the other hand, Belârab-bin-Nâsir wrote to the then Wâli of Máskat, Himyar-bin-Munîr-bin-Suleimân, er-Riyâmy, to surrender that place to him, which he accordingly did. The town of Nakhl also was surrendered without opposition. Next, the same party dispatched an army under Mâlik-bin-Seif-bin-Mâjid, el-Yaâruby, to Semaîl, which he captured without hostilities, and the Benu-Ruwâhah[1] having accompanied him

[1] The Benu-Ruwâhah, who have been already mentioned at p. 55, are, I conceive, the representatives of a tribe of the same name who derive their origin from Ruwâhah, (born about A.D. 450,) the father of one of the branch families of his progenitor el-'Abs, a descendant of 'Adnân through Ghatafan and Kais-'Ailan, and therefore of the same stock as the en-Nizâr (see note, p. 3) and the el-Kuraish. They were settled in Nejd, on the confines of the Hijâz, but do not figure in Arab history till towards the middle of the sixth century, when Zuhair-bin-Jadzimah, one of their number, was the recognized head of all the Benu-Ghatafân. The murder of the eldest son of Zuhair by the Benu-Ghâny, a branch of the 'Âmir-bin-Sa'asa'ah, on his way home after having conducted his sister as a bride to Nu'mân, king of el-Hîrah, and the dispute which subsequently arose under Kais, his son and successor, between the el-'Abs and the Benu-Zhubyan, a kindred tribe, about the famous race of the two horses, Dâhis and Ghabrâ, led to a series of "Days" or Battles between the el-'Abs, the el-Ghatafan, the er-Ruwahâh, the Benu-'Âmir and several other tribes, which lasted for upwards of forty years, and form the theme of some of the most chivalrous and romantic of Arab ante-Islamitic stories. On the reestablishment of peace between the contending parties Kais-bin-Zuhair refused to participate in it. According to several original authorities quoted by M. de Perceval, he afterwards embraced Christianity and eventually went to 'Omân, where he died. See *Hist. des Arabes*, vol. ii. pp. 411, 419, 459 *et seq.*; also, Fresnel's *Première Lettre sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris, 1836, for some interesting details of these "Days" of the Arabs of Nejd at that period.

Mr. Walker, in his map of Arabia, locates the Benu-Ruwâhah about thirty miles to the southward of Máskat, between "Jebel Felluh" and

to Azka that place surrendered at discretion, and he expelled the Wâli. This took place in the month of Dzul-Kaâdah of the same year.

Yaârub subsequently set out from Nezwa with his followers and the Benu-Riyâm and the Kâdhi 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, ez-Dzahly, and came to Azka. Its inhabitants received him gladly and entertained him with feasting, and declared, moreover, that they were for him—loyal to God first, then to him. Thereupon Yaârub summoned Mâlik-bin-Seif to evacuate the fort; on his refusal, Yaârub commenced hostilities by opening fire upon him with two guns. At this juncture the soldiers of the Benu-Hinâh, headed by the Sâhib-el-'Anbûr[1] of the people of er-Rastâk arrived, and falling upon Yaârub's force routed them and obliged him to return to Nezwa. Meanwhile the sheikh 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân had set out for er-Rastâk. On his arrival there he was seized by Belârab's officers, who bound him and also the Kâdhi Suleimân-bin-Khalfân, and then killed them both; whereupon the people of er-Rastâk dragged their bodies through the streets like dead cattle. This took place on the day of the great Hijj of the same year.

Then the Sâhib-el-'Anbûr and many other persons went to Nezwa and begged Yaârub to quit it in order to save further bloodshed. He eventually yielded to their entreaties, on condition that he should be allowed to go to the fort of Yabrîn and there be unmolested. Having received their pledge to that effect he quitted Nezwa, (whereupon his Imâmate came to an end,) and set out for Yabrîn, the Sâhib-el-'Anbûr taking possession of the castle of Nezwa, from which he ordered a salute to be fired, and proclaimed the Imâmate of

the coast. Captain Hamerton, who styles them "Rawaheeyah," estimated their number fifteen years ago at five hundred. *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 240.

[1] The Master of the Barbican. It appears from some descriptive remarks in the sequel that the 'Anbûr at er-Rastâk was a fortified mansion built on or adjoining the town walls.

SEIF-BIN-SULTÂN [II.]

[RESTORED; UNDER A REGENT.]

to whom all the forts of 'Omân were surrendered, and all the tribes and towns did him homage. He wielded supreme authority for two months all but three days, when it pleased God that what was predestined by Him should take place, and that the people of 'Omân should undergo the consequences of their fickleness and love of change.

It having been settled that Belârab-bin-Nâsir should be regent for Seif-bin-Sultân, the chiefs of the tribes and towns came to congratulate them. Now, Belârab-bin-Nâsir had let fall certain threats against some of the tribes, especially against the Benu-Ghâfir[1] and the people of Behlâ. So when Muhammad-bin-Nâsir-bin-'Âmir-bin-Râmthah, el-Ghâfiry, el 'Uttâby, esh-Shakîly, el-Ghâfiry, came with a party of his followers, Belârab-bin-Nâsir uttered some menaces against him, in consequence of which Muhammad-bin-Nâsir left in anger, and forthwith began writing to urge Yaârub-bin-Belârab and the people of Behlâ to revolt against Belârab, going himself to the Bédu of ezh-Zhâfrah, the Benu-Nâîm and the Benu-Kutb,[2] and others, on the same errand. Belârab on the other hand summoned the

[1] The name of this tribe occurs here for the first time; thenceforward they exercised considerable influence in the affairs of 'Omân, and do so still. In fact, by a figure of speech, the two principal parties into which the population is said to be divided are styled el-Ghâfiry and el-Hinây or Hinâwy, *anglicè*, Hinavi. The Benu-Ghâfir, as already stated in the Introduction, are of Ma'addic origin, and their allies are mostly of the same stock, whereas the el Hinây are descended from Kahtân (Joktân). The former are chiefly confined to the northern districts, and their ordinary confederates, mostly settlers from Nejd, occupy the southern shores of the Persian Gulf.

[2] The Benu-Na'îm inhabit el-Bereimy and the neighbouring district; the Benu-Kutb that between the coast and el-Bereimy. The former are said to be able to muster 20,000 and the latter 8,000 fighting men.

chiefs of Nezwa to come to him, and, having collected together many of the principal men he lavished attentions upon them and directed them to do homage to Seif-bin-Sultân. He then mustered a large army and placed it under the command of his brother, Suleimân-bin-Nâsir, whom he ordered to lie in ambush on the road to the Wâdi-Semâîl for Yaârub, while on his way to er-Rastâk. He further directed the people of Nezwa to join the army, but they having entreated the chiefs of er-Rastâk to that effect he exempted them. The army then marched as far as the village of Fark, where they passed the night, and the people of Nezwa invited them to a feast. While so engaged they heard the report of guns from the castle of Nezwa, and on inquiring what it meant they were told that Yaârub-bin-Belârab had entered the castle; so they returned to Azka.

Belârab-bin-Nâsir had also dispatched a troop against Yaârub by the route to ezh-Zhâhirah, but when they reached Behlâ the people there seized them. Another troop was ordered to proceed to the Wâdi of the Benu-Ghâfir and to attack that tribe, but they were repulsed, and those who escaped returned to er-Rastâk. Yaârub, on the other hand, sent a troop to Azka, with two guns. On reaching it they attacked the fort, but were obliged to retreat with the loss of several men. Then he sent another troop to Azka, which took up a position in the garden called el-Gharibât, from whence they cannonaded the fort for ten successive days. At this juncture Mâlik-bin-Nâsir[1] came to Azka, and he and his followers being joined by the inhabitants of the place they attacked the troops of Yaârub, but were defeated, and the Bédu who acted with Yaârub fell on Saddy and Hâret-er-Râha, belonging to Azka, and plundered them; they also burnt the sugar-factories and the residence of Himyar-bin-Munîr. Another troop was dispatched by Yaârub against el-Yamn, of Azka, but they were repulsed. Muham-

[1] Apparently brother to Bel'arab-bin-Nâsir.

mad-bin-Sâîd-bin-Ziyâd, el-Báhlawy, and Mâlik-bin-Nâsi having heard that the men of the en-Nizâr had joined Yaarub's army to attack el-Yamn, they sent for the elders of the Hujrah of the en-Nizâr and bound them in the mosque of Azka. Then Mâlik-bin-Nâsir summoned the tribes of the esh-Sharkiyyah,[1] and a great many responded to the call; the Benu-Hinâh[2] also joined him with many men. These being now assembled at Azka he attacked Yaârub's army, which had been reinforced by the people of et-Tabûl and el-Manzaliyyah. The attack was made on Friday, at sunset, and there was a great battle between them; the fire of the musketry resembled thunder and the glittering of the spears was like lightning, and the hosts of Yaârub were scattered, and more lives were lost on his side than on the side of Mâhk-bin-Nâsir. The total killed on both sides is said to have been three hundred; but God knows.

Then Mâlik moved with his forces to the town of Manh, and a detachment of them suddenly attacked the Falj of the Wâdi-'l-Hájar and killed several of the inhabitants, plundered it, destroyed the cultivâtion, burnt its sugar-factories, and then proceeded to besiege Nezwa. They pitched their camp near the mosque el-Makhâdh, of Fark, some of the residences of which they burnt, ravaging the country and doing all kinds of damage. Thereupon the people of Nezwa and Yaârub's soldiers who were with them sallied forth to attack them, and there was a sharp conflict between the two parties with no decisive result; nevertheless, frequent skirmishes with loss of life continued between them, which caused great distress to the people of Nezwa. At length there was a great battle between them which at one time threatened to go against Mâlik's party, who could not re-

[1] The reader will bear in mind that by *esh-Sharkiyyah*, or the Easterns, the inhabitants of the north-eastern portion of 'Omân proper, including the towns of Nezwa and Behlâ, are indicated.

[2] Note the Benu-Hinâh, a name synonymous with el-Hinây or el-Hinâwy, confederated against the Benu-Ghâfir.

treat because they were surrounded on all sides by the enemy; some, however, managed to get away, but those who stood fast, seeing that there was no chance of escape, awaited the result with the patience of heroes. Then, noticing that the people of Azka were engaged in picking up the arms of those who had fled, Mâlik's detachment suddenly fell on them in a body, routed them, and pursued them as far as the place called Janûr-el-Khuwaisah, near the gardens of el-'Akr, killing and wounding several. On that day many were slain on both sides. Mâlik returned to his encampment, and hostile incursions and skirmishes continued between the two parties. Then, leaving a few men in charge of his camp, Mâlik marched with the remainder to within a short distance of the gardens of el-'Akr, with the object of entrenching them in one of the enclosures, the walls of which he intended to pierce with loopholes for musketry; but the people of Nezwa issued forth against them, and after a sharp contest which lasted an hour Mâlik-bin-Nâsir was killed and his force overwhelmed; so they returned to their camp, much dispirited by the death of Mâlik. Hostilities, however, still continued between the two parties, until Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, arrived with his army from el-Gharbiyyah,[1] after his operations and severe battles in that quarter, some of which took place in the Wâdi-es-Sâkal, some also in el-Jauf—which the vulgar call el-Jau—another at Dhank, at el-Ghabby, and elsewhere. On reaching Nezwa he ordered an attack on those who were encamped at Fark, which he led in person, and having surrounded them a contest ensued which lasted from dawn till the evening. When night approached Muhammad ordered his men to retire below the Wâdi, so as to leave an opening for the enemy, which the latter took advantage of to escape, but they were

[1] *El-Gharbiyyah*, or the Westerns. The division so called appears to have comprised the principal towns of ezh-Zhâhirah, north-west of the district of 'Omân proper.

not pursued, and Muhammad returned to Nezwa. The Imâm was ill at this time and unable to move, so Muhammad remained a few days at Nezwa, the siege of which had lasted two months all but six days.

Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir marched with his army against er-Rastâk. On reaching it his followers asked permission to attack the 'Anbûr[1] of 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, el 'Anbûry, generally known as the 'Anbûr of the walls of er-Rastâk, but he refused, bidding them not to move till they were attacked by the opposite party. That was not long delayed; whereupon a fierce struggle took place between them in which 'Aly the Sâhib of the 'Anbûr and a number of his men were slain. Then Muhammad returned to Falj-esh-Sharât, and the day after he marched rapidly within the precincts of er-Rastâk. Thereupon Belârab-bin-Nâsir came to him soliciting quarter, which he granted, on condition that Belârab surrendered the fortress of er-Rastâk and all other forts in his possession. This having been agreed to, they proceeded in company to the fortress of er-Rastâk. Now, Belârab had a mind to act treacherously, but Muhammad being habitually wary was on his guard; hence he refused to go into the fortress except with his forces. These he accordingly sent in before him and then followed, thereby frustrating Belârab's conceived stratagem. When Muhammad had occupied the fortress and castle his followers began to plunder the town and seized a number of free persons, some of whom were sent out of 'Omân and sold as slaves. They appropriated everything that fell into their hands as a retribution for what had been done by the opposite party, more especially for their conduct towards 'Adiy-bin-Suleimân, edz-Dzahly, and Suleimân-bin-Khalfân, both Kâdhis of the Muslims, and to the Imâm Muhenna-bin-Sultân and his uncle's relations.[2]—"Verily, God will not

[1] For the meaning of this word see a preceding note, p. 101.

[2] See pp. 101, 104.

change what is in a people until they shall change what is in themselves."[1]

Yaârub [-bin Belârab?] died at Nezwa, thirteen nights before the expiration of Jumâd-el-Âkhir, A.H. 1135 [17th Feb., 1733,] (Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was at er-Rastak at the time), and the inhabitants concealed his death for fifty days, fearing lest the enemy might take advantage of it to increase their strength.

After Belârab-bin-Nâsir had surrendered all the forts which he held to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, the latter ordered him to be bound. Muhammad was now in possession of all the strongholds, with the exception of the Máskat defences and the fort of Barkah; the former being still in the hands of the Benu-Hinâh and the Wâli, Jâ'id-bin-Murshid, el-Yaâruby, (not the person of the same name who was brother to the Imâm Nâsir-bin-Murshid, for that Jâ'id was killed during his brother's rule in the district of es-Sirr, appertaining to ezh-Zhâhirah, as has already been related). The Benu-Hinâh now expelled Jâ'id-bin-Murshid from Máskat, and he went to the town of Nakhl, while Muhammad-bin-Nâsir remained at er-Rastâk. (A report was then spread that in consequence of the death of Yaârub [bin-Belârab?] Seif-bin-Sultân had become Imâm, although he had not yet attained to the age of discretion.) Most of the inhabitants of er-Rastâk at this time were scattered in the mountains and valleys, insomuch that one hundred children and women are said to have died of thirst in a cave near the village of el-Mahalîl, where they had taken refuge from the outrages of the Bedawîn of the esh-Shamâl,[2] whom Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had taken into his service. Auxiliaries also joined him from Julfâr, the Amîr of which was Ráhmah-

[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-er-Ra'ad*, (xiii) 12. By an oversight the chapter and verse of this quotation is incorrectly given in a note to p. 23. The translation also is amended here.

[2] That is, of the North, which included all the tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah, of the promontory, and of the southern shores of the Persian Gulf.

bin-Mâtar, el-Háwaly; also a contingent from the Benu-Kulaib and the Benu-Kaâb,[1] numbering 6,500, in addition to his own army. Most of Ráhmah-bin-Mâtar's followers did not know good Arabic, and they could not distinguish Muhammad's friends from his enemies.[2]

At this time Khalf-bin-Mubârak, el-Hinâỷ—known as el-Kusáyyar, [the Short,] whose place was at el-Ghasb, of er-Rastâk—was at Máskat, but on hearing of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's proceedings he went to Barkah, fearing that it might be invaded; but Muhammad not knowing of his being there, and thinking that it had been left in charge of his followers, sent 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, el-Harâsy, nicknamed Abu-Jâmâ, to demand the surrender of the fort. When he arrived Khalf ordered him to be killed, whereupon

[1] The Benu-Ka'ab, sometimes pronounced Cha'ab, are a branch of the Benu-Na'im, and occupy the district near 'Obra, in ezh-Zhâhirah. They are estimated at 600 men. The Benu-Kulaib—a diminutive form of Kelb—also reside in ezh-Zhâhirah.

[2] Palgrave notices this peculiarity in the language of the people of the Ruûs-el-Jebel, the rocky district terminating in Cape Musándim, which is still subject to the successors of the Ráhmah-bin-Mâtar mentioned above:—"Their language is indeed a dialect of Arabic, but isolation has rendered it so barbarous, that a stranger from 'Omân itself, not to mention Nejed or Hasa, can hardly get on without an interpreter in Ro'os-el-Djebal. 'Lisan-ot-tayyoor,' 'bird's speech,' Yoosef called it, and declared that he hardly understood one word in ten." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 315. Colonel Taylor, formerly Political Agent at Baghdâd, writing of the same people, says: "Their language is different from that of the other tribes, and as there are many individuals among them remarkable for the redness of their hair, it may fairly be concluded, as the Arabs declare, that their language is formed from corruptions of the dialects of their Portuguese and Danish ancestors, engrafted on an impure stock of the Arabic." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 12. Julfâr, in the neighbourhood of the district referred to, was occupied by the Portuguese for nearly a century and a half (see note 1, p. 3). The Danes, or Dutch, after their expulsion from el-Básrah, had a flourishing factory on the island of el-Khârij (Karrack) in the Persian Gulf, from 1748 to 1765, when they were dispossessed by the Arabs; but I am not aware of their having had any settlements in 'Omân.

his followers returned to er-Rastâk and informed Muhammad-bin-Nâsir of his death. Greatly incensed at this outrage, he ordered an expedition to march to Barkah against Khalf and his retainers. He divided his army into troops: the troop under Ráhmah-bin-Mátar consisted of the people of Julfâr and others who had joined them; another was under Hámad-bin-Hamâd, el-Kulaiby; another under Râshid-bin-'Abdallah, el-Kaâby; another under Ahmed-bin-Râshid, el-Ghâfiry; another under 'Adiy-bin-Sulcimân, el-Dzahly; and another under Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el Harâsy. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, accompanied the army and encamped with them at el-Masnâah.[1]

Now, prior to this, Kázâ, ed-Dármaky, had joined Khalf-bin-Nâsir,[2] el-Hináy, el-Kusáyyar, at Barkah, as an auxiliary, and between him and Ráhmah-bin-Mátar, el-Háwaly, there were some old-standing feuds; so when the latter was encamped at el-Masnâah, Kázâ wrote him this defiance: "You shall not come to us but we will come to you." On receiving the letter Ráhmah proceeded with his followers in advance of the main body of the army, and sent out scouts towards Barkah, who returned with the intelligence that Kázâ and his men were approaching. Ráhmah met them at a place called el-Kasm and rushed upon them, mounted on a mare, his people following him. Then there was a sharp fight between them, in which Kázâ and ten of his adherents were slain and the remainder were routed; Kadhîb, el-Háwaly, also was slightly wounded. Thereupon Ráhmah descended to el-Hufrah in order to rest his followers.

Next, he dispatched scouts to Barkah, who reported that Khalf-bin-Mubârak, el-Kusáyyar, was on the move with a

[1] Wellsted's "Mesnâah" and the "Messna" of Capt. Brucks's chart. It is a small place on the coast, with a fort, twelve miles to the south-east of Suaik, containing about one hundred and fifty inhabitants.

[2] From the attached soubriquet this is evidently the same person who in the preceding page is called Khalf-bin-Mubârak. Both names are indiscriminately applied to him in the sequel.

large force by land and sea; these he encountered near Barkah and there was a fierce engagement between them. Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir joined Ráhmah-bin-Mátar with the main body. Ráhmah's followers possessed guns which were drawn over the ground; the men attached to these guns were ordered to fire on the boats occupied by Khalf's people, and the shot reached the sea, scattering them and killing many, and forcing Khalf to retire into the fort of Barkah for safety. In the mean time, Muhammad's followers were busy slaying or taking prisoners all Khalf's retainers they could lay their hands on; the remainder who escaped took refuge in the fort. • Then Muhammad went with his force and occupied the mountain of the Benu-'Âmir, where he encamped and laid siege to the forts of es-Sîb and Barkah; but Khalf managed to escape by night and took a boat to Máskat, while Muhammad-bin-Nâsir kept patrolling from Barkah to es-Sîb and Bûshir, in the hope that Khalf would offer him battle; but the latter did not venture to do so, because his followers were few compared to those of Muhammad. So Muhammad and his men continued to besiege the garrisons of Khalf in the forts of Barkah and es-Sîb for the space of four months.

When their provisions were expended Muhammad returned with them to er-Rastâk and remained there. He dismissed Ráhmah-bin-Mátar and all the people of ezh-Zhâhirah whom he had collected together, and was then seized with small-pox, which covered his whole body and nearly caused his death. After God had restored him to health he proceeded to ezh-Zhâhirah, leaving Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Harâsy, as Wâli over the fortress of er-Rastâk, associating with him the Sâhibs of Behlâ, and Sinân-bin-Muhammad-bin-Sinân, el-Mahdzûr, el-Ghâfiry. The latter occupied the castle, and the former all the other forts, besides acting as Wâli over er-Rastâk on behalf of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir.

Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had sojourned at er-Rastâk for two months, and when he set out he took with him Seif-bin-Sultân, el-Yaârubу, together with all the el-Yaârubah who were in er-Rastâk, but he left Belârab-bin-Nâsir bound there.[1] On reaching Makniyât[2] he summoned the tribes of the ezh-Zhâhirah and 'Omân, and they furnished him with many soldiers; the Benu-Yâs also responded to his call and came to him in large numbers, so that his army amounted at that time to 12,000 men. With these he marched towards Yánkal, and halted at the Falj-el-Munâdherah, from whence he wrote to them [of Yánkal] to surrender their forts; but they returned him no answer though he persisted in the demand for several days. He then left them and moved towards the upper side of the channel leading to the Falj-el-Muhaidath, in the low land, where he was met by the Benu-'Aly and their allies of the people of Yánkal, and a fierce battle took place between them in which many of the Benu-'Aly were slain; among them their renowned warrior and principal sheikh, Suleimân-bin-Sâlim. On Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's side, Sâlim-bin-Ziyâd, and, as is stated, Sâlim-bin-Murâd, el-Ghâfiry, and Seif-bin-Nâsir, esh-Shakîly, were killed, and a few were wounded.

[1] For the reader's guidance through the complicated details of the ensuing narrative, it may be useful to state that they refer to the contest, then at its height, between the el-Ghâfiry, the el-Ya'arubah and the el-Hinây tribes. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who was at the head of the former, had already succeeded in displacing the el-Ya'arubah regent who acted on behalf of the young Imâm, Seif-bin-Sultân, of the reigning dynasty, and had moreover seized the latter and his immediate relatives, whom he carried about with him as hostages wherever he went. The el-Hinây, headed by Khalf-bin-Nâsir, or Mubârak, took part against the el-Ghâfiry, but it is clear that they had separate ends in view, and aimed at securing the supremacy for themselves. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, as we shall see presently, eventually succeeded in obtaining the Imâmate.

[2] Makniyât is situated in the district of ezh-Zhâhirah, about forty miles from 'Obra, (see note 2, p. 41.) It is the place which Palgrave erroneously writes "Mokhanneth." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 282.

When the parties separated, Muhammad descended into the channel of the el-Muhaidath, from the upper side, and besieged them. There was now a constant discharge of musketry and guns between them, for Muhammad had brought up a gun from el-Ghabby, which they replied to with the guns of the fort. Then another collision took place between them, in which Muhammad-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad-bin-Khalf, el-Kuyûdhy, who was Wâli over Dhank and its dependencies on behalf of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and one of the cousins of the latter, was slain; some also of the people of Yânkal fell on the same occasion. Muhammad's followers then destroyed the enemy's tank, so that having no water to drink they were obliged to ask for quarter, which was granted to them, on condition that they surrendered the fort. This having been agreed to, Muhammad forthwith took possession of it.

Intelligence then reached him that Sâîd-bin-Juwaid, el-Hinây, had entered es-Salîf, in conjunction with the es-Sawâwafah and a number of the Benu-Hinây. He accordingly headed his army and marched to es-Salîf. On arriving there he summoned Sâîd-bin-Juwaid and the inhabitants of es-Salîf to surrender. This they refused, but the es-Sawâwafah and the people of Tinâam submitted to him. He then ordered his troops to assault the fort of the el-Marashîd, belonging to es-Salîf, which they scaled and then razed it over the men and women who were in it. Sâîd-bin-Juwaid having asked for quarter and permission for himself and his followers to go to their homes, Muhammad not only accorded the request, but also pardoned him and supplied him with provisions; but the fort of es-Salîf still held out against him. Nevertheless, the el-Munâdzerah sued for peace when they heard what had befallen the el-Marashîd in the destruction of their fort. He granted their request and left them in possession of the fort, on condition that they would be loyal to him in future; but he laid siege

to the es-Sawâwafah, cut down their date-trees, and spread desolation among them. He then dismissed his Arab auxiliaries, retaining only the Benu-Yâs and the tribes of the Hadhr. He continued the siege of the es-Sawâwafah for two months, at the expiration of which they were amnestied, on condition that they razed their fort.

While Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was engaged in the foregoing campaign in ezh-Zhâhirah, Khalf-bin-Nâsir, el Kusáyyar, collected a large army and marched on er-Rastâk. When he arrived there, Sinân-bin-Muhammad, el-Mahdzûr, sallied out against him; a sharp conflict ensued between them, which resulted in the victory of Khalf-bin-Nâsir and the death of Sinân, only a few of his followers escaping. After another battle with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Harâsy, the latter capitulated, and the people of er-Rastâk submitted to Khalf. Then Khalf marched to Nakhl, accompanied by a levy from the el-Mââwal[1] and others from el-Yemeniyyah, entered the town, attacked and burnt the gate of the fort, and expelled therefrom Jâ'id-bin-Murshid, who with a number of the people of Nakhl went and took possession of Finjâ, belonging to Nakhl, in lieu of that place. Sibâ'-el-'Amûry also went and captured the fort of Sohâr. He was sincerely devoted to Khalf-bin-Nâsir's party.

When news reached Muhammad-bin-Nâsir of the capture of the fortress of er-Rastâk and the fort of Nakhl by Khalf-bin-Nâsir, he did not deem it prudent to return to the former town until he had settled with Yánkal; so he pressed on the siege of that place. This delay on his part led Khalf-bin-Nâsir to march against el-Hazm, the fort of which was held by 'Omar-bin-Mas'ûd-bin-Sâlih, el-Ghâfiry, on behalf of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry. Khalf invested the

[1] The Wâdis of the el Ma'âwal are situated between er-Rastâk and the small town of Nakhl. According to the late Lieutenant-Colonel Hamerton, formerly Political Agent at Máskat and Zanzibar, these valleys are inhabited by several petty tribes, numbering about 2,000 men. See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 241.

fort and summoned 'Omar to surrender it, promising him quarter; but he refused, and then wrote to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir apprising him of his critical condition and that they had only a small tank of water left. When this letter reached him Muhammad-bin-Nâsir redoubled his efforts against es-Salîf, which eventually yielded, and its people were amnestied, on condition that they demolished the fort.

This affair of es-Salîf settled, and there being no longer any opposition to him in that quarter, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir collected a large army and marched to er-Rastâk; but, without remaining to carry on any operations there, he turned aside and went to el-Hazm. On arriving there he attacked Khalf and his followers, and utterly routed them; many of them were slain, and Khalf himself fled to Falj-esh-Sharât—others say to 'Arâar—where he took refuge in the house of one of his principal friends. After remaining a few days at el-Hazm, Muhammad set out again for ezh-Zhâhirah, to the great joy of the people of er-Rastâk, who dreaded his paying them a visit. He stayed a short time at el-Ghabby, and then went on to Saifam and encamped in the Balâd-Sît, and summoned its inhabitants to give him their allegiance. On their refusal to do so he attacked and killed many of them. Next, he attacked 'Âridh, of the Benu-'Adiy, and forcibly reduced them. Then Ghamr and all the Benu-Hinâh, the inhabitants of the el-'Alû, submitted to him. After these achievements he returned to Nezwa, where he remained six months, and sent to the garrison of the Hujrah of the district, pertaining to the town of Manh, demanding their submission. On their refusal he dispatched a force against them, besieged them, and ordered their date-trees to be cut down. After receiving their allegiance he left them and returned to ezh-Zhâhirah.

About this time the people of Nakhl attacked and expelled Khalf's garrison from the fort. When intelligence thereof reached Khalf he set out for the Wâdis of the el-Mâawal

with a large army, the men of the el-Mâ'wal joining him, and attacked Nakhl and invested its fort, which was then held by Murshid-bin-'Adiy, el-Yaḥruby. He continued the siege for four months, but provisions and ammunition failing him he proceeded to burn the gate and effected an entrance through a breach in the walls. Thereupon the garrison took to flight, some going to their allies, the el-Jamîmy, others to Semâîl, and others to the Benu-'l-Muhálhal, vulgarly called the Benu-Muhállal. Thereupon Khalf took possession of the fort, and then those of the el-Jamîmy and those of the inhabitants of el-Janât, who had taken refuge with the Benu-'l-Muhálhal were reconciled to him. (This, in my opinion, is more correct than the former account respecting Khalf and the people of Nakhl, for Khalf only entered Nakhl once.)

When the people of Nakhl saw that Khalf had prevailed against them, some of them, accompanied by Jâ'id-bin-Murshid—others say by Murshid-bin-'Adiy, el-Yaḥruby—went and took possession of Finjâ and expelled its inhabitants. Subsequently, that is, after Khalf and Muhammad were killed in the affair at Sohâr, and the administration was in the hands of Sultân-bin-Seif, these men left Finjâ and returned to Nakhl; but God knows.

(According to another account, after Khalf-bin-Nâsir, el-Kusáyyar, had captured the fort of Nakhl and the el-Jamîmy had sued for peace, he agreed to pardon those of Nakhl also who had taken refuge with them, at the solicitation of the people of el-Janât, but after Khalf and his troops had left, and they had settled themselves among the people of el-Janât, they conspired with their friends among the el-Jamîmy and those of their party who occupied the other Hujrahs to seize the Hujrah of el-Janât from the Benu-'l-Muhálhal. This conspiracy is said to have been entered into out of revenge for Khalf's treachery towards the el-Jamîmy, after he had given them quarter and solemnly

engaged that they might occupy their Hujrah as heretofore; but when he went to Máskat, where he remained a few days, he proceeded from thence to the Wâdi of the el-Mââwal, and suggested to them that the Hujrah of the el-Jamîmy should be destroyed. These agreeing with him they marched together, took the inhabitants by surprise during the night, and killed many of them, those who escaped taking refuge at et-Tau and Semâîl; the remainder asking quarter were allowed to occupy other residences in the district. When Khalf left them it was then that they and their comrades, who had taken shelter with the Benu-'l-Muhálhal, concerted about seizing the Hujrah. Besides these refugees there were others of their number, who were hid in the bath, unknown to the Benu-'l-Muhálhal. When the preconcerted night arrived they rushed on the garrison while the latter were asleep, their swords making great havoc among them, and succeeded in capturing the Hujrah. Those who escaped fled to the Wâdi of the el-Mââwal, who, joining them, they together attacked the people of Nakhl, and there was a great battle between them. Then Khalf assembled a large army, and went to the support of the el-Mââwal against Nakhl; the consequence was that the courage of the former was increased while that of the people of Nakhl diminished, so that they abandoned the Hujrah of el-Janâh, fled from Nakhl, and joined their companions who had found refuge at Finjâ. Then Khalf demolished the Hujrah of el-Janâh, and as not one of the people of Nakhl remained in that place he divided it among the Benu-Hinâh, who occupied it until the reign of Seif-bin-Sultân, when he had reached the years of discretion, and the Mussulmans had set him up as Imâm. It was then restored to its proprietors, the people of Nakhl, and the latter made over Finjâ to its rightful owners. This I judge to be the most correct account of the transaction; but God knows.)

Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir assembled a large army and

marched to the district of the el-'Awâmir, whom the Benu-Hinâh and the Âl-Wahîbah had joined, and there was a severe engagement between them, in which Muhammad gained the victory. On receiving their submission he collected a numerous force, obtaining men from Behlâ, Nezwa, Azka, and the mountains of the Benu-Riyâm, and proceeded towards ezh-Zhâhirah. When he had completed his levies he set out for the villages of Saffam, and on reaching el-Ghâfât he summoned Sâîd-bin-Juwaid and all the Benu-Hinâh; but they refused to obey or to submit to him. So he made war upon the people of el-Ghâfât and besieged their fort; but Sâîd-bin-Juwaid managed to elude the besiegers and escaped with some of his garrison to Yánkal, the people of which he induced to break their covenant with Muhammad and to join his side. Accordingly, many of the inhabitants of Yánkal, as also of Sohâr and other places of the el-Yemeniyyah, confederated with him against Muhammad and his party, and when he reached Dhamm a considerable number of the inhabitants of esh-Sharkiyyah, belonging to the el-Yemeniyyah, flocked to him, and letters were dispatched throughout el-Yemeniyyah soliciting the people to come to his aid. Intelligence of these proceedings having reached Muhammad-bin-Nâsir he sent out scouts who reported the approach of the enemy. Muhammad accordingly directed his force to take up a position near el-Ghâfât, where the contending parties met, and there was a sharp engagement between them, Muhammad and his army carrying off the victory. Sâîd-bin-Juwaid was killed in this battle; also Ghasn, the Sâhib of Yánkal, and many of their respective followers, and the remainder were dispersed hither and thither. The body of Saîd-bin-Juwaid was dragged on the ground, like the carcass of a dead animal, in order to strike terror into the people of el-Ghâfât. Thereupon they were summoned afresh to submit, but as they refused the siege was prosecuted against them with fresh vigour.

Muhammad then returned to Yabrîn, leaving Mubârak-bin-Saîd-bin-Bedr, esh-Shakîly, as his lieutenant to continue the siege of the fort of el-Ghâfât. He cut down their date-trees and prevented any supplies from reaching them; then when their provisions failed, after having killed and devoured every beast that they had, whether clean or unclean, and despairing of any aid from Khalf, they asked for quarter, which was granted, on condition that they demolished the fort with their own hands. This they did and then retired to another fort in the district. Mubârak-bin-Sâîd having reported these proceedings to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, the latter sent Râshid-bin-Sâîd, el-Ghâfiry, to replace him, with orders to attack the people of el-'Akr. Mubârak-bin-Saîd returned accordingly to his own district, and Râshid-bin-Sâîd besieged el-'Akr, the inhabitants of which contended with him until their provisions failed, and they saw no chance of receiving succour from Khalf, when they sued for peace and obtained it, on condition that they razed their forts. Thereupon all the people of Saifam submitted to Muhammad, and after Râshid-bin-Sâîd had obtained a similar recognition from the Beni-Hinâh he returned to Muhammad.

Muhammad-bin-Nâsir then made large levies of Bédu and Hadhr, and when he had mustered a strong army he marched against the el-Jiyûsh, who had assembled in el-Mudhaiby and er-Raudhah, headed by Khalf-bin-Nâsir, el-Kusáyyar, who had a large force with him of the el-Yemeniyyah and of the Arabs of Barkah and its dependencies. When the two armies came in sight of each other there was a great fight between them, which resulted in the overthrow of Khalf, who retreated with his followers into the Hujrah of el-Mudhaiby. Peace was subsequently concluded between Muhammad and the people of el-Mudhaiby, on condition that they expelled Khalf and his adherents. Khalf accord-

ingly went to Ibra[1] where the el-Harth[2] joined him. On hearing this, Muhammad repaired to Ibra and ordered the el-Harth to send Khalf away; on their refusal he began cutting down their date-trees. However, perceiving eventually that they were unable to cope with him, they agreed to expel Khalf and made peace on that condition. Khalf then set out for Máskat and Muhammad and his followers returned to Yabrîn, from whence he went to Nezwa, where he assembled the learned men and begged them to appoint some one in his place [as regent] in behalf of Seif-bin-Sultân, as he was tired of waging war. But the people, especially those of Nezwa, would not hear of his resignation, owing to their dread of Khalf-bin-Nâsir, el-Kusáyyar. (The governor of Nezwa at this time was sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-Bashr-bin-Maddâd.) So they assembled together in secret conclave at el-'Akr, Muhammad being with them, and they urged him day and night to assume the sovereignty, but he refused for a long time. At length, however, he acceded to their wish, on receiving their solemn promise of allegiance. They accordingly confirmed him in the Imâmate, on the morning of Saturday, six days before the expiration of el-Muhárram, A.H. 1137 [2nd Oct. 1724.] A salute was fired from the fort on the occasion, and a proclamation was issued throughout Omân that

MUHAMMAD-BIN-NÂSIR

was Imâm. On the following Friday he led the prayers at

[1] Ibra is situated in an oasis on the confines between 'Omân proper and the province of Ja'alân. Wellsted describes it "as having been formerly a place of some note, but now greatly fallen to decay....There are still some handsome houses there; but the style of the building is peculiar to this part of Arabia. To avoid the damp, and catch an occasional beam of the sun above the trees, they are usually very lofty. A parapet encircling the upper part is turreted, and on some of the largest houses guns are mounted." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 98.

[2] See note 2, page 9.

Nezwa and then went to Yabrîn, where he took up his residence.

Then Mâni'-bin-Khamîs, el-'Azîzy, captured the fort of el-Ghabby, but Muhammad marched against him and expelled him. Muhenna-bin-'Adiy-bin-Muhenna, el-Yaàruby, also, together with some men of the Benu-Riyâm, attacked Ghâlet-el-Barkah, but after a conflict with Muhammad's followers he submitted to him, after which Muhammad returned to Yabrin. Then an Arab of the Âl-Wahîbah,[1] named el-Hark, a notorious highwayman, was summoned by Muhammad, but instead of obeying he went to Khalf-bin-Nâsir, at Máskat, who received him. Thereupon Muhammad marched out against el-Hark's companions, some of whom he seized and imprisoned at Yabrîn; he also slaughtered their cattle. On hearing this, el-Hark came and humbly begged that his men might be released. Muhammad granted his request, on condition that he and his followers abstained from all disloyalty in future.

Muhammad then assembled a large army and proceeded towards Semail by the Wâdi-'l-'Akk and halted at Hassâs, where all the Nizâriyyah came to salute him, but the people of Upper Semâil kept aloof and would not recognize him. So he marched against them on a dark night with a party of soldiers, whom he posted near the Hujrah of the Âl-Saàd, and went forward himself accompanied by a Nubian slave, named Bakhît, and climbed over the wall by stealth, and said to the man on guard: "Whom are you watching for?" He replied: "For Muhammad-bin-Nâsir." "I am Muhammad," rejoined the other; "rouse your comrades and advise them to offer no opposition." So the man bawled out lustily

[1] The Âl or Benu-Wahîbah are one of the finest tribes in 'Omân and bear a high character for bravery and fidelity. Colonel Hamerton estimated their number at 1,200; the late Captain Taylor, formerly Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, as high as 30,000. They occupy the district about twelve miles south of el-Rastâk.

and woke those who were in the Hujrah, which was immediately entered by Muhammad's followers. These latter surrounded the room in which the Amîr of the garrison had fortified himself, and then seized and slew him. The slave Bakhît was also killed on this occasion. On learning the death of their Amîr his men took to flight, and Muhammad ordered the Hujrah to be demolished.

According to another account, the Hujrah sealed by Muhammad and his slave Bakhît was that of the el-Bekriyyin, whose Amîr, Bekr, having been slain, Muhammad ordered it to be razed, as he did also that of the Âl-Saâd; that, thereupon, all the people of Upper Semaîl came and did homage to him, and he made peace with them, on condition that they paid the *Zakât*.[1] The Benu-Ruwâhah also came and did homage to him and swore to be loyal.

After settling these matters at Semâil, Muhammad went to es-Sîb, where he abode several days and received the homage of the el-Mââwal. Then he marched with his army along the seashore and attacked the Âl-Saâly, and cut up a number of their mounted mên, who, thinking that their assailant was Khalf, called out: "Deal gently, O Khalf, with your allies and adherents!" After this affair Muhammad halted at el-Harâdy. Some time prior to the foregoing attack a dispute had arisen between Khalf-bin-Nâsir, el-Kusâyyar, and the el-Mââwal who held the fort of Barkah for him, and who had consequently decided to surrender it to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, when they heard that he was at el-Harâdy; but Muhammad being ignorant of their intentions left that place and returned to Semâîl.

[1] Obligatory alms given, by those who can afford them, for the poor and other pious uses. My friend Mr. Frederic Ayrton sends me the following extract on the subject from the *Kashf Abi-Sa'îd 'ala esh-Shark Mulla Miskîn:* "According to the Hánafy rite, the amount to be paid was $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{10}=\frac{1}{40}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., of merchandise, of gold and silver, (not being women's ornaments,) and of cattle which graze at large, if of the value of 20 *dinârs*, and possessed by the owner for one lunar year."

According to another account he marched from el-Harâdy to el-Hazm, where he remained a few days and then went on to ezh-Zhâhirah, halting a short time at el-Ghabby, from whence he proceeded to Yánkal, the fort of which he besieged, because its garrison and the people of the town refused to recognize him. Having continued the siege for a long time, one of the inhabitants, named 'Isâm, the wall of whose house joined that of the fort, came and told him that his present efforts would be unsuccessful. "What must I do," asked Muhammad, "to effect my object?" After describing the position of his house, the man said: "I will come to you three nights hence and admit you into my house unawares to the garrison. When there, you can make an opening through the wall by which it will be easy for you to effect an entrance into the fort." Muhammad having agreed to this proposal, on the appointed night his men made their way into the fort, and falling suddenly on the garrison put many of them to the sword; the remainder submitted. Thereupon Muhammad occupied the fort, and the people of Yánkal who dwelt near it, as also those at a distance, did homage to him, and he amnestied them. He remained at Yánkal many days. None now ventured to oppose him either in ezh-Zhâhirah, or among the people of el-Jauf, or throughout the territory of 'Omân: all submitted to him with the exception of Khalf-bin-Nâsir and his partisans.

Then Muhammad summoned all the Hadhr and Arabs who had given him their allegiance, and he also wrote to the Benu-Yâs and their Arab allies, to the Benu-Nâ'im and the Benu-Kutb and their respective confederates, and collected together a large army, with which he marched to Sohâr, taking with him Seif-bin-Sultân and all the el-Ya'rubah. Sohâr immediately submitted to him, and he encamped his army in the Hállet-esh-Shûâh, where all the people of the villages dependent on Sohâr came to do him

homage, and none held out against him but the el-'Amûr, who garrisoned the fort. His treatment of those who recognized him was just and impartial.

When the garrison saw the strength of his army and the influence which he had acquired over the people by his upright conduct, their opposition faltered and they thought of surrendering the fort to him. At this juncture one of the sheikhs of the Âl-Wahâsha named Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, el-Wahshy, who before Muhammad's arrival at Sohâr had been unfairly treated by the Âl-'Azîz, who had driven him from his post and plundered him of all he possessed, came to Muhammad accompanied by some of his principal men. To him Muhammad said: "Go to your comrades, the el-'Amûr, and advise them to evacuate the fortress before my troops take it by force." To which the other replied: "My sole object in coming to you from Dhank is to induce them not to engage in hostilities with you, by apprising them of the number of your army and of your determination to effect your object; and nothing but the kindness which I have received at your hands on former occasions has led me to undertake the task. And now I ask quarter on their behalf, and also that they may be permitted to retain their arms." Muhammad having agreed thereto, Rabîâah proceeded to the fort, but on entering it he said to the garrison: "Do not hesitate to fight him, [Muhammad,] for his force is weak and his allies are few." Encouraged by these reports some of them attacked Muhammad, who was at the head of his force, but they were utterly routed, with the loss of many of their number. Rabîâah having been taken prisoner he was brought to Muhammad, who ordered him to be released from his bonds, and then said to him: "Do you desire to be replaced in your fort?" (meaning that of Sohâr) "if so, return to it with your followers and hold the same position that you did before; but if you wish to go to Dhank, preferring to be without responsibility, depart

thither in peace." Rabîâah elected to return to Dhank, that being his residence and the home on which his heart was fixed. Muhammad accordingly dismissed the abject fellow who had fallen into his hands with all honour, and gave him an escort of foot and horse.

The foregoing account is more trustworthy than the statement that when Rabîâah was given his choice by Muhammad, either to go back to his fort or return to Dhank, he chose the former alternative and rejoined his adherents who garrisoned it; for it is scarcely conceivable that after Muhammad had amnestied him and spared his life he would have asked to return to the fort, more especially after he had seen the strength of Muhammad's forces and witnessed their bravery and determination.

Moreover, two sheikhs, Maârûf-bin-Sâlim, es-Sâyighy, and Khâtir-bin-Hamîd, el-Bedâ'iy—trustworthy men of that period—relate, that when Muhammad-bin-Nâsir decided to attack Sohâr he went from el-Ghabby to Yabrîn, and sent letters to the loyal Hadhr and Bédu to come and join him.—That he marched with these reinforcements to Sohâr, and then dispatched Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, el-Wahshy, in advance, to advise those who held the fort to come over to his side.—That Rabîâah deceived them and urged them to stand fast as they were.—That when Muhammad-bin-Nâsir entered Sohâr, the Benu-Hinâh and the el-'Amûr, who formed the garrison, sallied forth, headed by Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, and there was an engagement between them, which resulted in loss on both sides; nevertheless, the garrison was worsted and those who escaped took refuge in the fort. But Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, el-Wahshy, who was wounded, was seized and brought into the presence of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who, after ordering his fetters to be removed, told him that if he wished to return to the fort he might do so; that if he preferred to remain with him he should be safe; and that if he chose to go to Dhank he would send him thither. He

elected to go to Dhank and was sent thither with a mounted escort.

Muhammad took up his quarters at Sohâr in the house of Mahmûd-bin-Muhammad, el-'Ajamy [the Persian], most of his troops occupying the mosque and all the adjoining houses as far as the date-groves beyond the wall. On hearing that Khalf-bin-Mubârak, el-Kusâyyar, had collected the Benu-Hinâh of er-Rastâk and Máskat, that the Arabs of the coast had joined him, and that he was encamped at Sâham, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir dispatched twelve thousand men towards esh-Shark. Meanwhile, Sohâr and all its inhabitants had submitted to him, and the fort alone held out against him. He had still a large number of the Benu-Yâs, the Benu-Nâîm, and the Benu-Kutb with him, and he administered the affairs of Sohâr with exemplary justice. Then Khalf-bin-Nâsir, perceiving that he was not a match for his rival, unless he could succeed in detaching the esh-Shamâl Arabs from him, said to a Persian agriculturist of Sohâr: "Destroy some of your cultivation and go to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and tell him that his Arabs did it. If he asks whether you know who they are, say: two men of the Benu-Yâs, two of the Benu-Nâîm, and two of the Benu-Kutb. If you do this I will reward you as soon as the army retires from Sohâr." He also gave him some ready-money in order to induce him to perpetrate the stratagem. The man did as he was directed: he destroyed some of his fields and then went to lay a complaint before Muhammad, saying: "O Imâm, the Benu-Yâs, and the Benu-Nâîm, and the Benu-Kutb have ruined some of my cultivation." Thereupon Muhammad asked: "Do you know any of them?" The man replied, "Yes;" and he pointed out six men as the culprits—two from each of the three tribes. Muhammad then said to him: "Fix the value of the damage done;" but the man replied: "Money will not do me justice." Muhammad next questioned the accused, but they denied

any cognizance of the outrage; nevertheless, he directed five hundred silver *Mahmûdis*[1] to be given to the plaintiff. The man, however, stoutly refused the money, saying that he demanded justice, not an indemnity. Muhammad accordingly summoned the sheikhs and inquired which of their followers had injured the man's fields. They replied: "He is a slanderer and a liar, and his charge is utterly unfounded; for we are prepared to swear by God that no one belonging to us has destroyed his or any other man's cultivation." Muhammad then ordered the sheikhs to be bound and beaten, they asserting their innocence all the while, but none heeded them. At length the plaintiff said: "Now I am satisfied, and I do not want any fine;" whereupon the men were released, but towards night they started homewards without having asked Muhammad's permission, and in the morning all were missing. The cultivator having reported to Khalf all that had occurred, the latter ordered an attack upon Muhammad, whose force now consisted of the Hadhr only. Muhammad's scouts having apprised him of the approach of Khalf's army he shook his head, and said: "The hour is fatal to us and to them." A severe engagement then took place below the fort, which resulted in the death of Khalf and the defeat of his followers. Thereupon Muhammad led

[1] Wellsted gives the following as "the coins in current use amidst the towns in the interior. They were nearly all coined during the reign of Imâm Saaf, [probably Seif-bin-Sultân who died A.D. 1711, see p. 93,] and differ from those now in use at Máskat and on the sea-coast. All have inscriptions, but nothing bearing a likeness to any object in animated nature:

20 copper coins [*fals*] make a gazi [*ghâzy*.]
20 gazi a mahmide [*mahmûdy*.]
15 mahmidi a dollar.
Spanish dollar 200 pice or gazi.
A basi 40 ,, ,,
Mahmidi 20 ,, ,,
Shuk, or 5 ,, ,," *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i, p. 126.

Taking the Spanish dollar at 4*s* 2*d*., the silver *Mahmûdy* is worth threepence and one farthing.

his men against those who were drawn up in front of the fort, and while so engaged he was struck in the chest by a musket-ball fired from the fort. His followers carried him to the house of Mahmûd-el-'Ajamy, where he expired just as they reached the door. They concealed his death from the rest of the force for three days and buried him during the night. Muhammad's followers were equally ignorant that Khalf had shared the same fate.

During this interval the garrison sent a letter to Muhammad by a woman of the adjoining quarter, offering to surrender the fort to him. At the said time a woman of the Hállet-esh-Shîâah went towards the fort to apprise the garrison that Muhammad was dead. These two women meeting on the way communicated to each other the news of which they were the bearers. Thereupon the one who carried the letter returned with it to the fort and told them that Muhammad was dead. They then told her that Khalf had met with a similar fate and that they had buried him in the fort, which intelligence she forthwith communicated to Muhammad's followers. On hearing this the men took to their animals and departed to their homes, none remaining but Seif-bin-Sultân and some of the el-Yaàrubah; for Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had always retained Seif-bin-Sultân near his person, both during peace and war. Seif-bin-Sultân then approached the fort, the gate of which was opened to him, and the garrison came forward and said: "The fort is yours and we submit to you." He accordingly took possession of the fort and placed it in charge of his officers. From thence he proceeded to er-Rastâk, which surrendered to him; then to Nezwa by the route of the Wâdi of the Benu-Ghâfir, who accompanied him thither, and where the Kâdhi, sheikh Nâsir-bin-Suleimân-bin-Maddâd, en Nâàby, set him up, he being now of full age, as the Imâm, on Friday, the first of Ramadhân, A.H. 1140 [2nd April, 1728.]

SEIF-BIN-SULTAN.

[RESTORED A SECOND TIME.]

When intelligence of Seif-bin-Sultân's elevation to the Imâmate reached Belârab-bin-Himyar,[1] el-Yaaruby, he was very indignant, especially with the people of Nezwa. He was then at el-Bazîly, of ezh-Zhâhirah, the people of which district set him up as Imâm. Seif-bin-Sultân having left Nezwa went to Nakhl, then held by Jassâs-bin-'Omair-bin-Rashîd, el-Harâsy, who had been appointed Wâli by Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, but on the death of the latter he refused to surrender the place either to the el-Yaârubah or to any one else. Seif-bin-Sultân having vainly summoned him to his presence proceeded to the Wâdi of the el-Mââwal, who submitted to him and tendered him their allegiance. He also dispatched his uncle, Seif-bin-Nâsir, to Máskat, which was made over to him by the Benu-Hinâh.

Then Belârab-bin-Himyar went to Nezwa, where some recognized and others opposed him. From thence he set out with his forces against the Benu-Ruwâhah, but they evaded him; so he began to cut down their date and other trees and to destroy their water-courses, and some of the people were killed on account of their disaffection to him and their attachment to Seif-bin-Sultân. The latter, therefore, sent a force under his brother, Belârab-bin-Sultân, to their aid, and there was a great battle between the two parties, which resulted in the overthrow of Belârab-bin-Sultán; whereupon the Benu-Ruwâhah tendered their allegiance to Belârab-bin-Himyar. Departing thence the latter marched to Balâd-Sît, which he invested and captured, after cutting down the date and other trees and damming the water-courses. On receiving the submission of its inhabitants he went to Yabrîn and laid siege to the fort, then held for

[1] Bel'arab-bin-Himyar was probably cousin to Seif-bin-Sultân.

Seif-bin-Sultân by the Benu-Hinâh, who eventually evacuated it and returned to their homes with their arms and munitions of war.

Seif-bin-Sultân perceiving that 'Omân was disaffected towards him dispatched messengers to Mekrân, who returned with a large number of Belooches, most of them armed with muskets. Joining to these a considerable body of the Arabs of the coast he ordered them to proceed to el-Jauf — called vulgarly el-Jau. Belârab-bin-Himyar encountered them with his army and utterly routed them. (Their commander on the occasion was Belârab-bin-Sultân, uterine brother to Seif-bin-Sultân.) Many of the Belooches were slain, and the remainder, with few exceptions, died of thirst.

When intelligence of this disaster reached Seif-bin-Sultân he wrote to the Persians soliciting their aid against 'Omân. They readily promised to assist him, but in the meantime the Shâh dispatched a messenger, in charge of a powerful horse so restive that none of the Persian horsemen could sit it, who was directed to tell Seif-bin-Sultân that if he could maintain his seat on the horse, he, the Shâh, would supply him with as many soldiers as he desired; on the other hand, if he failed he was not to expect any assistance from him. (This experiment was doubtless intended by the Shâh to test whether Seif-bin-Sultân was a brave equestrian and sovereign.) When the man had delivered his message, Seif-bin-Sultân, who was then at Máskat, looked at the horse's face and saw that it was a difficult animal to ride; but knowing that the Persians had not been able to manage him themselves, and that their object was to try his (Seif's) pluck, he ordered one of his own horsemen to saddle him, and then set out attended by a large crowd. On reaching the first 'Akabah of the large Wâdi of Máskat he directed that nobody should stand on the edge of the Wâdi until he had ridden three courses; then, mounting, he struck the horse

on the flanks three times with his knees, and the horse flew off with him, he striking it lustily and calling out to the people to keep out of the way; but, in fact, none could stand on the edge of the Wâdi owing to the stones which were thrown up by the horse's hoofs. On reaching the Bâb-el-Mithâ'ib, the horse leaped the wall and Sultân fell on his feet, standing erect on the wall of the gate. The horse, however, having broken its legs and shivered its knees, died immediately. The Shâh's messenger as well as his own people were astonished at Seif's dexterous horsemanship; Seif, on his part, greatly regretted the death of the horse.

When the messenger returned with an account of all that had occurred, the Shâh wrote Seif a flattering letter and promised to aid him against any and all his opponents in 'Omân. At that time Seif was engaged in hostilities with Belârab-bin-Himyar, in the course of which he had lost every friend who could sustain him under his reverses. "Ahmed-bin-Sâid, es Sâidy," said one of his officers to him, "is the only man worthy of your confidence: he is discreet in judgment and very courageous. God willing, I will introduce him to you." It so happened about this time that the Imâm had decided to go from Máskat to er-Rastâk; on the way thither, near Ríwa, he descried one coming towards him whom he had never seen before, mounted on a splendid she-camel. Some of the party remarked: "It is Ahmed-bin-Sâid, es-Sâidy, of whom you have heard." So the Imâm and his party alighted from their animals, as did also Ahmed-bin-Sâid, and he and the Imâm shook hands cordially. Then the latter took Ahmed apart from the rest and said to him: "Where are you going?" He replied: "To your town of el-Mátrah on business." "Go," rejoined the Imâm, "and when you hear of my return to Máskat from er-Rastâk come to me there." "I will obey," answered Ahmed. Accordingly, when the latter heard of

the Imâm Seif's return to Máskat he repaired thither to pay his respects to him, and was treated with great consideration. The Imâm then sent him to the country of el-Hasâ to transact some business for him, and he acquitted himself so much to his satisfaction that he promoted him from one rank to another, and eventually made him Wâli of Sohâr and its dependencies.

Ahmed carried on the government entrusted to him with justice and equity, and was exceedingly liberal to the inhabitants, by whom he was greatly beloved. The tribes of esh-Shamâl and ezh-Zhâhirah also came to him, sometimes in crowds and sometimes singly and in couples, and he entertained them with profuse hospitality. He was urbane to rich and poor, to the learned and ignorant, and his condescension to all ranks raised him in general estimation. The sheikhs of the el-Jibûr, also, from el-Hufry, and el-Harâdy, and Hai-'Âsim paid their respects to him, and he treated them most munificently, so that his renown spread far and wide, all the people obeyed him gladly, and all tongues extolled the justice of his administration.

When Seif-bin-Sultân heard of these proceedings he said to some of his officers: "Ahmed-bin-Sâîd acts in this way in order to estrange the people from me and to draw them to himself, his object being to make his what is now mine. Hence, if I do not remove him from Sohâr he will eventually deprive me of my rights.—The case is plain to the discerning." Thereupon he sent a letter ordering Ahmed to come to him immediately. Ahmed obeyed at once, mounted his camel, and set out accompanied by an attendant named Saâd. The Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân was at Máskat at this time, and had ordered the officers of his slaves to seize Ahmed on his arrival and imprison him in the Eastern fort. (The house then occupied by the Imâm was that which afterwards belonged to Dâûd-bin-Khalîl, el-Mardîny.) When Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and his attendant reached the village of

Ríwa, they proceeded by the 'Akabah of the large Wâdi and then turned off till they came to the well of the ez-Ziyadiyyah, where they halted their camels. Ahmed-bin-Sâîd then took his sword and said to his attendant: "Remain here with the camels until I return." Pursuing his journey he approached the house of my grandfather, Razîk-bin-Bakhît-bin-Sâîd-bin-Ghassân, whom he met just as he was leaving the house on his way to the Máskat custom-house. (At that time my grandfather was the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân's principal accountant and secretary, and being in his confidence Seif had apprised him of his feelings towards Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, with whom also my grandfather used to correspond by letter.) After they had shaken hands my grandfather asked Ahmed-bin-Sâîd where he was going. He replied: "I have received a letter from the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân directing me to wait upon him immediately; but I don't know what he wants me for." My grandfather replied: "Return forthwith to Sohâr before he or any of his people know of your arrival at Máskat, for his object is to do so and so with you." On hearing that, Ahmed rejoined: "Perhaps he wishes to remove me from the government of Sohâr." "Yes, and to kill you besides," said my grandfather; "so I advise you to return to Sohâr, for the soul nourishes perdition and concocts destruction. I tell you this of the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân; so, farewell." Thereupon Ahmed returned to the well of ez-Ziyadiyyah, and he and his attendant mounting their camels they traversed the road by the Wâdi, and turning off from the head of the 'Akabah they spurred their animals and rode away as swiftly as the wind. It is stated that they reached Sohâr at dawn the following day.

Then some of the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân's people having informed him that Ahmed-bin-Sâîd had been at Máskat and had returned to Sohâr the same day, he summoned the slaves who had been ordered to seize him and questioned them on the subject. "My lord," said they, "we have not seen him

and neither were we aware that he had been at Máskat until you told us." He then directed them to search for him as for a serpent, and they accordingly dispersed themselves in every direction to discover him, but in vain. He then ordered them to be bound and beaten. At length some persons told him that they had seen Ahmed and my grandfather Razîk conversing together in the Wâdi. Thereupon he dispatched camel-men and horsemen after him, but they returned without having found any trace of him. Convinced now that he had effected his escape he sent for my grandfather Razîk, and said to him: "What induced you to act in this manner; for it is through you that Ahmed-bin-Sâîd went away? Whither did he go after you cautioned him? what did you tell him and he you when you met? for it has been proved to me that you saw him and that your warnings hurried him off. I disclosed to you all that was in my heart respecting him, and you have violated my confidence and disobeyed my orders." Thereupon my grandfather began to asseverate that he had neither seen Ahmed nor put him on his guard, nor divulged one of the Imâm's secrets, nor broken one of his orders, declaring that whosoever had reported the contrary was a liar, and winding up by saying to the Imâm: "Calm your anger and be like yourself, for your disposition is gentle, not harsh." The Imâm asked again in a rage: "Is not what I say true?" He then ordered my grandfather to be bound and imprisoned and kept him in prison three months before he released him. He also wrote another letter to Ahmed-bin-Sâîd ordering him to come to him speedily; but Ahmed declined on various excuses which were fully set forth in his reply.

When the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân perceived that Ahmed was on his guard, he sent him a threatening letter in which, among other menaces, he said: "If you do not come to us we will come to you." He accordingly fitted out four large ships which he filled with men and warlike stores. On

anchoring with these before the fort at Sohâr, he sent an order for Ahmed-bin-Sâîd to visit him. When his messenger had delivered the letter, Ahmed-bin-Sâîd embarked in a small boat to obey the summons. Meanwhile, the Imâm had posted his slaves on the sides of the vessel in which he himself was. When Ahmed's boat approached the ship, some of the slaves beckoned to him to return, which he did, and made for the land; whereupon the slaves cried out to the Imâm: "Ahmed has gone back to the shore!" "Keep your places," rejoined the Imâm; "he has probably forgotten something and has returned to fetch it." They accordingly retained their posts the whole of that day, from sunrise to sunset, but no Ahmed appeared. The Imâm waited there several days writing letters to him, to none of which did Ahmed deign to reply.

When the el-Jibûr chiefs of el-Harâdy, el-Hufry and Hai-'Âsim—districts of Barkah—heard that the Imâm was still with his ships before Sohâr, they embarked in boats and went to see him. On meeting him they said: "O Imâm, what do you want of your Wâli, Ahmed-bin-Sâîd?" He replied: "Merely that he should come to me." They rejoined: "How can you expect that of him when you have frightened him with your letters and ships? Such a course is not seemly, for he is your Wâli and one of your advisers. Had no one intimidated him he would not have come back to Sohâr in consternation the day he went to see you at Máskat. And had he not been loyal and true he would not have come off to you in his boat, on which occasion being scared away by some of your attendants he returned to the shore. God be praised! you are of a gentle disposition and know full well that 'the soul shrinks from destruction.' Our suggestion is that we call upon him, tell him about you, and hear what he has to say in reply. Should we learn that he is alarmed at your having come to him, we trust to return with assurances such as will set your mind at rest respecting

him." The Imâm having agreed to this arrangement, the chiefs proceeded to Ahmed, whom they reproved on behalf of the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân. He replied: "I am neither disloyal nor refractory; but you know that the mind shrinks from destruction. If I could reveal what has been told me by others of the designs intended against me, I would do so; but that would be a breach of confidence, and I must hold my peace." After strenuous exertions the el-Jibûr effected a reconciliation between the two parties, on condition that Ahmed-bin-Sâîd should make over his son, Hilâl-bin-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd to the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân to go with him wherever he went and to stay with him where he stayed, in order that the Imâm's mind should be at rest respecting Ahmed-bin-Sâîd.

Hilâl-bin-Ahmed was his father's eldest son and the most intelligent of all his children. He was brought to the ship and delivered up to the Imâm, who behaved very kindly to him, and whose mind was now quieted as regarded Ahmed-bin-Sâîd. He then returned in his ship to Máskat. Hilâl-bin-Ahmed had not been long with him before he received letters from the Amîrs of the Persian Shâh, apprising him that they had reached Fakkân[1] with their forces; whereupon he allowed Hilâl to return to his father, Ahmed-bin-Sâîd. The Amîrs of the Persian Shâh arrived at Fakkân with their troops on Wednesday evening, twelve nights before the expiration of Dzul-Hijj, A.H. 1149, [10th March, 1737.] From Fakkân they proceeded to es-Sîr,[2] whither Seif-bin-Sultân went in his ship to join them.

[1] Wellsted's "Khórfakan" and the "Khorefacawn" of Capt. Brucks's chart, who describes it as a town situated in a small bay, in lat. 25° 20′ 45″ N., long. 56° 25′ 40″ E. It is a place of some trade, and has a Khôr, or boat-harbour, secure from all winds, half a mile deep, with two and three fathoms water in it. It contains about four hundred inhabitants, including fifty Banians.

[2] The name of "es-Sîr" does not appear in our recent maps or charts. Niebuhr locates it within the district of es-Sirr,—the littoral on the

'Omân was greatly terrified at the number of these foreigners, and one of the notable men of the country addressed the following anonymous letter to Seif-bin-Sultân on the occasion :—

"*In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate!*

"'Verily, God will not change what is in a people until they shall change what is in themselves.' 'Surely, as to these things their eyes are not blind, but the hearts are blind which are in their breasts.'[1]

"Abundant compliments with sincere and candid congratulations to the magnanimous, eminent, and noble Seyyid, the Imâm, son of the Imâm, of exalted honour, Seif-bin-Sultân, el-Yaáruby. May God preserve him! Amen.

"Certain current reports which have been confirmed by our comrades of the esh-Shamâl have given great pain to the Muslims on all sides, both on your account and their own, in consequence of which their hearts are in dread and their minds distracted. The news is, that certain Persians have reached Fakkân with an army of libertines, whose imaginations are filled with grand ideas, and whose minds the devil has fired to foster a craving after what is not theirs, because the profit they made on the goods which they brought to a free market did not satisfy them. By this time a portion of them may have reached some parts of 'Omân, for they landed at Fakkân with stores, horses and other animals—a movement the importance and significance of which cannot be exaggerated. 'God is He from whom ye should seek aid in what ye do.' This is a grievous calamity and misfortune for us and for you; since, if they succeed they will tyrannize—

west of the promontary of Ruus el-Jebel or Musándim,—in the position now occupied by Abu-Zhâby, (the Abothubbee of Brucks's chart, see note 2, p. 70,) with which I am inclined to identify it. It was the nearest and most convenient point of disembarcation for the projected march of the Persians to el-Bereimy and ezh-Zhâhirah.

[1] Kurân. *Sûrat er-Ra'ad*, (xiii.) 12. *Sûrat-el-Hajj*. (xxii.) 45.

(I abjure, in God's name, every tyrannical and proud devil, not to be believed in the day of account); and if their numbers increase they will inflict the sorest punishments upon you, they will slaughter your children and ravish your women. The proverb says: 'Do not confide in the hypocrisy, or deceit, or artifices of the man whose heart you have inflamed with envy.' In God's name, are you asleep or awake? Or, has the devil got the ascendancy over you? Or, have you any just cause of complaint against the Muslims, or do you possess absolute authority over them? Was it your anxiety to set over them a people who are under the wrath of God[1] that induced you to write letters soliciting them to come to your aid? A most flagrant example this to the observant. God is the most great! Are you ignorant, or did you know but have forgotten, what you permitted in the island of el-Bahrein[2]—the slaughter of its inhabitants and the forcible seizure of its ships, and what the Sultân Mihrâb and his Persians, together with the motley auxiliaries and the Hadhr and Arabs who acted with him, did to its chief men and Amîrs: as, for example, to their sire, Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, el-Bahrâny, who was their excellency and pride, and to many others besides him, whose death did not satiate them; and how will you hold your own? The idea which you have conceived, and the thing which you contemplate, and on which you rely, are bad; and if breasts had doors, and the doors opened, they would disclose hearts full of the fires of enmity, with flames issuing out of their nostrils. Place your reliance rather on uprightness and piety: that is the advice which we are led to urge upon you out of pure affection and earnest counsel. God knows His worshippers: he who violates a

[1] The Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân regard the Persians, who are mostly Shía'ahs, as heretics and reprobates, and therefore beyond the pale of salvation.

[2] It appears from these remarks that the island of el-Bahrein had been recovered by the Persians during this reign. It was captured from the latter by the 'Omanis under Sultan-bin-Seif, II.; see note, p. 94.

compact violates it to his own hurt; he who performs what God imposes upon him does right, and God will reward him. Farewell."

It is related that while the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân was on the voyage to join the Persians his ships encountered a storm, which obliged him to take refuge at Fakkân, all the other ships returning to Máskat; that on hearing of one of these having been driven close to the shore, Ahmed-bin-Sâid went out to it with a number of small boats, and seized it from the crew; and that Seif-bin-Sultân proceeded by land and joined the Persians at es-Sîr. Another account, however, states that he reached es-Sîr with all his ships.

When Belârab-bin-Himyar, el-Yaàruby, heard of these proceedings on the part of Seif-bin-Sultân and the Persians, he collected a large force from 'Omân and ezh-Zhâhirah, and marched against them from Nezwa on the 1st of el-Muhárram, A.H. 1149 [1st May, 1736].

The two armies met in ezh-Zhâhirah, at a place called es-Samîny, and a great battle was fought between them. (Another account fixes the date of Belârab-bin-Himyar's departure from Nezwa on the 1st of el-Muhárram, A.H. 1150.) Belârab's force was utterly routed; those who reached their homes were without animals or arms, the greater part died of thirst, and the probability is that many fell by the hands of their own comrades in their discomfiture and flight. Thereupon Seif-bin-Sultân and his Persians entered Tawwâm of el-Jau,[1] which submitted to him, as did also the whole of ezh-Zhâhirah. Then his army entered 'Obra, killed

[1] The reader is reminded that el-Tawwâm is the modern el-Bereimy, which is here said to be located in "el-Jau," the vulgar form of "el-Jauf." Ordinarily, the word signifies the cavity of any thing; it is also used to designate a plain encircled by hills or higher land, so as to resemble a hollow. There are many such *Jaufs* in Arabia. This "Jau" appears to be distinct from the "el-Jauf" mentioned at p. 33, which I conceive to be a town or oasis. See note, *id.*

many of the inhabitants, plundered all they could lay hands on, and slaughtered the children in a most barbarous manner; for it is related that the Persians first bound them with ropes and then hurled them from the bridges into the streams, regardless of their cries. They seized many free women also, and carried them to Shîrâz, there to be sold as slaves. They then returned to es-Sîr, but Seif not being satisfied with their conduct towards himself separated from them and marched with his force to Behlâ, which place made peace with him, and committing the fort there to Sâlim-bin-Khamîs, el-'Obry, he marched to Tîmsâ. Thereupon most of the garrison in the fort of Nezwa decamped, and Belârab thought of doing the same, through fear of Seif-bin-Sultân and his army, and because he despaired of receiving any reinforcements; but Seif, instead of going to Nezwa, went to Manh, the people of which submitted to him. Next, he descended towards Semaîl and halted at el-'Add, from whence he summoned the tribes of Semaîl to his presence. As they were preparing to obey his summons he started for Máskat and took up his abode there.

Dissensions now arose between the Wâli whom Seif-bin-Sultân had left at el-Ghabby and the Benu-Ghâfir, in consequence of which the people of Behlâ [Nezwa?] admitted Belârab-bin-Himyar into their fort. At this time the Persians who were at es-Sîr received reinforcements from Shîrâz, with which they marched to 'Omân, and on reaching ezh-Zhâhirah the inhabitants submitted to them. From thence they proceeded to Behlâ, where they arrived on the 23rd of Dzul-Kaâdah—many of the people fleeing on their approach—and seized everything they could find there, including the fort, in which they left a garrison of their own, and then went forward to Nezwa on the 1st of Dzul-Hijj. Belârab-bin-Himyar fled the place, but the Benu-Harâs continued to hold the fort on his behalf. The inhabitants, however, submitted to the Persians, who, when once established

there, imposed the *kharâj*,[1] and inflicted all kinds of tortures upon them, put many persons of both sexes, young and old, to death, carried off such women as pleased them to Shîrâz, and perpetrated the most barbarous cruelties, insomuch that ten thousand women and children are said to have been murdered by them, none escaping their hands except such as saved themselves by flight. Nevertheless, not being able to capture the fort, they left Nezwa on the 16th of Dzul-Hijj, and marched to Azka, the inhabitants of which submitted to them and paid them *kharâj*. After remaining there a day or two they proceeded towards el-Bâtinah, and turned off in the direction of Máskat, which they reached on the 24th of the same month. They invested the town and became masters of the entire place, with the exception of the Eastern and Western forts. These they besieged until the 5th of Sáfar, A.H. 1151 [15th May, 1738]. From Máskat they went to Barkah.

Before their arrival at Máskat, Seif-bin-Sultân had fled with his ships to Barkah, and after placing the el-Mâáwal in the forts there, had gone on to el-Jau, the inhabitants of which received him with all respect and accompanied him to Nakhl. From thence he went to ezh-Zhâhirah and met Belârab-bin-Himyar in the Wâdi of the Benu-Ghâfir. The Benu-Ghâfir were of opinion that, in order to heal their divisions and rivalries, and that both might join against the common enemy, the Persians, Belârab-bin-Himyar should surrender the Imâmate to Seif-bin-Sultân, which was accordingly done.

Meanwhile hostilities were carried on between the el-Mââwal at Barkah and the Persians, who had marched thither from Máskat; but the latter were unable to take the forts,

[1] *Kharâj* means a tax or tribute. In this instance it probably comprised, besides taxes on land and produce, the *Jizyah*, or tribute, levied in the form of a capitation-tax from a conquered people and from native non-Muslims in a country under Muslim rule. No such taxes were levied in 'Omân under the Imâms.

and remained posted at el-Hufry, and in the tower of el-Mazrâ, belonging to Barkah.

The Persians stationed at Behlâ, receiving no news of their comrades who had proceeded to Máskat, dispatched a hundred horsemen to inquire about them. On the 8th of Sáfar, the first day of their march through Semâîl, the inhabitants, together with Himyar-bin-Munîr and his men who held the fort for Belârab-bin-Himyar, encountered and slew most of them. Thereupon Himyar-bin-Munîr and the soldiers under him of the people of Azka and the Benu-Riyâm marched to Behlâ, which they entered and captured on the 21st of the same month, the Persians retiring into the fort, which was at once besieged by the assailants. During the siege the Persians sallied out to attack the Arabs, but most of them were killed, so that only a few of the garrison remained. These subsequently surrendered to Seif-bin-Sultân, who allowed them to leave with their arms, chattels, and animals, and ordered Mubârak-bin-Sâîd, el-Ghâfiry, to escort them to Sohâr. Sohâr at that time was being invested by their comrades, but at some distance from the fort. The party escorted by Mubârak-bin-Sâîd was attacked by Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, who killed most of them and confined the remainder in the fort, where they all died.

The Persian forces which had left Máskat and taken up their quarters at Barkah now retired to es-Sîr, and a portion of them returned to their own country. This occurred after Seif-bin-Sultân had set a large army in motion against them by land, and a number of ships to attack them at sea. On reaching the village of Khatt, which is near to es-Sîr, he learnt that his ship called *el-Malk* had been burnt and all the crew drowned, on Friday, fifteen days before the expiration of Shawâl, A.H. 1151 [14th January, 1739]. He then returned to 'Omân, some of the Persians remaining at es-Sîr; the remainder were at Sohâr, engaged in besieging the fort.

All the garrisons of 'Omân were now in favour of Seif-bin-Sultân, and the people submitted to him, and he relieved them of the *kharâj*. Then, however, many of the learned sheikhs of Behlâ, Nezwa, and Azka, also of the chiefs of the Benu-Ghâfir, who resided in ezh-Zhâhirah, and those of the Wâdi-Semaîl, and the sheikhs of the el-Mâwal met together to consult about conferring the Imâmate on Sultân-bin-Murshid, el-Ya'ruby. Having come to that decision, they gave their allegiance to him in the mosque of Nakhl, in the year A.H. 1151 [A.D. 1738].

SULTÂN-BIN-MURSHID,

EL-YA'RUBY.

On Sultân-bin-Murshid's accession, the forts of Nakhl, Semaîl, Azka, Nezwa, and those belonging to the tribes of esh-Sharkiyyah and the es-Sâlimiyyah were made over to him, and he himself marched with an army to er-Rastâk, which was at that time under the government of Seif-bin-Sultân. When the latter heard of his approach he collected a force from er-Rastâk and other places, and took up a position in the hollows of the Falj-el-Maisar, in order to give him battle; but finding that he could not maintain discipline among his followers he fled from them by night, leaving a quantity of warlike stores, dates, and other provisions in their possession.

When the Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid reached er-Rastâk, on a Friday morning in Shaabân of the same year, he found that Seif-bin-Sultân had decamped. The people of er-Rastâk received him cordially, and, judging him worthy of the Imâmate, they recognized him as their ruler and proffered their allegiance; the fort also surrendered, after holding out seventy days. Seif-bin-Sultân had left in it his slaves, his mother, and other members of his family; he himself had gone to Máskat, from whence, and from el-Mátrah and es-

Sîb, he collected a force and proceeded to Barkah. Thereupon the Imâm Sultan-bin-Murshid sent an army against him under Seif-bin-Muhenna, el-Yaaruby. The two parties met, and there was a severe engagement between them, but Seif-bin-Sultân's followers were utterly routed, and those only escaped death who asked for quarter, and such as fled into desert places. Seif-bin-Sultân succeeded in reaching Máskat, where, on hearing that a contingent of about five hundred Arabs from ezh-Zhâhirah was coming to him, he set out and met them at el-Hazm, accompanied by some of the Arabs of el-Bâtinah, who had joined him. At el-Hazm serious disputes arose between the different parties composing his force, and they fell upon each other. Some were killed on both sides, and those who were left of the Arabs levied from el-Bâtinah returned to their homes; the remainder of those of ezh-Zhâhirah, however, stayed with him at el-Hazm. His object was to proceed with them to er-Rastâk, but, on perceiving his inability to do so, the ezh-Zhâhirah Arabs also returned home, and Seif went back to Máskat.

The Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid, on the other hand, having made Seif-bin-Muhenna Wâli over the fortress of er-Rastâk, collected a force from thence, marched by Nakhl, where he made some levies, then went to Bádbad[1] and obtained reinforcements from the Wâdi-Ṣemâîl, as also from Azka and its dependencies, and, on the 2nd of Dzul-Hijj of the same year, marched with his army to Máskat, and captured the place, Seif-bin-Sultân taking refuge on board his ship the *el-Fálak*, and his followers on board his other vessels. Some of the latter, however, having obtained quarter from the Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid, disembarked, and the Imâm then dispatched one of the ships from which Seif's adherents had landed in quest of Seif himself, placing it under the

[1] Wellsted's "Bibdid," situated between Semâîl and es-Sîb on the coast.

command of Bahâd-bin-Sâlim; but the ship was overtaken by a storm near Fakkân, and Bahâd-bin-Sâlim returned with his ship's rudder broken. With regard to Seif-bin-Sultân, one statement is that his ship was wrecked near Fakkân; another, that when he disembarked the ship was seized by Ahmed-bin-Sâîd; and a third, that Seif went in it to es-Sîr, and joined the Persians there; but God knows.

As regards Seif-bin-Sultân's subsequent proceedings, one account is that when he reached es-Sîr with his ship and joined the Persians there, he complained to them of what had befallen him at the hands of the Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid and the people of 'Omân. They replied: "We are sent by the Shâh to aid you, therefore command us to go wherever you please." He rejoined: "I think the best plan will be for us to proceed to Sohâr and take the fort from Ahmed-bin-Sâîd; and in the event of success I will present it to you in perpetuity." The Persians were highly delighted with this offer, but said: "You are a sincere friend and ally, and have kept your word with us; nevertheless, we will not deprive you of anything, for we have abundance." They accordingly went to Sohâr and invested it by sea and land, cutting off all supplies from the inhabitants, and reducing them to great straits. They also sent a large force to Maskat to take the two forts there from the Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid, in order to make them over to Seif-bin-Sultân. These two forts, and the other fortifications at Máskat, were held at the time for the former by Seif-bin-Muhenna, el-Yaaruby; the fort of el-Mátrah was similarly held by Seif-bin-Himyar, el-Yaaruby; and the two commanders had agreed to resist the Persians. Accordingly, when the latter reached Sih-el-Harmel, Seif-bin-Himyar, with some of the people of el-Mátrah and Máskat, fell upon them and drove them back to Ríwa, where they remained the rest of that day. The following day they attacked el-Mátrah, and Seif-bin-Himyar met them, but was overpowered by numbers and slain, toge-

ther with all his men, after they had killed many of the Persian cavalry. (This engagement took place on the hill of Sîh-el-Harmel, and the spot where Seif-bin-Himyar and his followers fell and were buried, now called "Musárrâ-esh-Shúhadâ", [the Arena of the Martyrs,] is covered with white pebbles; the other hillocks facing the Beit-el-Falj indicate the graves of the Persians who were slain on the occasion.) The surviving Persians then proceeded to Barkah, where they encamped, and many of their cavalry went to Karyât on fleet horses, killed a number of people there, and took many women and children captive, and sent them to Shîrâz. Among these were two children of my grandfather, Razik-bin-Bukhayyit, brothers of my father, Muhammad-bin-Razik. A detachment of them also went to the Wâdis of the el-Máâwal, as far as Maslamât, which resulted in the loss of a few men on both sides.

The Persian force which had killed Seif-bin-Himyar on the hill of Sîh-el-Harmel having received reinforcements from their comrades, who were encamped at Sohâr, marched upon Máskat. On their arrival they planted ladders against the Eastern and Western forts, but were twice repulsed by the guns and musketry of the garrisons; eventually, however, they succeeded in capturing them, and the fort of el-Mátrah and its other defences likewise. This is the most authentic account. Another is, that the Persians were beaten off twice, and never took either of the forts at Máskat or that of el-Mátrah—that they simply attacked them, but were repulsed, and then returned to Sohâr. The latter statement rests on no good authority, whereas I myself heard from contemporary elders, who were well acquainted with what took place in 'Omân at that time, that the Persians did capture the above-named forts.

The Persians who were encamped at Sohâr continued the siege there, and so effectually cut off all supplies from the besieged in the fort and within the walls, that the price of

ten *Sahnât*[1]—vulgarly called *el-Kâsha'*—rose to fifty *fals*.[2] On the other hand, the Persians who held Máskat furnished their comrades at Sohâr with supplies, which they sent by boat. At this juncture also they received reinforcements from Shîrâz, and the number of the besiegers, according to the most trustworthy accounts, now amounted to sixty thousand men. Ahmed-bin-Sâîd sallied out every day with his followers and killed as many of them as he could. As to Seif-bin-Sultân, he began to be estranged from the Persians when he saw that, after taking Máskat and its defences, they had no intention of making them over to him. Causes for repentance crowded upon him from all quarters, and he began to despair of the government of 'Omân, or of receiving any effectual aid from the Persians to recover it. He accordingly departed from Sohâr by stealth, and went to el-Hazm, and on reaching it said to one of his officers: "This is my castle and my grave. I am become an eyesore to every one, and the quiet of death will be preferable to any happiness which dominion has afforded me."

The Persians continued the siege of Sohâr for nine months, their land-forces discharging as many as three thousand cannon-shot at the fort and wall every day, the sound of which resembled thunder. When the Imâm Sultân-bin-

[1] A fish in size resembling an anchovy, which abounds on the shores of 'Omân and the east coast of Arabia. I have frequently seen coves and harbours literally black with shoals of these small-fry, which are caught in nets, dried in the sun, and then sent into the interior for consumption. Cows are fed on them in several places on the coast where forage is scarce. Palgrave describes them under the name of "Metoot, very much like whitebait, or diminutive anchovies in size and shape, but not so delicate in flavour. They are eaten uncooked, after having been simply salted and dried in the sun, without any further preparation." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. i. p. 316. The el-Máhrah inhabitants of the Curia-Muria islands and the adjacent coast, who live almost exclusively on fish and shell-fish, call them *Kashâsh*. "Ichthyophagi," the term used by the ancients to designate the dwellers on the coast of this part of Arabia, was most appropriate.

[2] For the relative value of a *fals*, see note, p. 129.

Murshid heard that Máskat and el-Mátrah had been occupied by the Persians, and that they were closely besieging Sohâr and its fort, he collected a large army from er-Rastâk, from ezh-Zhâhirah and the Wâdi of the Benu-Ghâfir, and marched with them from er-Rastâk to Sohâr; but on reaching el-Khabûrah all these levies abandoned him, with the exception of two hundred men, of whom thirty belonged to his own people [the el-Yaârubah], believing that he would return with them. On the contrary, he proceeded slowly with his little band towards Sohâr, and on nearing Sâham they encountered a Persian troop mounted on swift horses, and there was a conflict between the two parties, which resulted in the rout of the Persians, the Imâm pursuing them until they joined their comrades who were besieging the fort. A great battle was now fought, in which the Persian commander, named Kelb-'Aly, was slain, and also a hundred of his followers. On the Imâm's side all the el-Yaârubah fell, and fifty men besides; the remainder were dispersed hither and thither, but he succeeded in making his way into the fort, mortally wounded. He died three days after.

The intelligence of Sultân-bin-Murshid's death, and the sad fate of his followers, so affected Seif-bin-Sultân that he only survived him a few days. He was buried in the fort of el-Hazm.

Meanwhile, hostilities continued between Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and the Persians, the former frequently sallying out against the besiegers. When the latter perceived that Ahmed-bin-Sâîd was as obstinate in attack as he was patient under their fire—news having reached them, moreover, of Seif-bin-Sultân's death—their courage began to slacken, and their Khân[1] proposed a reconciliation with Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, on condition that they should be allowed to carry away all the guns, arms,

[1] This expedition from Persia took place during the reign of Nâdir Shâh. The Khân in command is generally stated to have been Mirza Táky Khân, the governor of Shiraz.

and ammunition which they had brought to their camp at Sohâr. Ahmed having agreed to these terms, the Khân, their commander-in-chief, accompanied by ten of his principal officers, had an interview with him in the fort, where they were hospitably entertained. During the repast the commander-in-chief said to Ahmed: "As you have allowed us to carry away all our arms, I trust you will allow our comrades at Máskat to do the same, and permit them to cross over to Bunder-el-'Abbâs in safety." To this Ahmed replied: "*In shâa Allâh*,"[1] but nothing more. Two days after, the Khân and his followers embarked on board their vessels and went to Bunder-el-'Abbâs, from whence they proceeded to Shîrâz. On their departure from Sohâr, Ahmed marched with two thousand men to Barkah, the fort of which place surrendered to him at discretion. On his return to Sohâr, after a few days' stay at Barkah, he wrote to Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, a well-known personage whom he had appointed to act as his Wâli there, to set up two pairs of scales at Barkah for weighing such goods as were imported from India and were sold by weight; (he had resorted to a similar device when Seif-bin-Sultân was at Máskat). His orders having been executed, a good market sprung up at Barkah, for vessels went there which had been accustomed heretofore to discharge at Máskat; trade increased, and people frequented it from 'Omân and ezh-Zhâhirah to buy and sell, carrying back such merchandise as they required. By this means supplies were cut off from the Persian forces at Máskat and el-Mátrah, who thereupon began to despond, especially after the departure of their comrades from Sohâr. Moreover, they had been greatly alarmed on hearing of the death of Seif-bin-Sultân. In consequence of all these untoward events they dispatched a messenger to el-Hazm, requesting that Mâjid-bin-Sultân, one of the el-Yaârubah and a near relation of the late Seif-

[1] If it please God.

bin-Sultân, should be sent to them. On his arrival they directed him to proceed to Shîrâz with a letter to the Shâh, and to return with an answer authorising them to deliver over all the posts which they held to him, promising at the same time that they would bring his services to the favourable notice of his Persian majesty. He accordingly embarked at Máskat for Bunder-el-'Abbâs, and went on from thence to Shîrâz. On being presented to the Shâh he delivered the letter with which he was entrusted, and after being hospitably entertained there for thirty days the Shâh gave him a letter authorizing his people to surrender all the forts and other defences to him. On his way back he landed at Sohâr, and informed Ahmed-bin-Sâîd of the whole transaction.

According to another account, when Mâjid-bin-Sultân left Bunder-el-'Abbâs it was his intention to go direct to Máskat, but his ship having been overtaken by a storm he was obliged to land at Sohâr, where, some of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's adherents recognizing him, they took him into the presence of their master. Thereupon Ahmed began to question him as to the nature of his message from the Persian Shâh, and he eventually succeeded in learning all that had taken place, and obtained possession of the Shâh's letter ordering his people to surrender the forts which they held to Mâjid-bin-Sultân. (This I consider to be the more correct version of the transaction.) He then dispatched Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, with the letter and four hundred men to Máskat, and directed him to take over the defences of that town, and also of el-Mátrah, from the Persians. The latter, thinking that he was acting for Mâjid-bin-Sultân, delivered up all the posts into his hands, and he garrisoned them with the men he had brought from Sohâr.

The transfer of the government of the el-Yaârubah to Ahmed-bin-Sâîd took place A.H. 1154 [A.D. 1741].

When Ahmed-bin-Sâîd read Khamîs-bin-Sâlim's letter,

wherein the latter informed him that he had taken over the defences from the Persians and now held them on his behalf, Ahmed went to Barkah and wrote to Khamîs-bin-Sâlim to bring the Persians to that place. On his arrival with them they pitched their tents in the open plain, and great feasts were made for them. What I am now about to relate was told me by my father, Muhammad-bin-Razîk, who heard it from his father Razîk, and by the sheikh Maârûf-bin-Sâlim, es-Sâyighy, and by the sheikh Khâtir-bin-Hamîd, el-Bedâ'iy, and by the sheikh Muhsin, the Persian butcher, whose accounts all agree. They state that when the Persians came from Máskat to Barkah, accompanied by Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Âl-Bû-Sâîdy—Ahmed-bin-Sâîd being there at the time—they pitched their tents in the plain, and no one could traverse any part of Barkah without seeing caldrons of meat being prepared for the Persians by Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's orders; and no one could pass through the streets or market without seeing sweetmeats being made for them; nor could any one go near a cultivated spot without witnessing the produce being collected, under the same authority, for the horses of the Persians; and no one went to rest assured that he could withhold a *fals*, much less a *dirhem*, from Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, if he should demand it for the entertainment of his guests. This led to much murmuring among the people, who were unanimous in saying that the Persians rather deserved death at their hands than such profuse hospitality. The authorities above quoted go on to say that after the Persians had been encamped three days at Barkah, large dishes of meat were forwarded to their tents, and their chief officers were invited to a grand banquet. As many as fifty accordingly entered the fort with Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's messenger. About half an hour afterwards the drum of the fort was sounded, and the crier proclaimed aloud: "Any one who has a grudge against the Persians may now take his revenge." No sooner were these words

uttered, than the cry was repeated on all sides, and the youth of Barkah following the lead of their elders, and of those who were assembled at the place from other districts, fell upon the Persians and put them all to the sword, with the exception of two hundred. These exclaimed "quarter! quarter!" and on hearing their voices Ahmed-bin-Sâîd ordered the crier to proclaim a suspension of the slaughter. The chiefs who had entered the fort, however, were all put to death. Ahmed-bin-Sâîd then directed the mariners of Barkah, to transport the survivors to Bunder-el-'Abbâs, but when they were near Jebel-es-Sawâdy[1] the seamen set fire to the ships, swam to land themselves, and left the Persians to be drowned.

Ahmed-bin-Sâîd then ordered Khamîs-bin-Sâlim to return to Máskat, and to take with him all those who used to reside there and at el-Mátrah, and who had fled from the Persians to Barkah, (for the residents at Máskat and el-Mátrah, and the people of the Wâdi-Hatât had all fled from the Persians and taken up their abode at Barkah). On Khamîs's arrival at Máskat, the people who had occupied the neighbourhood beyond the wall could not recognize the boundaries of their former dwellings, owing to the damage caused by the stabling of the Persian cavalry, and the quantity of dung which had accumulated there. This circumstance gave rise to a serious affray between the contending claimants, in which as many as sixty persons were killed. Thereupon Khamîs-bin-Sâlim undertook to mediate between the parties, and apportioned among them the places in dispute; and now Máskat and el-Mátrah began to recover from the effects of the Persian occupation.

Ahmed-bin-Sâîd then went to er-Rastâk and occupied its fortress; then to Semâîl, which submitted to him without opposition; then to Azka, which received him in like man-

[1] The *es-Sawâdy* (literally, the Black,) are a group of islets about ten miles from Barkah.

ner, and he took possession of its fort; then to Nezwa, which also submitted; and then to Behlâ, which recognized him and placed him in possession of its fort. He was also visited by Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân-bin-'Adiy, el-Yaáruby, who came to him from Sémed-esh-Shân. (This Muhammad was governor there on behalf of Sultân-bin-Murshid, el-Yaáruby, during the lifetime of the latter.) He made over the fort before he was asked to do so, but after Ahmed had taken possession of it he said to him: "Go to Nakhl, for I have committed its fort to you." They then entered into a covenant to be true to each other while they lived. Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân accordingly went to Nakhl and took possession of its fort, agreeably with Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's orders.

Such were the events which led to the transfer of the government of the el-Yaárubah to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Bû-Saîdy.

BOOK THE SECOND.

FROM AHMED-BIN-SA'ÎD

TO HIS GRANDSON THE SEYYID SA'ÎD-BIN-SULTÂN-BIN-AHMED.

[A.H. 1154—1236 = A.D. 1741—1820.]

The author of this book, the undeserving Salîl-bin-Razîk, who prays that God may avert all evil and calamity from him and from the Muslims generally, makes the following declaration:—One of the aged sheikhs informed me that the administration of 'Omân having devolved upon Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd, and its people having testified their loyalty to him, the chiefs of er-Rastâk, together with all the other chiefs of 'Omân, assembled together and agreed to confer the Imâmate upon Abu-Hilâl,[1] the great, the excellent, the most glorious

AHMED-BIN-SA'ID,

BIN-AHMED-BIN-MUHAMMAD,

ES-SA'ÎDY,[2] EL-AZDY, EL-'OMÂNY;

BY RELIGION, AN UPRIGHT 'IBÂDHY.

The following are some of the preternatural events related to me by one of the aged chiefs, a contemporary of Ahmed-

[1] That is, the Father of Hilâl, Ahmed's eldest son. It is considered courteous among the Arabic-speaking people of the East, Christians as well as Muslims, to drop a man's ordinary name on the birth of an heir, and to call him the Father of his firstborn. This is sometimes done, in the case of elderly men, while they are yet childless. In the event of their becoming fathers, they are bound to recognize the courtesy by giving their eldest sons the names which the goodwill of society had conferred upon them by anticipation.

[2] *Es-Sa'idy*, that is, of the tribe of Sa'id, a branch of the el-Azd. The appellative assumes several forms in this narrative:—*Bû-Sa'îd* and

bin-Sâîd, as having occurred in the lifetime of the latter, before he succeeded to the government of 'Omân and received the homage of its inhabitants :—

One day he went from Âdam of 'Omân to el-Ghabby of es-Sirr, known as ezh-Zhâhirah, and arrived there on a festival day, when, the morning prayers and the *khutbah*[1] being over, its inhabitants, both Arabs and Hadhr, were engaged in watching a camel-race. While he was reflecting whether he should not run his she-camel with the rest, a woman of the Arabs of ezh-Zhâhirah took hold of the reins of his camel, and said : " O, Imâm of 'Omân, it does not become you to run your she-camel with the camels of these people, for they are your subjects, you being their Imâm and the Imâm of all 'Omân." Whereupon Ahmed-bin-Sâîd alighted from his she-camel, and said to her : " O, Arab woman, to what Arabs do you belong ?" She replied : " To the Benu-Zafît." He said : " You seem to be deriding me by telling me that I am the Imâm of 'Oman." She rejoined : " By Allâh ! I am not ; for what I have said shall happen to you shortly, despite all opposition." On asking the woman her name, and where her home was, she replied : " My name is Mubâsh-shirah ; my home is Tinâam ; and by birth I am a Zafîtiyyah." So Ahmed forbore coursing his she-camel, but he kept the woman's saying a secret. On his return to Âdam from el-Ghabby, he saw in a dream by night the sun rising from under his shirt-sleeve. This also he told no one.

On another occasion, on the way from Âdam to Manh, he heard a voice saying, " Welcome, O Imâm of 'Omân." He

Bû-Sa'îdy, the Father of Sa'îd or of the Sa'îdy ; *âl-Bû-Sa'îd*, the Family or House of the Father of Sa'îd ; *el-Bû-Sa'îd*, the Bû-Sa'îd. The most common and correct form is Âl-Bû-Sa'îd.

[1] The *Khutbah* answers to our sermon, and is preached by the *Khatîb*, after the prayers in the mosque, from the *mimbar*, or pulpit, generally placed a little to the right of the *mihrâb*, or niche, which indicates the direction of Mekkah.

looked right and left to discover from whence the voice proceeded, but could see no one. This circumstance also he kept a profound secret.

Again, while travelling on his she-camel from 'Omân towards the town of Semâîl, night overtook him near Nejd-es-Sahâmah, and perceiving some one standing before him in the road, he accosted him with the salutation of peace. The reply was: "Peace be upon you also, O Imâm of 'Omân." He alighted to discover who the speaker was, but could see nothing of him.

The following are some instances of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's generous qualities:—

On succeeding to the government he treated my grandfather, Razîk-bin-Bakhît, with unbounded liberality, on account of the warning which he had given him. This generous Imâm was equally liberal to my father, Muhammad-bin-Razîk, until the day of his death. He confirmed my grandfather in the office of Clerk of the Customs, the appointment which he had held under Seif-bin-Sultân, and on the death of my grandfather he appointed my father in his room. The document which he gave to my father on the occasion was as follows:—

"In the name of God, the pitiful, the merciful! From Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, Imâm of the Muslims, to all my children specially, and to all men in general, to wit: After my decease ye shall leave Razîk-bin-Bakhît and those begotten of him, as I have left him, in charge of the Customs' accounts, and ye shall pay him as I have paid him, according to the agreement entered in the public records. Ye shall also be kind to him as I have been. Whosoever shall contravene what is here written after it has been made known to him shall be adjudged guilty. God is the hearer and the knowing." This document was dated the 28th of Rabîâ-el-Awwal, A.H. 1160 [27th April, 1747]. On the demise of my grandfather, Ahmed-bin-Sâîd appointed

my father to succeed him in his office. The document remained in my possession after my father's death until the reign of Sultân, the son of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, when my house took fire, A.H. 1216, [A.D. 1801,] and the box in which it was kept was burnt, together with many articles of furniture.

The following is another instance of this Imâm's liberality:—He instituted inquiries respecting the woman who had congratulated him as Imâm before he attained that dignity, and finding that she was dead he recompensed her relatives and made them an adequate allowance for their maintenance during his lifetime.

He also rewarded the slaves of Seif-bin-Sultân who had warned him to return to the shore when he went in his boat to visit their master. From that time forward he never saw Seif-bin-Sultân.

He also rewarded the el-Jibûr most handsomely, on his accession to the government, for having abandoned Seif-bin-Sultân and sided with him; and he further contracted friendly alliances with them.

Before he was confirmed in the government he went to Nezwa, where he was hospitably entertained by the sheikh Sâlih-bin-Sabahiyyah. On his accession to power he amply rewarded the sheikh by making him chief over the inhabitants of the Wâdi-Nezwa.

He bountifully rewarded the woman in whose house he hid himself at Yánkal, and which he quitted in safety on her telling him that Belârab-bin-Himyar had left the place.

Before he attained to supreme power he went one day from 'Omân to Semâîl, where he had some business to transact. When near the Wâdi-Halfain the sun so overpowered him that he took shelter under a large tree. On a subsequent occasion, after he had assumed the reins of government, he started from er-Rastâk to go to Nezwa, having with him a large retinue of slaves and freemen,

mounted on horses and camels. On reaching Halfain he looked right and left for the tree but could not see it. "Perhaps it is dead," was his silent remark. Continuing the search, mounted on his she-camel, he discovered that its roots had been dried up by the sun. He then alighted, as did also his attendants, whom he ordered to spread carpets for him near the trunk of the withered tree. To their great astonishment he further directed them to water the animals there, though the heat was excessive. On his arrival at Nezwa, one of the Kâdhis who had accompanied him on the journey asked him why he had put up near the roots of the withered tree. He then told them how that once, before his accession to power, he had taken shelter under its branches while it was still green. Thereupon the Kâdhi remarked: "Do you respect that which is devoid of reason and is dead?" "It does not become the generous," replied the Imâm, "to forget benefits: he who does so is not generous. The generous should recognize benefits received either from the animate or the inanimate." "I think it is a wise precept," rejoined the Kâdhi; "the generous and noble ought not to forget such recognition."

The following are a few select instances illustrative of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's justice and integrity:—

When in power he made a man of the Benu-Sâîd commander over the garrison of the fort of er-Rastâk. One day the said commander got enraged with a butcher of the place and caused the meat which was on his counter to be dragged on the ground and then bestrewed with ashes. The reason was this: at first the commander used to make the butcher wait only two days for the price of the meat which he supplied; subsequently, however, he changed that custom and made the butcher wait for his money until the sum amounted to five hundred *Mahmûdis*. Thereupon the butcher refused to supply him any longer and turned away his messengers who came to him for meat. Hence the act above related.

The butcher then went to the sheikh Sulèimân-bin-Nâsir, esh-Shákasy, who was at that time the popular chief over all the inhabitants of er-Rastâk—what angered him angered them and what pleased him pleased them—and complained of the outrage. The sheikh asked: "how much does he owe you?" "Five hundred *Mahmûdis*," was the reply. "Go home," said the other, "and carry on your trade as usual, and if the Amîr's messengers apply to you do not turn them away, and keep the matter secret." He accordingly went and acted as the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Nâsir had enjoined. Now, it was usual when this sheikh repaired to the *Másjid* of the el-Biyâdhah[1] for the Friday prayer that the people of er-Rastâk used to follow him thither. But when Friday came round, the sheikh abstained from going to prayer and the people did the same; consequently, when the appointed hour arrived, and the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd had entered the *Másjid*, he found no one present but his soldiers. On inquiring of them what had become of the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Nâsir and the people of er-Rastâk, they replied that none of them had come to the *Másjid* that day. After the Imâm and his soldiers and the market-people had said their prayers, he ordered camels and horses to be made ready and proceeded on a visit to the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Nâsir. After shaking hands with him, the Imâm took the sheikh apart from the company, and when both were seated said to him: "You disappointed the people, O sheikh, by your absence and that of your following from the prayers. What was the cause? let me know." The sheikh then told him of the treatment which the butcher had received from the Amîr of the garrison in the fort. "Have you any other complaints to make?" re-

[1] The *Másjid*, or place of worship, in this instance was within the fortress of er-Rastâk. Most of the principal forts throughout the country appear to have had prayer-rooms in them set apart for the religious use of the garrison.

marked the Imâm. "None," replied the sheikh; "but this is a serious matter; for what excuse have you for thus neglecting your subjects? Is it befitting that we should pray behind an Imâm who disregards the just claims of his subjects, so that they are left to be injured and oppressed, and, in this instance, the injurer and oppressor is no other than the Amîr of your garrison in the fort." "This is the first time I have heard anything of the affair," said the Imâm. To which the other replied: "If you were diligent in superintending the interests of your subjects such things would not happen." "Don't be uneasy on that score," rejoined the Imâm; "for, God willing, you will hear by to-morrow what will satisfy you." Thereupon the two separated, the Imâm and his retinue returning to the fort and the sheikh to his house.

The following day the Imâm sent for the Amîr and was very wroth with him, demanding to know what he had done to the butcher; whereat the culprit's tongue faltered, and he was near dying from sheer fright. The Imâm then ordered him to be bound and beaten, and, further, to pay the butcher what was due to him. The Amîr accordingly sent to his relations for the amount; and when the money reached, the Imâm sent for the butcher and inquired of him how much the man who had damaged his meat owed him. On hearing that he owed him five hundred *Mahmûdis*, the money was paid, and the butcher expressed his gratitude to the Imâm, praising him for his goodness. He then went to the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Nâsir, told him all that had occurred, and gave him the money, which the sheikh had lent him when he first went to him to complain of the Amîr. On the following Friday the sheikh attended the Imâm at prayers, the people of er-Rastâk accompanying him as usual. After prayers the sheikh told the Imâm that he was satisfied with the punishment which had been inflicted on the Amîr, and begged him to release him from his bonds,

and to remit the sentence of imprisonment. This the Imâm refused, declaring that the culprit should be kept in prison for a whole year. At the expiration of that period the Imâm released him, and degraded him from his rank of Amîr. The man continued to reside at er-Rastâk in a very forlorn condition. Several persons have attested the authenticity of the foregoing narrative.

I subjoin the following as another instance of this Imâm's kindly disposition:—Whenever he went from er-Rastâk to Máskat he ordered a large quantity of sweetmeats to be prepared, which were packed in parcels and laden on camels. On reaching Naâmân-Barkah, the children of the poor from Hai-'Asim to el-Hufry used to come to him, and he distributed a parcel to each. When they were leaving he used to say: "Now go away, and the blessing of God rest upon you;" which, of course, led them to extol his bounty. During his two days' stay at Naâmân, the people from es-Sîb to el-Masnaâh were in the habit of coming to pay their respects to him. He always received them most courteously, asked what he could do for them, and whether any one oppressed them. Travelling on towards Máskat, he generally spent a night at Ríwa, and in going from thence to el-Mátrah the poor and needy of his subjects used to come to him from the extremity of Sîh-el-Harmel to the commencement of the mountains of el-Mátrah. On these occasions he ordered his soldiers to march slowly, so that the people might have the opportunity of saluting him and he of returning their salutations. At el-Mátrah he occupied the Beit-ed-Dákkah, and the first to pay their respects to him were the heads of the principal people there, namely, the Benu-Hásan, then followed the Luwâtiyah,[1] then the Benu-Zarrâf. After

[1] Called also *Lâtiyân*. They are the same as the Khojas or Khwâjas of Persia and Sind. There is a large population of this sect at Máskat and the adjacent places on the coast, many of whom have been settled there for centuries, and have become naturalized: others are under

all the people of el-Mátrah had paid their respects to him, he proceeded to Máskat in boats and canoes prepared for the occasion. When he reached the Island[1] at Máskat, guns were fired from the two batteries, the forts, and the shipping, and the people resorted to the Island in crowds to salute him and to receive his salutations. He would then ask them if they had any requests to prefer; if they had, their request was generally granted. Two days after he used to send for his agents and the two Wâlis, Khamîs-bin-Sâlim and Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, and inquired whether the revenue for the past year was under or above the expenditure; whereupon they submitted the accounts to him. In fine, this Imâm had a large heart, was very liberal, very humble towards God, and extremely condescending to the poor and needy, ever ready to listen to what they had to say.

[Then follows a long reply to some writer who appears to have questioned the author's opinion respecting the noble qualities of the Imâm, as exhibited in his gifts of sweetmeats to the people. The author maintains his point by quotations from the traditions relating to the life of Muhammad and his immediate successors, and also by the policy pursued by

British protection, as having been formerly subjects of the Amîrs of Sind. Captain Burton, writing of the Khwâjas of Sind, says: "Their own account of their origin, etc., is that they originally emigrated from Persia; and it is almost certain that they fled from their native country when the Ismaeliych heresy (to which they still cleave) was so severely treated by Halaku Khan. They differ from the Ismaeliychs in one essential point, viz., whereas that people only believe in seven Imaums, the Khwâjas continue the line up to the present day. They are therefore heterodox Sheeas, as they reject Omar, Abubekr and Osman, and reverence Ali, Hasan, Hasein, Zainul-Abidin, Mahomed-i-Bakr, and Imaum Giafari Sadik. The Khwâjas, male and female, all wear white, red, and coloured clothes, avoiding dark blue, the usual hue of the country. They have their own Mukhee at Kurachee, and never go to the Moslem Kazees to settle their religious differences." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xvii. pp. 647-8.

[1] See note, p. 79.

the Khalîfah Mo'âwiyah-bin-Harb-bin-Sofyân, as described by el-Mas'ûdy in his *Murûj-edz-Dzúhab*.]

When the Imâmate of the glorious Ahmed-bin-Sâîd was ratified by the people of 'Omân, who recognized his authority and readily obeyed him—none among the moderate keeping aloof from him when they saw his fitness for the office—he forthwith assumed the supreme power, and administered it with justice and uprightness. He made Khâlfân-bin-Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, of the Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli over Máskat, charged with the duty of collecting the *'Ushûr*, and the legal *Kharâj*, and the *Sadakât*,[1] and he also commissioned him to receive the cash from the *Wakîls* [Agents] whom he appointed over the Customs. He placed Hásan-es-Serhanj in charge of the government shipping, and made the learned sheikhs Muhammad-bin-'Âmir-bin-'Arîk, el-'Adwâny, who resided at Hállet-el-Múttalâ, of Âfy, which is the most important place belonging to the el-Máâwal, Kâdhi at Máskat, to adjudge in suits arising among the people. My grandfather, Razîk-bin-Bakhît-bin-Sâîd-bin-Ghassân, he appointed to the customs, as keeper of the accounts. The rules which he drew up for the administration were arranged in admirable order, and adopted after consummate care. He purchased one thousand Zanj and one hundred Nubian slaves, and took them to reside with him in the fortress of er-Rastâk; to these he added one thousand free soldiers, providing each with a fine camel or horse, to accompany him whenever he travelled through 'Omân. When he marched from one place to another, four banners attached to staffs, the heads of two of which were of gold and the other two of silver, were borne in his retinue, and he never moved about

[1] *'Ushûr* means Tithes, but what is intended thereby in this instance I do not know; and I am equally at a loss to understand what is meant by the "legal *Kharâj*," or Tax, as the revenue of Máskat arises solely from the customs-dues, no other tax, either on houses, persons, or property, being levied there at present. For the import of *Sadakât*, see note 2, p. 31.

without being accompanied by a number of Kâdhis, scholars, and notables, and a party of executioners, a brave set of fellows.

Several persons who witnessed those glorious times have informed me that when Ahmed-bin-Sâîd visited Máskat he generally spent twelve days there. On the eleventh he used to go to the Western fort to examine the arms, water and food; and from thence to the Eastern fort, passing by the custom-house. When he approached its eastern entrance a crier proclaimed: "O ye merchants, no duties will be levied on any of the goods which you have deposited in the custom-house to-day"; for it was his practice on that day to remit all duties on goods, which sometimes amounted to lacs, to say nothing of hundreds. This was done, my father assured me, up to the date of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's death. My father also informed me that the revenue from the customs at Máskat during the lifetime of this Imâm was from three to five lacs in excess of all the expenditure. On inquiring of him respecting the Imâm Ahmed's military forces, he told me that their number was very great, scarcely to be counted. He said the same of the soldiers which the Imâm maintained at er-Rastâk and at Sohâr. His dominions extended from the end of Jaalân as far as Tawwâm [el-Bereimy]. Many 'Omâny and other poets wrote eulogies of him, all of whom he amply rewarded. The most renowned poet of his day—who was also the most celebrated of the poets of 'Omân—was the eloquent sheikh Râshid-bin-Sâîd-bin-Balhásan, el-'Absy, el-Aâma, edh-Dhárar, who wrote many poetical eulogies of Ahmed.

As soon as Ahmed-bin-Sâîd had assumed the government of 'Omân, the Nizâriyyah commenced disparaging his dignity, authority and position; and the heads of the el-Yaâkîb went to Belârab-bin-Himyar,[1] el-Yaâruby, who was then residing at el-Bazîly of ezh-Zhâhirah, and said to him:

[1] See pp. 131, 143.

"Why have you resigned this matter [the Imâmate] to others, which of right belongs to you. You fought for it against Seif-bin-Sultân, el-Yaâruby, and also against the Imâm Sultân-bin-Murshid, el-Yaâruby, who were your near relatives: you did not sheath your sword from them, and your name was dreaded by the people of 'Omân, and they submitted to you? How is it that you are so submissive after such exaltation?"—to which they added many more words to the same effect. He replied: "By Allâh! nothing but want of means has withheld me from coming forward in that behalf." Thereupon they promised to provide him with men and money to support his claims, on condition that he prosecuted them. He asked for a few days' delay before giving a decided answer, but he continued to hesitate, notwithstanding their urgent solicitations, until a fierce war broke out between the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and the people of es-Sîr, at el-Bithnah. The latter had mustered a large force with which they intended to invade Sohâr; these the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd encountered at el-Bithnah, and a great many were slain on both sides, whereupon the people of es-Sîr returned home, and the Imâm's soldiers retired to Sohâr, but the Imâm rode onward till he reached the outskirts of Yánkal, where he alighted to walk, leading his she-camel. Noticing an old woman in advance of him, he stopped her and inquired to what Arabs she belonged. She replied, "To those of Yánkal; all my relations are dead, and I am reduced to great poverty, insomuch that I live apart from the people, and I am ashamed to beg." "Have you a house?" he asked. "She answered, "Yes; but it is a very wretched one." He replied, "Hide me in it, and let no one know; I am Ahmed-bin-Sâîd." He then gave her money and concealed himself in her house, taking nothing with him but his arms and his money from the saddle-bags, and letting the she-camel go loose with all its equipage. (Ahmed's object was to find out whether there

were any left among the people of 'Omân who cherished designs on the Imâmate, and whether any of the notables were disposed to surrender their fortified posts to some rival of his.) When the people saw the camel, they recognized it as the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's; also the carpet which covered the saddle; whereupon the chief of Yánkal took the camel to Sohâr and informed the garrison how it had been found. The latter, who knew nothing of the stratagem, returned with it and its trappings to Yánkal, and a rumour then got abroad that the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd had been murdered, which caused great commotion throughout 'Omân. The treachery of his enemies now ripened into overt acts, for the heads of the el-Yaâkîb, and of the Benu-Ghâfir, and the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb went to Belârab-bin-Himyar, el-Yaâruby, and said to him, "Seize the present opportunity, for the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd has been killed at el-Bithnah. Rise up, therefore, in behalf of this matter which we proposed to you, and we will aid you with men and money." Thereupon Belârab, yielding to their solicitations, laid claim to the Imâmate. He accordingly assembled a large army, said to have numbered twenty thousand men, and dispatched mounted messengers to all the Nizâriyyah and their allies in 'Omâm, while he himself marched with the main body of his forces and encamped at Fark, of Nezwa, from whence he wrote to the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl to invest and besiege the fort there.

Ahmed, who was still concealed in the old woman's house, had directed her to bring him all the news she heard. One day she came and informed him that the people of Yánkal reported that Belârab-bin-Himyar had laid claim to the Imâmate, that all the Nizâriyyah had joined him, and that he had gone with his forces to 'Omân and encamped with them at Fark, of Nezwa. On hearing that, the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd set out on foot for Sohâr, the fort of which he reached during the night, and wrote from thence to

'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, el-Al-Bû-Sâîdy, who was then his Wâli at Sémed-esh-Shân, ordering him to collect all the Hinâwiyyah of esh-Sharkiyyah and Jaalân, and also their Bedawîn, and to march with them to Fark, mentioning the time that they were to arrive there. He was then joined by auxiliaries from Yánkal and from the ezh-Zhawâhir, and marched with them towards the Wâdi-Semâîl, levying a great number of the Arabs of el-Bâtinah by the way. On reaching the borders of Bádbad he found that the es-Seyyâbiyyîn and their confederates had seized the road, and were in ambush for him among the hillocks. These he dispersed, killing a great many, and then went on to Madhmâr, of Semaîl, where he also found a body of the Nizâriyyah similarly awaiting him, and disposed of them in like manner. On entering the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâhah he obtained levies from that tribe, and took them on with him towards Fark. On the way he was met by 'Adallah-bin-Muhammad, el-Âl-Bu-Sâîdy, his Wâli at Sémed-esh-Shân, with a force which God alone could number, and proceeding onward he met Belârab, who was encamped at Fark. Thereupon a great battle was fought between them which resulted in the flight of Belârab's soldiers, and the death of Belârab himself and the heads of the el-Yaâkîb; in fact, only a few of Belârab's forces escaped. Thus God aided the Imâm Ahmed to victory and triumph, so that there did not remain in 'Omân a single enemy to oppose him. At first he punished those who had joined Belârab against him, but he afterwards forgave them.

In the year A. H. 1170 [A. D. 1756] the Persians invested el-Básrah and besieged it closely, driving away the inhabitants, many of whom fled as far as Baghdâd. The Persians had also suspended an iron chain across the river. Thereupon the refugees wrote privately to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd soliciting his assistance. He accordingly prepared ten large ships belonging to the government, and a number of

smaller vessels, and dispatched ten thousand men in them against the Persians. When they reached the river of el-Básrah and saw the iron chain suspended across it, they forced the ship called *er-Rahmâny* against it and broke it. Then the Arabs, sword in hand, fell on the Persians and routed them, driving them out of el-Básrah, which the inhabitants reoccupied, the Imâm returning to Máskat with his ships.

When the King of the Rûm[1] heard of these proceedings he was highly pleased with the Imâm for having sided with his subjects of el-Básrah against the Persians, and he directed his governor at that place to pay a *kharâj*[2] to the Imâm, which was continued during the reign of his son the Seyyid Sultân, and also during that of his grandson Sâîd-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm.

Then certain Coolies took to plunder on the sea leading to Mangalore, which place at that time belonged to Tippoo, the Málik of the Nawwâb. In consequence of these piracies Máskat was deprived of rice, and the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd sent one of the notables of the el-Harth in his ship the *er-Rahmâny* to Mangalore. On his arrival there the people of the place were highly delighted, and the resident governor, on behalf of the Sultân, the Nawwâb, received him with great honour. (Delhi in India was at that time the capital of the Nawwâb, Tippoo's Sultân.) The el-Harthy having asked the governor of the town why supplies of rice had not reached 'Omân as usual, the governor informed him of the Coolies' proceedings on the sea. Thereupon the el-Harthy, having asked for a guide to the Coolies' retreat, proceeded thither with his followers, and when the two parties met there was a great fight between them in which the Amîr of the Coolies was slain. Thereby the way was reopened for rice to be sent from the place where it was produced to Man-

[1] That is, the Ottoman Sultan at Constantinople.

[2] *Kharâj* here probably means a subsidy.

galore; and the government and the people of Mangalore gave the el-Harthy many presents, and loaded his ship with rice and other articles for the Imâm, besides giving him some very valuable presents for himself.[1]

When intelligence of these events reached the Nawwâb's Málik, he sent a messenger to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd with many gifts. On his arrival at Máskat he proceeded to er-Rastâk, where he and his suite were honourably entertained by the Imâm. The messenger of the Nawwâb's Málik then requested that a spot should be allotted to him within the walls of Máskat whereon to erect a house for his master. Permission to that effect having been granted, he built the house known as the Nawwâb's, within the town; and he further entered into a covenant with the Imâm, on behalf of his Sultân, to aid the Imâm with men and money against his enemies.

[1] As the Imâm Ahmed died A.D. 1774 and Tippoo did not succeed his father Haidar 'Aly till 1778, the latter must have been on the throne of the Carnatic at the time. It is possible, however, that he may have been absent at this period, and that his son was acting for him at Mangalore. The cotemporary Moghul Emperor, whom our author styles "the Sultân, the Nawwab," was Shâh 'Alam, who in 1771 left the protection afforded him by the British at Allahabad and re-entered his capital at Delhi.

It is not easy to ascertain what particular pirates are alluded to in the narrative, but it is well known that powerful bands of them, composed of different castes, held several fortified positions on the coast to the northward of Mangalore. During Hamilton's time, A.D. 1688-1723, they appear to have confined their depredations to the north, "finding their richest prizes among the Mocha and Persia traders." Niebuhr, in 1764, mentions the "*Malvanes* [Malays?] *Sangerians* [Angrians?] and the *Kulis*, petty peoples inhabiting the coast," as being greatly addicted to plundering on the sea. Soowurndrooj, a fort on a small island seventy-eight miles south of Bombay, then held by the famous pirate Tulaji, successor to the still more famous Kanhojee Angria, who had acquired immense wealth in the same pursuit, was destroyed by a British fleet under Commodore James in 1755. It was then transferred to the Mahratta government, and devolved finally to the East India Company on the overthrow of the Peishwa in 1818.

The following is the account given me by the sheikh Maarûf-bin-Sâlim, es-Sâyighy, en-Nakhly, by the sheikh Khâtir-bin-Hamîd, el-Bedâ'iy, en-Nakhly, and by others who lived in those days, of the cause of the war which then arose between the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd and Muhammad-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muhammad-bin-'Adiy, el-Yaaruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, after their mutual covenant to be faithful to each other.[1] It appears that Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaaruby, made Seif-bin-Sultân, el-Yaaruby, the Sâhib of el-'Akr and one of the family of Murshid, his deputy whenever he went on business from Nakhl to the Wâdi of the Benu-Kharûs or to the mountains of the Benu-Riyâm. Now it so happened that Seif and Sultân, the two sons of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd, were disaffected towards their father's government, endeavouring to seduce his subjects from their allegiance, and intent on seizing the fort of Barkah from him. While staying in the fort of Nuamân-Barkah they sent to Seif-bin-Sultân, el-Yaaruby, Muhammad-bin-Suleiman, el-Yaaruby's deputy, (Muhammad being at that time in the Wâdi of the Benu-Kharûs), directing him to send one hundred of the men of Nakhl to them. He acceded to their request without consulting Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, and dispatched the men under the command of Khânjar-bin-Mas'ûd, the Sâhib of el-'Atîk. When they joined the Imâm's sons, the latter effected an entrance into the fort of Barkah by night and captured it, putting the Wâli and the garrison placed there by their father Ahmed to the sword.

The Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd, who was then at er-Rastâk, on hearing what had occurred marched to Barkah with a large force, first invested the fort, and then cannonaded it, reducing it to a mound, which, however, his two sons and their adherents continued to defend bravely, and none dared to approach them owing to the continuous fusillade which they kept up. Thereupon the Kâdhis of er-Rastâk inter-

[1] See p. 155.

vened to effect a reconciliation between the Imâm and his two sons Seif and Sultân, which was agreed to, on condition that the latter evacuated the battered fort, together with their companions. They accordingly came forth, the sons joining their father, who, at their solicitation, forgave them, and the men of Nakhl proceeding to their homes.

Then the Imâm made hostile preparations against Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, believing that the latter had violated the treaty which existed between them by assisting his sons Seif and Sultân with men to enable them to seize the fort. Such, however, was not the case: Muhammad-bin-Suleimân was not a consenting party in that transaction, neither was he present at Nakhl when his deputy, Seif-bin-Sultân, dispatched the men to the Imâm's sons; on the contrary, when he heard that the men had been sent he returned forthwith to Nakhl, and was extremely angry with Seif-bin-Sultân; but he was afraid to go to Barkah to excuse himself to the Imâm while the latter was engaged in hostilities with his two sons. However, on the Imâm's return to er-Rastâk, he wrote him a letter explaining how the case stood; but the Imâm would not accept his apologies.

Then the Imâm dispatched parties to Sind, who returned bringing with them a number of the Zidgâl.[1] He also raised levies from er-Rastâk and all the other parts of 'Omân, until he amassed a large army, with which he proceeded to Nakhl, and commenced cannonading the fort with guns and mortars. The Zidgâls were posted in the Beit-esh-Sharîhah, belonging to the Benu-'Azzân, and the camp of the remainder of the

[1] Niebuhr gives the following account of this sect, which he styles *Dsjedsjâl*:—"I was informed at Máskat that a famous ecclesiastic of Mekrân having assured his people that God would perform a great miracle if they cut down all the trees of a certain district, appointed a day for special prayer, after which the trees were felled, and in one of them was found a respectable old man, with a book in his hand, who became the founder of the sect. Such are the tales told on inquiring of one sect respecting the origin of another." *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 19.

force was towards Hasanain [or Hadhain]. Now, the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlih, er-Ruwâhy, and the sheikhs of the el-Mâ'âwal were opposed to this attack on Nakhl, being convinced that Muhammad-bin-Suleimân had done nothing to justify it; consequently, after the siege had been maintained for some time the sheikh 'Abdallah returned to his district, taking his men of the Benu-Ruwâhah with him. The sheikhs of the el-Mâ'âwal also returned home with their respective followings, without asking the permission of the Imâm, who was then at er-Rastâk; so that none of his army remained at Nakhl but the Zidgâls and the contingent from er-Rastâk. These began to cut down the date and other trees until they left scarcely any remaining. Then Muhammad-bin-Himyar, el-Ya'ruby, went to ezh-Zhâhirah to ask the Nizâriyyah on the part of Muhammad-bin-Suleimân to come to the assistance of Nakhl; but they showed cowardice and were not inclined to accede to the request. He then went on the same errand to the Benu-Nâim Arabs, whose sheikh at the time was Shâmis-bin-Muhammad-bin-Bayât, esh-Shâmisy, who gave his consent, and accompanied Muhammad-bin-Himyar with a thousand men of the Benu-Nâim and Kutb. On reaching Yabrîn each of these carried a couple of bags filled with straw on his camel. When they entered the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâhah, the latter thought they were laden with dates which they intended taking to Máskat for sale; but no sooner had they left the Wâdi than they cast the straw away, and, spurring their camels, entered el-Mátrah after sunset, taking the inhabitants by surprise, plundered the market and dwellings, and then retired with much booty towards their homes. At Safrâ-'l-Ijâl, on the ascent to Nakhl, the el-Mâ'âwal came out against them, but were repulsed; and on entering Nakhl they were surprised to find that all the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd's forces had left it. The cause of the departure of the Zidgâls and the men of er-Rastâk, who together had formed the Imâm's army

there, was as follows:—When, as we have already narrated, the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlih, er-Ruwâhy, had retired with his followers, as also the sheikhs of the el-Mâûwal and their men, none remaining before Nakhl but the Zidgâls and some of the people of er-Rastâk, who continued to do much mischief to the country by cutting down the date and other trees, a number of men from the Wâdi of the Benu-Ghâfir and also from the people of el-Hazm came to the assistance of Muhammad-bin-Suleimân. Thus timely reinforced, the latter attacked the er-Rastâk contingent and their allies the Zidgâls, who, on being surrounded by the assailants, asked for quarter, which was granted them, the conditions being that they should evacuate the Beit-esh-Sharihah and the towers, taking their arms with them. These terms being accepted they departed from Nakhl.

As to Shâmis-bin-Muhammad, en-Nâûmy, when he left Nakhl he went to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd at er-Rastâk, and begged pardon for his raid upon el-Mâtrah. Out of compassion for the people of 'Omân and the critical state of the country, agitated as it was by contentions, as also in consideration of the insecurity of the roads, which otherwise might be occupied by marauding Arabs to the injury of those who traversed them in search of profit; and, further, in order to arrest the shedding of blood by those lawless people—upon these and such like considerations the Imâm was induced to pardon him.

At this period the Imâm, hearing of the revolt of the el-Yaârubah of el-Hazm, whose chief at that time in succession to Zuhrân-bin-Seif was his brother Mâlik-bin-Seif, he mustered a force from er-Rastâk and elsewhere with which he surrounded their fort, and then opened fire upon it with his guns, but the shot did no damage, owing to the hardness of the stones and mortar of the building. The besiegers perceiving this were seized with disgust, and despairing of success many of them left without the permission of the

Imâm, who was still at er-Rastâk. When that circumstance became known to Mâlik-bin-Seif he went to the Benu-Nâîm, and begged Shâmis-bin-Muhammad, en-Nâîmy, to help him against the besiegers. Shâmis consented, taking with him a large number of the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb, and on reaching el-Hazm they fell upon the Imâm's investing army and put them to flight. Whereupon those of er-Rastâk returned thither, and the remainder went in parties to their respective homes.

Subsequently, a reconciliation was effected between the Imâm and the people of el-Hazm, each agreeing to abstain from molesting the other. The sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlih, er-Ruwâhy, also repaired to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd to get him to overlook his having abandoned the war at Nakhl and returned home without the Imâm's permission; but the latter ordered him to be bound and imprisoned in the Eastern fort. After he had been confined there a long time he bribed the garrison to release him of his bonds and allow him to escape; but they made out that he had got away without their knowledge. On reaching his home he forbore, through fear, to seek an interview with the Imâm. However, some time after, while the Imâm was at Azka, on the way towards 'Omân, the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlih, with several companions, went out to meet him and solicited his pardon. The Kâdhis and chiefs who were with the Imâm having pleaded for him, the Imâm consented to pardon him. This account respecting the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlih I have given in brief, through fear of prolixity.

Then Seif and Sultân, the Imâm Ahmed's sons, went to Máskat without their father's permission, and with the assistance of the sheikh Jabr-bin-Muhammad, el-Jabry, and a few men, Seif took possession of the Eastern, and Sultân of the Western fort, expelling the garrisons. A number of merchants and notables of the place paid their respects to the two brothers. When their father heard of these pro-

ceedings he marched to Máskat against them with a large force. On arriving there he determined to open fire upon them, but the Kâdhis of er-Rastâk having intervened a reconciliation was effected, on condition that the sons apologized to their father and promised to obey him in future, and that Seif should accompany his father wherever he went; the forts, however, were to remain in the hands of the two sons.

A year afterwards the Imâm went to Nezwa, taking his son Seif with him; but on leaving that place, and while at Bádbad, he bound him and conveyed him to Máskat. The Imâm had determined to attack the two forts, but the notables of er-Rastâk and some of the Máskat merchants having intervened it was arranged that the Western fort should be surrendered to the father, and that his two sons should retain the Eastern fort conjointly; further, that the Imâm should release his son from his bonds, and that the son should not be obliged to go about with his father against his own wishes. A reconciliation having been made on these terms, the Imâm took possession of the Western fort, the Eastern remaining in the keeping of his sons. Thereupon the former returned to er-Rastâk, and the latter to Nu'amân-Barkah,[1] where they mostly resided.

A year subsequent to this reconciliation between the Imâm and his sons, their brother Sâîd went to Habrâ, where he possessed many date-trees. His brothers Seif and Sultân, on hearing thereof, went to him from Nuâman, and remained with him a couple of days. When they were about to return they invited him to accompany them to a feast, but when they reached Nuâmân they bound him and conveyed him in a boat to Máskat, and then fortified themselves in the Eastern fort. When the Imâm heard of these proceedings he levied a large force from er-Rastâk and

[1] Incorrectly printed Na'amân-Barkah several times in the preceding pages.

other places and marched to Máskat, where he took up his residence on the Island, and wrote to his two sons to liberate their brother Sâîd. On their refusal he directed the soldiers in the Western fort to open fire upon the Eastern fort; he also erected a stockade against it, and ordered the ships to cannonade it on the east. The firing was kept up both by sea and land, and was returned at all points by the Eastern fort; but, notwithstanding the fierceness of the conflict, Seif and Sultân managed to receive supplies from Taiwa and Sûr, boats from those places bringing them dates, sheep and fruits. Owing to the duration of the war, and in dread of the shots from the guns, most of the Máskat people fled to Yety [?] and Karyât, and other places. The guns having demolished the western face of the Eastern fort, some of the Imâm's people attempted to storm it, but on reaching the first step leading to the fort they were driven back by a fusillade from the garrison, and several of them were killed. Then sheikh Jabr-bin-Muhammad, el-Jabry, went to es-Sîr and collected a great many men from Julfâr, whose Amîr was the sheikh Sákar-bin-Rákmah, el-Háwaly, and proceeding with them to er-Rastâk surrounded that place, to the great consternation of its inhabitants.

Now the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd had as a servant one of the people of Manh. This man was in the Eastern fort with Seif and Sultân, who had entrusted him to watch over their brother Sâîd. One dark cloudy night he went to Sâîd and asked him whether he would like to be restored to his father. On receiving an affirmative reply, he tied a rope to one of the guns in the fort, and, taking Sâîd on his back, descended. When they were within four ells of the ground the rope broke and they both fell. The Manh man then took Sâîd to his father, who resided on the Island, and knocking at the gate told the doorkeeper that he had brought Sâîd, the Imâm's son. The doorkeeper thereupon went to the Imâm's room, and knocking with the ring of the

door communicated the glad tidings. The Imâm came out hastily and met them both, and his son Sâîd having informed him of all that the Manh man had done in his behalf, the Imâm thanked the latter and invested him with a cloak.

When morning came, Seif and Sultân missed their brother, and seeing the rope tied to the gun they inferred that the Manh man had escaped with him to his father; nevertheless, this occurrence did not lessen their determination to persevere, and the war was carried on more briskly than ever. Eventually, their father offered them an amnesty, on condition that they evacuated the fort; that, however, they continued to refuse, until some one informed them that Ibu-Ráhmah, el-Háwaly, had invested er-Rastâk with 30,000 men, and had been joined by the Arabs of esh-Shamâl and those of Tawwâm in great numbers. Fearing that this combination might deprive them of the government and place it in the hands of their enemies, they decided on a reconciliation with their father, and sent word to him to that effect. His consent having been given, they left the fort with their followers, and had an interview with their father on the Island. The latter invested them with robes of honour, and behaved kindly to those who had been in the fort with them.

When Ibn-Ráhmah heard of the reconciliation between the Imâm and his sons Seif and Sultân, and that they were being entertained by him, he retired with his forces. Thereupon the Imâm returned to er-Rastâk, and Seif and Sultân went to Nuâmân.

A trustworthy person, whose narratives are universally believed owing to their strict integrity, informed me that when Seif and Sultân, the Imâm Ahmed's sons, seized their brother Sâîd and kept him bound in the Eastern fort, they sent to the merchants of Máskat and demanded some security of them for their persons and property. The merchants accordingly took the boxes in

which they kept their gold and silver; and delivering them to the two brothers said: "This is our security to you, and you may dispose of the pledge as you please." On the termination of hostilities between the Imâm and his two sons, the latter did not leave the fort until every one who had deposited a pledge in their hands received it back again untouched. God reward Seif and Sultân for having behaved with such praiseworthy uprightness during those distracted times!

Another authority, namely, the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Hâshimy, related the following as having occurred during the war between the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâid and his two sons Seif and Sultân. He said: "I was on very friendly terms with Seif, the Imâm's son, and had often corresponded with him. On arriving at Máskat from er-Rastâk, I called upon the Imâm, who was then residing on the Island, and found him sitting outside the house. I sat with him for about half an hour, and then asked permission to go and see his sons Seif and Sultân in the Eastern fort, which he readily accorded. I found matters in the fort in a dreadful state, owing to the shot which had reached it from sea and land. On seeing me, and before shaking hands, Seif shook his head. After I had shaken hands with the two brothers and had sat down with them, Seif said: 'O Khamîs, you find us in a deplorable condition, with a house destitute of everything. There is no excuse for one accounted liberal who does not treat a guest with liberality.' I replied 'I have not come to you in the hope of getting any silver or gold from you, especially while you are engaged in this disastrous revolt and siege; but I have come to look upon your generous faces, for my feet were put in motion by all that I heard of your proceedings, and by what has taken place during this siege, and I wished to know how far you deserved praise or blame in this affair. Thank God, I find you in health—a subject of joy to your friends and of grief to your enemies.

What excuse could I have found in the law of gratitude had I remained at home, after all your past kindness to me? By Allâh! the true friend is bound to visit his friends as well when they are in adversity as in prosperity.' I then quoted the words of the poet:

'Visit those you love, though your abode be distant,
And clouds and darkness have arisen between you;
For no obstacle ought to restrain a friend
From often visiting the friend he loves.'"

He went on to say: "I remained with them till the afternoon, and when I was coming away, Seif, the Imâm's son, followed me, and taking hold of the handle of his dagger he broke off six gold rings[1] therefrom, and presenting them to me said, 'Take these, Khamîs; and forgive your friend's shortcomings.' I rejoined: 'Were it not that I might vex you by so doing, I should certainly return these to you and then take my leave, after saluting you; for it is hardly befitting in a time like this, when every thing is in disorder and great changes are taking place through the destruction of property, that one should accept presents.' 'Say no more,' was his reply, 'but go in peace.' I then went to their father and detailed all that had occurred during my visit; he remarked, 'Such are they who are ambitious for glory,' and quoted these lines:—

'The ambitious man inherits madness,
And vexation rankles in his breast:
He looks in health and yet is sick;
He is in health and yet looks sick.'"

Respecting the war about el-Ghabby between the Imâm and Nâsir-bin-Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry,[2] I have to remark that it occurred ten years before the war between the Imâm and his sons Seif and Sultân, at Máskat; that,

[1] The hilts of the daggers worn by persons of rank in 'Omân are generally richly mounted with gold and jewelled rings.

[2] In the sequel he is sometimes styled Muhammad-bin-Nâsir.

again, was ten years before the war between the Imâm and Belârab-bin-Himyar.[1] The origin of the war between Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry was as follows:—

Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was reckoned one of the cleverest men among the Arabs. He inherited large possessions from his father, and owned much property in el-Bahrein, over which the Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif had appointed him Wâli when he took that island from the Persians.[2] On the death of the Imâm Sultân-bin-Seif and the disputes which arose among the el-Yaârubah, the Persians attacked el-Bahrein[3] with a large army and demanded the surrender of the castle called Arâda,[4] offering at the same time to pay Muhammad-bin-Nâsir any price which he chose to ask for it. Their proposal to him was this: "You were Wâli on behalf of Sultân-bin-Seif, but he is now dead and you can expect no aid either from his sons or the el-Yaârubah; hence, you had better accept from us any sum you like to name and return to your home." Nâsir, however, declined the offer, but as the siege was prolonged and he received no assistance from the el-Yaârubah, he eventually made peace with the Persians and surrendered the castle to them, retaining however all the property which he had acquired on the island, and receiving from the Persians a bunch of grapes made of gold. He then quitted the island for 'Omân, disembarking at es-Sîr, from whence he went to ezh-Zhâhirah. On reaching el-Ghabby, all the Nizâriyyah paid their respects to him and he became their head. He then requested permission to build a house at 'Aincin,[5] near the source of the stream,

[1] See p. 166 *et seq.* [2] See p. 94.

[3] During the reign of Seif-bin-Sultân. The capture of the island is referred to at p. 142.

[4] 'Arâda is the name of one of the small islands off el-Bahrein, from which they are only separated at very high tides. There is still a fort on 'Arâda.

[5] Probably Wellsted's "Inan," not far from 'Obry, which he describes as a small town with a fort, the residence of a sheikh

but as they refused he did not press the matter until the government of the el-Yaârubah was overthrown and 'Omân fell into the hands of the glorious Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, and none of the el-Yaârubah remained to oppose him after the death of Belârab-bin-Himyar. Nâsir-bin-Muhammad then contracted an alliance [by marriage] with the Imâm, and became most intimate with him, always manifesting the most devoted loyalty to him. Finding that the Imâm always treated him with great consideration, he remarked to him one day: "I do not know why I have made over the fort of el-Ghabby to any other but yourself, seeing that you are the Imâm of all 'Omân." The latter replied: "I do not wish any disputes to arise between me and the people of ezh-Zhâhirah, more especially since you have become my brother-in-law, and they have placed you at their head." To this Nâsir rejoined: "I do not like matters to remain as they are; what I want is that you should have the fort of el-Ghabby, for if you hold it none of the people of the ezh-Zhâhirah will be able to withstand you. Therefore send one of your Wâlis with me and I will make the fort over to him." The Imâm accordingly dispatched Muhammad-bin-'Âmir, el-Bû-Sâîdy, with him, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir put him in possession of the fort of el-Ghabby, saying: "Do not be afraid, for I will support you with men and money." Muhammad-bin-'Âmir's impartial administration soon excited the displeasure of the demagogues, who accordingly complained of him to Nâsir-bin-Muhammad. The latter replied: "By Allâh! the Wâli has only done what is just and right; but you are a revolting set and do not like justice and uprightness, and whoever befriends you is sure to acquire your enmity. I wanted to build a house in el-'Ainein, with my own money not yours, on my own land not on yours, that it might be a safeguard to you, but you refused. I apprise you that I am wholly on the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd's side: whosoever among you obeys him is my friend;

whoever opposes him is my enemy.'* Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, moreover, used to repair frequently to the Imâm for the purpose of indicating to him which of the tyrants he wished to have bound. Having by this means greatly weakened their power, they eventually consented to his building a house at el-'Ainein. When the house was completed and he had occupied it, he went to the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd, taking with him the remainder of those whom he feared, and said to the Imâm: "You have no enemies left in ezh-Zhâhirah except these whom I have brought to you. Bind and imprison them, and do not let them escape, for, if they are put out of the way, all ezh-Zhâhirah will submit to you." The Imâm followed his advice.

On reaching Dáfá-'l-Audiyah, on his return home, Nâsir-bin-Muhammad said to the el-Miyâyahah, "The Imâm is intent on our destruction, of which I have a foreboding, for when I went to him with the friends So-and-So he showed me no respect, but bound them, while I and my followers contrived to escape. For my part, I have determined to wage war upon him, and if you are of the same mind put the towers of your Wâdis in order and make inroads on er-Rastâk, and I will support you with men and money." They accordingly agreed to revolt against the Imâm, and began to work at their towers day and night until they completed them. On reaching el-Ghabby, Nâsir addressed similar words to the people there, and when they had agreed to take up arms against the Imâm he wrote to Ibn-Ráhmah to join him with his troops, and informed him in a letter how matters stood. On the arrival of the latter with five hundred men he stirred up the people to attack the Wâli, unless he surrendered the fort, and held a consultation with them on that score at el-'Ainein. This coming to the Wâli's ears he repaired to el-'Ainein and found them, bristling with arms, collected round Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, and inquired of the latter what the meeting meant. Nâsir replied that he and

his party intended to attack him, unless he surrendered the fort to them, adding that there was no time to be lost. The Wâli asked three days' delay, at the expiration of which he would either surrender the fort or fight; but on finding that he was quite unable to cope with them he surrendered the fort on the same day, and then set out with his soldiers to the Imâm, to whom he reported the whole affair. Thereupon the Imâm ordered his son Hilâl to march with a strong force to Dáfa'-'l-Audiyah and to destroy all the towers erected by the el-Miyâyahah, and afterwards the fort of el-Karty, which belonged to the esh-Shakîl. He also wrote to Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, to dispatch men from thence under the command of Muhammad-bin-Himyar, el-Yaáruby. He also sent parties on a similar errand to the tribes of 'Omân, to the esh-Sharkiyyah and Jaálân, to the Amîrs of the Belooches, and to the people of Mekrân, and to the Zidgâl.

In the meantime Hilâl, the Imâm's son, marched with his force to Dáfa'-'l-Audiyah and destroyed all the towers of the el-Miyâyahah. On reaching el-Karty he asked to have an interview with the garrison of the fort, which was refused. He then sent Muhammad-bin-Himyar to them with offers of immunity, if they surrendered. By Muhammad's advice they agreed and accompanied him to Hilâl, the Imâm's son, whereupon some of his men fell on them and killed every one of them, twelve in number, all belonging to the family of Farkh-er-Rîh, of the Benu-Shakîl, the most devoted adherents of Nâsir-bin-Muhammad. The Benu-Ghâfir attributed their death to Muhammad-bin-Himyar, alleging that but for him not one of them would have lost his life. This incident, therefore, confirmed them in their hatred to the el-Yaárubah, and their animosity was not satiated until they eventually killed Seif-bin-Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaáruby, at el-Karty, during the war of the el-Miyâyahah and the Benu-Kelbân at that place.

When Hilâl, the Imâm's son, had arranged matters with the el-Miyâyahah and the people of el-Karty, and had demolished the fort of the latter, he returned to his father, whom he found at Sohâr, where a large force had joined him from the country between Nezwa as far as the esh-Sharkiyhah and Jaalân, Arabs and Hadhr, Yemeniyyahs and Nizâriyyahs, all of whom sided with him. The Imâm then marched with them from Sohâr to Yankal, but when he insisted on their going on with him from es-Salîf to el-Ghabby —it was then the height of summer—some of the tribes suggested delay, in order that the army might rest, for most of them travelled on foot, but he refused. Proceeding onward with his force, the two armies met at Sîh-et-Táyyab, when the Imâm's ranks were broken, and only the Zidgâls, the Beloochs, and the Âl-Wahîbah remained to encounter the enemy. These were all slain, and most of the runaway force having lost their way died of thirst on the road. The Imâm, accompanied only by his son Hilâl, succeeded in reaching Nezwa by Nejd-el-Hadîd; his followers who managed to reach el-Ghabby received kindly treatment from Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, by whom they were sent back to their respective homes. A reconciliation took place subsequently between the Imâm and his brother-in-law Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, and they entered into a solemn covenant to be true to each other. This treaty of peace was maintained until the death of Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, whereupon the chiefs of ezh-Zhâhirah renewed and ratified the covenant between the Imâm and Seif-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad [Nâsir's son].

The Imâm Ahmed was a most liberal man in every respect: he never listened to those who attempted to slander his friends, and he never questioned the accounts of any of his Wakîls. The bare statement of the latter that they had expended so much and had received *kharâj* to such an amount was accepted by him; if any thing was due by him

he paid it at once. One of his Wakîls, a man of er-Rastâk —I think he was of the family of el-Hally—came to him on a certain occasion—it was on the 8th of el-Hijj, A.H. 1170, [24th August, 1757], and reported that he had expended one thousand silver *Mahmûdis* for his, the Imâm's, household. The Imâm forthwith ordered one of his slaves to go to the house and bring him one of the bags labelled one thousand silver *Mahmûdis;* the man went and brought a bag which contained one thousand *Máshkhases*[1] in gold. When the Wakîl opened it and found that a mistake had been made he returned with it to the Imâm, whereupon the latter inquired how much the bag contained. On being told that it contained one thousand gold *Máshkhases*, he said: "It is God's bounty; therefore be grateful to Him for the gift." So the Wakîl retained the money and thanked the Imâm for his liberality.

Another instance to the same effect is as follows:—The Imâm had appointed Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, el-Ruwâhy, who was a poor man at the time, Wakîl over the property of Nuâmân-Barkah. Two years after, Rabîâah began to purchase property on his own account, as also date-trees at Barkah and el-Jau. This fact having been reported to the Imâm, when the latter came to Nuâmân from er-Rastâk on his way to Máskat, he said to Rabîâah: "Is it true as people say that out of this agency you have managed to purchase property in the town of Barkah and in the towns of el-Jau and Nakhl?" The other replied: "O Imâm, I found a treasure and with it was enabled to purchase the property." "Where did you find it?" rejoined the Imâm. "Just where you are standing," replied Rabîâah. The Imâm, comprehending at once his figurative speech, smiled and said: "It is God's bounty towards you; so thank God for it and praise Him for His goodness to you."

In fine, the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâid was most liberal and

[1] *Máshkhas* is the Arabic name for the Venetian sequin.

generous, and his diligence and perseverance were very great. He died in the fort of er-Rastâk, on Wednesday, in the month of Dzul-Kaʼadah, A.H. 1188 [January 1775], leaving seven male children, namely:—

1. Hilâl.
2. Saʼid.
3. Kais.
4. Seif.
5. Sultân.
6. Tâlib.
7. Muhammad.

Also three daughters, whose names I forbear mentioning, for propriety's sake. He was buried on the west of the fort of er-Rastâk, and his son Sâid built a fine dome over the grave, which is a *Mazâr*[1] up to the present time.

On the death of the Imâm Ahmed the heads of the inhabitants of er-Rastâk and other people of 'Omân assembled together and ratified the Imâmate to his son Sâid-bin-Ahmed. They had wished to confer it on his brother Hilâl, he being the eldest and most intelligent of the late Imâm's sons; but he suffered from a cataract in his eyes which deprived him of sight, and he went to Sind to be cured. He remained in Sind for some time and died there. His grave, which is covered with a dome, is well known at Diyûl.[2]

SAʼÎD-BIN-EL-IMÂM-AHMED,

BIN-SAʼÎD-BIN-AHMED-BIN-MUHAMMAD,

EL-BÛ-SAʼÎDY, EL-YÉMENY, EL-AZDY.

This Imâm was renowned for bravery; he was, moreover, eloquent, a great admirer and a good judge of poetry, had a mind well stored with poetical imagery, was never tedious

[1] Literally, a Place of Visitation. These *Mazârs* are occasionally visited with the view of paying honour to the deceased, or for the purpose of urging some special petition, in the persuasion that the merits of the departed will insure a favourable reception of the prayers which are offered up there. Lane gives a detailed account of the mode of such visitations in Egypt. *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 53-56.

[2] This name occurs at p. 88, where it undoubtedly stands for the island of Diu in Guzerat.

but always pointed in his discourse. On the death of his father, Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, all the fortresses of 'Omân were made over to him, with the exception of those at el-Hazm, Nakhl and Yabrîn. He appointed his brother Kais governor of Sohâr, and he was generally upright in his administration. After his election he invaded the district of es-Sirr several times and slew a great many of the Benu-Ghâfir. He also invaded el-Hamrâ and killed the sheikh of the el-'Abertain. The people of 'Omân stood in great awe of him. Like his father he resided at er-Rastâk, and he appointed Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl, Wâli of Máskat.

One year he went to Nezwa and remained there several days. The occasion was as follows:—He had heard that the people of that place were in correspondence with the learned sheikh Abu-Nebhân-Jâ'id-bin-Khamîs-bin-Mubârak-bin-Yáhya-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad-bin-Hayâ-bin-Zaid-bin-Mansûr-bin-Khalîl-bin-Shâdzân-bin-es-Salt-bin-Mâlik, el-Khalily, el-Kharûsy, el-Yáhmady, el-Ghassâny, el-Azdy, el-Kahtâny, complaining of his [the Imâm's] conduct, and laying things to his charge which were not true. But some of them were true, and were the common talk throughout 'Omân. One was that Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed was acting just as he had done when his father made him Wâli over Nezwa; in fact, that he was behaving worse there and elsewhere in 'Omân, through the medium of his officials. What they principally referred to was this:—When the Imâm Ahmed, during his administration, made his son Sâîd governor of Nezwa, Sâîd wished to set up a monopoly for the dyeing in indigo there, and erected a building where he obliged all dyers to dye, and forbade them to dye elsewhere without his permission, and unless they paid him a certain tax. At that period the most eminent man at Nezwa was the learned sheikh Sâîd-es-Sâyighy; so the heads of the people went to him and informed him of the matter. The sheikh accordingly accompanied them to the market-place,

and seeing that the monopolist had set up his implements for dyeing in indigo he sent for him and ordered him to remove his utensils, threatening to destroy them unless he did so. The man obeyed, but repaired forthwith to Sâîd, who was at that time in the fort of Nezwa, and apprised him of what had occurred. Sâîd broke out into imprecations against the people of Nezwa, and went to his father, who was then at er-Rastâk, and complained to him of their disloyalty, but forbore telling him of his newly-invented monopoly of the indigo-dyeing. The Imâm remarked: "I presume you have introduced some illegal novelty at Nezwa, and the people there have contended with you about it." Letters from the heads of the people of Nezwa subsequently reached the Imâm reporting what his son Sâîd had done: how he had established a monopoly for the dyeing in indigo, and allowed no one to dye except with his permission. Thereupon the Imâm declared that he should not return to Nezwa, as he was not fit to be Wâli there or over any other town in 'Omân, and the Imâm accordingly appointed another person in his place, who acted justly towards the inhabitants. [Such were the antecedents of this affair.]

On receiving the complaints of the people of Nezwa, as above stated, the sheikh Jâ'id-bin-Khamîs[1] repaired to Nezwa, accompanied by a few of his men, to examine into the truth of their statements. He and his men were introduced by the people into the Hujrah of el-'Akr by night, unknown to the Imâm Sâîd, who was at that time in the fort. After they had located him there, however, the inhabitants began to lose courage, and they commenced blaming one another for what had been done. It was finally resolved that the best thing they could do was to get the sheikh and his party out of the Hujrah before the Imâm heard of his

[1] In the preceding paragraph this sheikh is first styled Abu-Nebhân, the Father of Nebhan, Nebhan being the name of his eldest son. See note 1, p. 106.

being there. While they were debating this point, an old woman named 'Omariyyah, of the Benu-'Obaidân, went to the sheikh Jâ'id-bin-Khamîs and apprised him of the resolution which the people of Nezwa had formed, and suggested that he should quit the Hujrah before the Imâm became aware of his presence. She said to him: "I am apprehensive on your account, for you have only a few men with you; you are virtually a prisoner in the Hujrah, and the people of Nezwa who were on your side are now turned against you." Even before this warning, however, the suspicions of the sheikh Jâ'id had been aroused by the discussions which he overheard among the garrison of the Hujrah, one of whom went and informed the Imâm that same night—he was then in the fort—that sheikh Jâ'id had entered the Hujrah, and that the people of Nezwa seemed disposed to swerve from their allegiance to him and give it to the sheikh. On hearing this, the Imâm descended from the fort by a rope, unknown to any one, and mounting his camel set out for esh-Sharkiyyah, where he levied a large force of Arabs and Hadhr. In the mean time sheikh Jâ'id, suspecting the fidelity of the garrison, left the Hujrah that same night and returned to his house at el-'Alyâ. When the Imâm Sâid came with his army from esh-Sharkiyyah to Nezwa, the people attempted to excuse themselves by saying that the sheikh had entered the Hujrah without their permission; but the Imâm would not be appeased, and marched to Sémed-el-Kindy, drove out its garrison, his soldiers seizing from the Hujrah at that place whatever they could lay hands on, leaving neither utensils, nor arms, nor dates, nor any thing else which they could carry off, the fugitives taking refuge in the Jebel-el-Akhdar. Some time after, the inhabitants of Sémed-el-Kindy went to the Imâm and assured him that they were not aware of the entrance of sheikh Jâ'id into the Hujrah of el-'Akr until after its garrison had driven him out. On receiving a renewal of their vows of obedience and loyalty the Imâm

pardoned them, and they returned to their homes and restored what had been destroyed. His conduct towards these people was probably owing to their having resisted his indigo-dyeing monopoly, and the measures which he had taken to establish the innovation at Nezwa; but God knows.

But besides the above, the Imâm began to introduce many other innovations, to the detriment of his subjects, which made him obnoxious to the people of 'Omân generally, and their chiefs eventually took counsel together to confer the Imâmate upon his brother Kais. This course was agreed upon at a meeting held at el-Masnâah, at which Kais and his brothers Seif, Sultân, and Muhammad were also present. From thence they proceeded to er-Rastâk and encamped at Kasra, where they summoned the Imâm Sâîd to appear before them; he refused, but sent them a repast, and as the utensils were being removed he opened fire upon them from the guns of the fort, which drove them away, and all returned to their respective homes.

Two years later a similar meeting was held by the representatives of the people of 'Omân to raise Kais, the son of the Imâm Ahmed, to the Imâmate. They accordingly took Kais to Nakhl, then under the governorship of Muhammad-bin-Sulciman-bin-'Adiy, el-Yaâruby, who sent a lad out to them with food, but refused to have an interview with them. Thereupon they left Nakhl and dispersed, each one going to his home.

When Hâmed [the Imâm Sâîd's son] saw that the people of 'Omân hated his father and were disgusted with his proceedings, and moreover that his father persisted in his unlawful innovations, he secretly conceived the idea of obtaining possession of all the strongholds of 'Omân which were under his father's authority, not forcibly, but by stratagem, and in such a way as should not raise his father's suspicions. This design, however, he disclosed to no one.

Hâmed was endowed with all the astuteness of an Arab,

and did not communicate his secret except to his most intimate friends, and to them only in part. So he became very liberal to the people of 'Omân, and took to interceding in behalf of those whom his father intended to wrong, to remonstrate with him on his improper proceedings, and to associate with the learned and devout. This course proved eminently successful, for in time the people of 'Omân began to prefer him to his father, and became strongly attached to him. It is probable, moreover, that some of the chiefs of 'Omân gave him to understand privately, that if he attempted to assume the government and authority then held by his father they would obey him without hesitation. To all these overtures he used to reply: "That cannot be: you must apply to some one else; the bare mention of such a thing is loathsome to me; moreover, all the people of 'Omân are deceitful and are not to be trusted." Afterwards, however, he used to send presents to those who had made the suggestions. He was always on the watch for a favourable opportunity to usurp his father's authority, and thought he had found one when hostilities broke out between the people of el-Yamn and the Nizâr, the inhabitants of Azka. As the war between these parties was prolonged, Hámed suggested to his father to go and quell the disturbance. His father agreed, and having levied a large force from er-Rastâk and other places he went to Azka, taking his two sons Hámed and Ahmed with him. On reaching Nejd-es-Sahâmah he proceeded from thence to esh-Sharkiyyah, and collected a considerable number of the Arabs and Hadhr, but the greater part of his force consisted of Arabs. When they arrived at Azka they were attacked by the Nizâr, and there was a great battle between them, which ended in the defeat of the Nizâr, a great number of whom were killed. Then peace was made between the latter and the people of el-Yamn, through the mediation of the Imâm Sâid.

When the Imâm was about to leave Azka for er-Rastâk

his son Hámed said to him: "We now know all about the affair of Azka, and what has occurred there; but what about Máskat? You say that you have made Muhammad-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy, the Wâkîl, governor there. And I have heard that Muhammad has removed the soldiers which you left in the Eastern and Western forts, and has, on his own behalf, placed Subaih, edh-Dhubâny, in the Eastern, and Mas'ûd-bin-el-Bârihy in the Western fort; you may believe that he is acting as your Wâli, but the fact is far different." His father replied: "I do not believe that Muhammad-bin-Khalfân has exchanged the garrisons in the forts without some good reason; for what he who is present sees, he who is absent cannot see. Moreover, I have no suspicion that Muhammad-bin-Khalfân would do any thing to our disadvantage, for, in reality, he is nothing more than one of our Wâlis." Hámed rejoined: "If such is your opinion, send a messenger to him with a letter, under your own hand, directing him to forward you a supply of money and rice for your large force. If he obeys, you may infer that he is a loyal Wâli and vicegerent; if he refuses, you will know that he is what I have represented him to be." To this his father consented. Then Hámed wrote to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, without his father's knowledge, and dispatched the letter before his father's messenger left. The letter was to this effect: "Don't forward any thing to my father: he has succeeded in his wishes at Azka, but he has not disbanded his force, and he intends to attack you and to dispossess you, certain persons having excited his suspicions because you have changed the garrisons; also because you have purchased a number of slaves, and for your kindness to Subaih, edh-Dhubâny, in having placed him over the Eastern fort, and for having ordered that whenever he came on a visit to you, or traversed the streets of Máskat, he should be preceded and followed by a party of soldiers. Further, that you have shown great favour to Mas'ûd, el-

Bârihy, by putting him in charge of the Western fort, and allowing him to wear a turban of Cashmere shawls. There can be no doubt that if you send my father what he has applied for, he will come with his horse and foot and depose you from your governorship, even if you escape death." Now all this was a snare and stratagem on Hámed's part to gain his own ends. His letter arrived before that of his father, and on reading it Muhammad considered it as a proof of sincere affection on the part of a true friend. So, when the messenger arrived with the letter from the Imâm Sâîd, he said to him: "Return to the Imâm and tell him that Muhammad-bin-Khalfân has nothing belonging to him. That is my reply to his letter."

When the messenger returned to the Imâm and repeated what Muhammad-bin-Khalfân had said, the Imâm took his son Hámed aside by the hand and said: "You were right, my son, in what you stated about Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, for he has refused to forward what I asked for." He then related to him all that the messenger had stated. Thereupon Hámed went on to say: "Father, I did not like to tell you, but it was the truth; for I have persons at Máskat who inform me of all his proceedings. You have been so absorbed in the affairs of Azka that you have overlooked Máskat; but do not flatter yourself that it is yours." The Imâm rejoined: "My son, what is our best course with him?" The other answered: "Send your son, my brother Ahmed, to reprove him and to see how the case really stands, in order that we may find out what his secret intentions are towards us. Let Ahmed bring us his answer, and let us not leave Azka for er-Rastâk or elsewhere until his return." Sâîd having decided to follow this suggestion, Hámed wrote to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, without his father's knowledge, to the following effect: "When my brother Ahmed reaches you, bind and imprison him before he has time to bind and imprison you; by so doing you will put an end to his envy

of you and his hankering after Máskat." He sent the letter by one of his most intimate friends, and it reached Muhammad-bin-Khalfân before Ahmed. When the latter arrived, Muhammad imprisoned him in the hall of the Island, but his attendants fled back to Azka. When they informed the Imâm of what Muhammad-bin-Khalfân had done to his son Ahmed, his face changed colour and he said to his son Hámed: "This is the result of your kind suggestion; Muhammad-bin-Khalfân has imprisoned your brother and bound him in the hall on the Island—an infamous outrage on his part." His son Hámed replied: "Father, I suggest that we go to Máskat with one hundred men, not more, and halt at Ríwa, and from thence I will go forward to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and, God willing, will release Ahmed and bring him to you." His father rejoined: "Hámed, is not one enough without your becoming another? Because your brother has fallen into the snare, do you wish to fall into it also?" Hámed replied: "Father, be under no apprehension, and let me have my own way in this matter;" adding much more to the same effect. Thereupon Hámed sent a letter to Muhammed-bin-Khalfân, in which he wrote: "When this my letter reaches you, assemble the people of Máskat and el-Mátrah, together with your attendants and soldiers, and station yourself at Sîh-el-Harmel, and on hearing that we have reached Ríwa send a letter by a messenger to my father, saying: "if you wish your son to be liberated, let your son Hámed come to me—I pledge his safety—and you and your followers remain at Ríwa, for if you take one step in advance beyond that, I will attack you with my horse and foot. Salâm." Accordingly, when the messenger with Hámed's letter arrived, Muhammad collected together the people of Máskat and el-Mátrah—the fighting and non-fighting men—also his soldiers and slaves, making in all a large force of horse and foot, and encamped with them at Sîh-el-Harmel.

When the Imâm Sâid and his son Hámed and their

attendants reached Ríwa, the watchmen at es-Sedd and the people of the place informed them of the great number of horse and foot which Muhammad-bin-Khalfân had assembled, and that he was posted with them at Sîh-el-Harmel. Thereupon the Imâm Sâîd and his retinue remained at Ríwa, while Hámed went forward to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân. On meeting they clasped hands, Muhammad treating Hámed with great cordiality. He then said to him: "I have not thwarted your wishes, O Hámed, because of your father's designs against me, as revealed in your letter." Hámed replied: "I merely told you the truth; be good enough to release my brother Ahmed, and thereupon we shall return to er-Rastâk. As to yourself, remain in your appointment, which no one will interfere with. God willing, I will come back to you after our return to er-Rastâk, and will settle all these difficulties and make peace between you and my father." Muhammad consented and forthwith set Ahmed at liberty.

Some days after, Hámed said to his father: "Have you thought of any scheme for depriving Muhammad-bin-Khalfân of his post, and for seizing the fortifications which he holds, without having recourse to hostilities?" The Imâm replied: "No; that is beyond any human power now, seeing that Muhammad-bin-Khalfân is firmly established and possesses great resources, as also vast wealth; but it would be quite excusable to employ stratagem against him." Hámed rejoined: "If I devise a stratagem and succeed in seizing what he holds, will you promise to commit the same to my hands; and, further, will you consign over to me all the forts of 'Omân which your right hand has acquired, save the fort of er-Rastâk, and I on my part will be loyal to you and do whatsoever is right in the sight of God?" His father answered: "Yes; for why should I refuse to promise what you have asked, seeing that whatever is yours is mine?" Hámed replied: "Very well; I will set out for Máskat, and should a messenger reach you with a letter from me hasten

thither with all the troops you can levy." This being agreed to, Hámed started, accompanied by one hundred men, taking with him a large sum of money. On reaching Máskat his followers remained near the Island while he went on to the house of the Wakîl, Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, where his son Muhammad-bin-Khalfân also resided. When he reached the room where the latter was sitting with some company, Khalfân and his son went forward to greet him, and then ordered a repast to be prepared. The repast over, Hámed said to Khalfân-bin-Muhammad: "I have come to adjust all differences between my father and your son Muhammad. Let your son pay to my father Sâîd so much annually, and then no one shall interfere with the proceeds of the appointments which he holds." Both having agreed to that arrangement, Hámed then asked their permission to remain in Máskat for three days. "The town is yours to remain in as long as you please," was their reply. After prayers, Hámed begged them to make ready for him a part of the house known as the Nawwâb's. It was accordingly duly furnished with fine carpets and a supply of provisions, and Hámed and his followers went to reside there. The night following, he took half of the money which he had brought with him and fifty of his men and went to the Eastern fort. On reaching the outer gate he called for Subaih, edh-Dhubâny, the commandant of the garrison, who came down and admitted him and his followers into the fort. He then addressed the commandant in these words: "Subaih, you have been ungrateful for my father's kindness to you while you were at er-Rastâk and have become our enemy. Has blindness led you to act thus, O Subaih? My father sends his regards to you and has given me this money for you, and has ordered me to remain in the fort with my followers until he and his followers come to Máskat. He has further ordered that you should disobey Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, who is merely one of our Wakîls, because he has insulted us; hence, you are

not to carry out his instructions in any matter connected with the administration. Should he come to the fort, or anyone on his behalf, you must refuse to admit them, and should they attempt to force an entrance you must open fire upon them with musketry and cannon." To all this Subaih assented.

Having succeeded so perfectly with Subaih, Hámed descended from the fort alone, leaving his attendants behind him, and went to the Nawwâb's house for the remainder, whom he conducted to the Western fort. (The Western fort was then held, on behalf of Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, by Mas'ûd-bin-Ahmed, el-Bârihy, with whom Hámed had corresponded before he came to Máskat.) When he reached the outer gate and announced himself, the doorkeeper went to inform Mas'ûd, who forthwith gave orders for his admission, together with his men, remarking that the fort was Hámed's, and that they were his subjects, and that Muhammad-bin-Khalfân was merely one of the government agents. On entering the fort Hámed said to Mas'ûd: "My father sends you his best regards, and gave me this money for you," etc., just as he had said to Subaih in the Eastern fort. Mas'ûd having agreed to carry out these instructions, Hámed left his fifty men in the Western and went back alone to the Eastern fort. All this was done by Hámed during the night of the day after his arrival at Máskat.

Now, that same night Mâjid-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad happened to be near the Island, on the way to his father Khalfân's house, intending to put his brother Muhammad-bin-Khalfân on his guard against Hámed. He saw the latter near the *Karkhânah*[1] coming from the Western fort, with his head enveloped in a cloth, so that nobody might recognize him; he was also walking very fast. This excited his suspicions, but, not being certain whether it was Hámed or not,

[1] A workshop or factory.

he followed until he saw him enter the Eastern fort, which convinced him that he had not mistaken the man. He accordingly repaired to his father's house, and on meeting his father and brother told them all that had occurred, and assured them that the individual he saw was Hámed. "Lay aside all such speeches," said his brother Muhammad; "for Hámed is my friend and I am in all his secrets." Mâjid replied: "If you doubt my word, come with me to the Nawwâb's house, and if we find Hámed and his followers there I will confess myself in the wrong; but if we do not find them there, know that I am right." They accordingly took one hundred men and repaired to the Nawwâb's house, which they found occupied by the furniture and domestic utensils only. This convinced Muhammad that all Hámed's dealings with him were so many manœuvres on his part; and, further, that they had been successful. At dawn the following day Muhammad assembled all his slaves and soldiers and marched with them to the Eastern fort, but on their approach they were assailed with musketry and cannon. He then proceeded towards the Western fort, but when they reached the *Karkhânah*, Hámed and Mas'ûd's followers opened fire upon them with muskets. Muhammad thereupon returned to his house and gave up all hope of retaining Máskat and its fortifications.

As to Hámed, on his return from the Western to the Eastern fort, he wrote at once to his father Saîd requesting him to join him without delay. Saîd accordingly levied a strong force from er-Rastâk and other places and hastened to Máskat. On his arrival there he put up on the Island and sent for his son to come to him. As soon as the messenger reached him, Hámed ordered a salute to be fired from all the guns, and all the flags to be hoisted, and the report of the cannon from the forts, walls, and ships resounded on all sides. When Hámed met his father they clasped hands and he gave him all the news. Then the merchants and notables

of Máskat and el-Mátrah came to pay their respects; Khalfân and all his sons also came and saluted the Imâm Sâîd and his son Hámed, which the latter returned courteously. When they were seated, however, Hámed said to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân: "We have deposed you from the governorship, but we forgive your past misdeeds and your crimes against us, and we give you our assurance of protection." Thereupon both parties covenanted to be faithful to each other, and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and his brothers returned home with their father. Subsequently, Hámed sent for Suleimân-bin-Khalfân and appointed him Wâli of Máskat in his brother's place. The Imâm Sâîd only remained three days longer at Máskat and then went back to er-Rastâk, which thereafter he made his principal residence, always returning thither from any trips which he made in 'Omân; but the administration of affairs was now wholly in the hands of his son Hámed.

Such is the account of the transfer of the government of Omân from the Imâm Sâîd to his son

HÁMED-BIN-EL-IMÂM-SA'ÎD,

BIN-EL-IMÂM-AHMED-BIN-SA'ÎD,

EL-BÛ-SA'ÎDY.

When Hámed had taken possession of Máskat from Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, and his father Sâîd had made over to him all the forts of 'Omân which were under his authority, all the notables of 'Omân paid their respects to him. He, on his part, treated them with great courtesy, and administered the government with uprightness and justice. The tribes held him in great awe, and God prospered him in all his undertakings. He patronized men of learning and piety, and abolished tyranny and oppression. Among the number of his intimate friends were the learned and devout sheikh, the Kâdhi Mubârak-bin-'Abdallah, en-Nézawy; the sheikh

Sulẹimân-bin-Nâsir, el-Muhállaly; the sheikh Ahmed-bin-Nâsir, el-Harâsy; the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Hâshimy; the sheikh Fadhl, el-Yáhmady; the sheikh Muhammad, el-Aâma, and many others.

Hámed made Máskat his residence, only leaving it whenever he had business to transact in 'Omân. When hostilities broke out between the el-Màâwal and the people of Nakhl, owing to the latter having demolished the Hujrah of el-Janâh which belonged to the former, Hámed backed the el-Màâwal with men and money. Subsequently, however, he intervened to effect a reconciliation between them. The learned took counsel about his having taken the part he did in this matter, and as the decision was that the party against whom he acted had been in the wrong, they exacted no penalty from him, especially as he had atoned for any irregularity which he may have committed.

Another account of this affair is that when Hámed decided on making war upon Nakhl he collected the Arabs of Jaàlân, namely, the Benu-Hásan and their allies, and joining thereunto the Arabs of the coast and the people of er-Rastâk and other Hadhr, he marched with his force upon Nakhl, accompanied by the el-Màâwal, but was repulsed. On his return to Barkah he sent for the sheikhs of the el-Jibûr and those of the el-Hikmân and en-Nawâfil, and when they arrived he directed them to bring the Wâli of Nakhl to him. (The Wâli at the time was Muhenna-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaàruby.) They accordingly wrote to him to that effect, and he set out accompanied by some of the men of Nakhl. On reaching the 'Akabah of et-Tan, he met the above-named sheikhs with a large retinue, and they conducted him to Barkah, where peace was made between him and Hámed, and a proclamation was issued by beat of drum that the people of Nakhl were amnestied. Hámed then permitted Muhenna to return to Nakhl and promised to follow him shortly, in order to adjust matters between him and his neighbours the el-

Mââwal. When he subsequently repaired thither, he and his suite put up at Sabârat-Hábashy, where he assembled the el-Mââwal and the Benu-Muhállal and effected a reconciliation between them. After partaking of a hospitable feast prepared for them by Muhenna, Hámed and his followers and all the other guests dispersed, each returning to his home.

Two days after, Hámed went alone by night from Barkah to Nakhl, only one of his most intimate friends being apprised of his journey. He reached Nakhl before dawn, and securing his camel near the mosque of Jâzy, he took his arms with him and went and stood on the door-step of the fort, none of the garrison being aware of his presence. At daybreak, as one of Muhenna's slaves, named edz-Dzâhab, was going out into the town on business, he saw Hámed and inquired who he was. He said: "I am Hámed; go and tell Muhenna that I am here on the door-step." When the servant went back he found his master Muhenna in the room of prayer attached to the fort, engaged in reading the blessed Kurân. On receiving the message he immediately arose and went to Hámed, and taking him by the hand brought him into the fort; whereupon they both sat down to read the Kurân together, and when the time of prayer arrived they prayed together. Then they descended towards Sabârat-Hábashy, and when the sun arose the watchman on the tower of 'Âkûm cried out, "the troops! the troops!" Muhenna dispatched a messenger to tell him to hold his peace. The party espied were friends who had come to pay their respects to Hámed: the Kâdhis and the *Mutáwwa'ûn*[1] led the way, and were followed by upwards of a thousand Arabs and Hadhr, for whom Muhenna made two feasts, the last more sumptuous than the first. Hámed remained at Nakhl till

[1] Persons who serve without pay, volunteers; but the latter term, in its usual acceptation, does not convey the sense of the original, which means men who attend upon their chiefs willingly and gratuitously.

the afternoon, and when he was about to set out on his return to Barkah he took Muhenna aside and sat down with him. The latter was the first to speak, and said: "What was your motive in coming alone to Nakhl by night without appřising me beforehand, and before the blood which is between us and our neighbours the el-Máâwal is dry? Had any of the people of Nakhl seen you without recognizing who you were something untoward might have befallen you; to say nothing of the large number of people here who do not know you." Hámed replied: "Muhenna, when you came to me at Barkah you showed your confidence in me; how then can I withhold the same confidence from you? I came to prove that confidence, and to assure you that it is sincere." "May God reward you!" was Muhenna's reply. Thereupon Hámed returned to Barkah, and the mutual love and friendship between him and Muhenna continued until Hámed's death.

When Hámed assumed the administration he added a tower to the Western fort, facing el-Makulla, and armed it with large guns. He also built a castle in the village of Ríwa, and another in the fortress of Barkah, in which latter he placed his largest guns, and he took the Island from its feoffees. Further, he ordered a frigate to be built at Zanzibar, which cost a large sum, and called it the *er-Rahmâny*. He also confirmed my father in his appointment over the customs, vesting him with full authority therein. He sent for the sheikh Sâlim-bin-Muhammad, ed-Dármaky, el-Azky, who was at the time at Azka, and stationed him at Barkah, in charge of the correspondence between the Muslims and the legal authorities. He confirmed the sheikh Fadhl-bin-Seif, el-Yáhmady, in a similar appointment at Máskat. His kindness towards the sheikh Sâlim-bin-Muhammad may serve as an example which deserves to be copied. When he had appointed him to the office aforesaid, he ordered a house to be built for him beyond the wall, and on its com-

pletion he stored it with rice, dates, and sugar, and furnished it with boxes and other utensils, without letting the sheikh or the builders know for whom it was destined. He then summoned all Sâlim's family to Barkah, which led them to fear that the sheikh was ill. Hámed had anticipated this, and directed his messenger to tell them that he had been ordered to conduct them to the sheikh Sâlim at Barkah. He further directed those who were in charge of the house to tell them on their arrival that the house and all it contained belonged to Sâlim, and that they were to remain in it until he joined them. On hearing of their arrival Hámed sent for Sâlim and said to him: "You have never been out for pleasure since your stay at Barkah; will you now go out with me?" The two accordingly set forth together, accompanied by some of Hámed's soldiers and attendants, and followed by a large crowd of people. When they approached the house, Hámed said to Sâlim: "Enter, for all that it contains is yours," and then left him. When Sâlim entered the house he saw all his relations there, and all the furniture which had been prepared for him—property enough to give wings to joy. Whereupon he praised God and thanked Hámed heartily, and composed a magnificent eulogy commemorative of the occasion.

When Hámed's renown and power had increased, his uncle, Seif-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed, became estranged from him, owing to some previous misunderstandings which had arisen between Seif and his brother Sâid-bin-el-Imâm [Hámed's father] during the lifetime of their father, and which I have not recorded for brevity's sake. Seif went afterwards to Lâmu,[1] in the country of the Zanj, whither Hámed followed him. On reaching that place and finding that his uncle Seif was dead he returned to 'Omân. Then a dispute arose between him and his uncle Sultân because

[1] On the east coast of Africa, about 200 miles north of Zanzibar. It belongs to the Zanzibar state.

he had gone after Seif, and Sultân assembled the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâîl, who promised to support him against every opponent, and he marched with them to the fort of Semâîl, which was then under the authority of Hâmed. They were admitted on the market side, but when they reached the centre of the fort they were fired upon from the tower and driven back. Then Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâbiry, attacked the Hujrah of Sîjâ and demolished it, which increased Hâmed's enmity against his uncle Sultân. He accordingly collected a large force, but on reaching Semâîl his officers dissuaded him from attacking Sîjâ, representing to him that as the spring was in the Hujrah those who held it might cut off the supply of water; moreover, that if the weir were broken up the country around would be flooded, and none would be able to cross it. They urged much more to the same effect, insomuch that he forbore attacking the place and also others belonging to the Benu-Jâbir, who were well disposed towards Sultân. Thereupon he disbanded his followers and returned to Máskat, and from thence proceeded on a visit to his father Sâîd. During Hâmed's absence at er-Rastâk, Sultân assembled the Benu-Jâbir and all the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl and attacked el-Mátrah, entering it by the 'Akabat-el-Merâkh, and succeeded in plundering the market and dwellings, from which they carried off a large booty to Dâr-Sît, where Sultân remained with them. On hearing this, Suleimân-bin-Khalfân assembled all the people and soldiers of Máskat, of which he was then Wâli, and marched against him. When he reached the end of the 'Akabah overlooking Dâr-Sît and el-Falj, Sultân and the men of Semâîl attacked him, and he was obliged to retreat to Máskat with the loss of many killed and wounded, Sultân and his followers pursuing them as far as Jabráwwah. Sultân then returned to Dâr-Sît and el-Falj, and after remaining there two days marched with his force to Semâîl. Suleimân-bin-Khalfân was quite unequal to coping with

Sultân, and as Hámed felt that he was similarly situated a truce was agreed upon between him and his uncle Sultân, each promising not to molest the other.

Then Hámed made an incursion into the Wâdi-es-Sâhtan, returning to Máskat after he had razed its towers and coerced its inhabitants. He next went to Barkah, from whence he proceeded with a few followers to Nezwa, and there began to levy soldiers from esh-Sharkiyyah, the Arabs of el-Bâtinah, and the chiefs of Azka and its dependencies, informing none of its object except the Benu-Kelbân, with whom he arranged about the time when they were to join him against Behlâ, to which place he moved as soon as he had collected a large army. (The fort of Behlâ was then in the hands of Râshid-bin-Mâlik, el-'Obry, the Sâhib of el-'Irâky, between whom and the Benu-Kelbân there was a grudge, which had induced them to suggest to Hámed the attack on Behlâ.) Their combined forces entered the place before daybreak, unknown to Râshid-bin-Mâlik, who had only a small garrison with him in the fort. On hearing an outcry in the town he rushed to the tower on the wall, which some of the Benu-Kelbân had seized, and blew them up with gunpowder, not one of them escaping. He then attacked Hámed's camp in detail, and nearly succeeded in driving all his followers out of the town, although his party did not exceed seven men. Such is the account of my informant, and I have never heard it contradicted. It is further stated that when Râshid was eventually slain, only one man, named Simmân, remained fighting by his side. On taking possession of the fort, Hámed made it over to the Benu-Hinâh, and then returned with his troops towards Máskat, but on reaching the Birkat-et-Tálah he was attacked from one of the towers in the road by the solitary guard, a man of the Benu-Riyâm, who occupied it. This man succeeded in shooting several of the force, and when he had expended his shot he charged his musket with pieces of the iron chain

attached to his knife, which he cut up for that purpose. He then issued forth unarmoured, sword in hand, and was not dispatched until he had killed two men more.

Notwithstanding the renown which Hámed had acquired throughout 'Omân and elsewhere, nevertheless, whenever his uncle Sultân was named he used to remark: "I don't believe that any king or hero ever equalled Sultân for fortitude and bravery;" and Sultân used to say the same of Hámed. The following anecdote recounted to me by the Kâdhi Sâîd-bin-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Yáhmady, serves to illustrate their mutual feelings in this respect. He said: "I was myself in the service of Fadhl-bin-Seif, el-Yáhmady, while he was attached to the Seyyid Hámed, the son of the Imâm Sâîd. One day we accompanied Hámed to Barkah, where we arrived about sunset, and found that Sultân had reached Nuâmân before us. When the crier of the mosque proclaimed the prayer of the *Fajr*,[1] Fadhl and I repaired to the fort and found Hámed in the room of prayer. After we had prayed the *Sunnah* of the *Fajr*, Hámed said to Fadhl-bin-Seif, 'Say the *Fardh*[2] for us.' When Fadhl had recited the prayer and the *Dua'â*,[3] Hámed said, 'I shall now read something from the Kurân;' so he went to one side of the room and covered his head with his cloth, while Fadhl and I remained perusing the blessed book. When the sun rose, Fadhl went to him and said: 'Come let us say the prayer of the *Dhâha*.'[4] He replied: 'Bring me the dish and ewer.'

[1] *Fajr*, daybreak, or when the first gleam of light appears in the east.

[2] The Muslim is required to pray at five stated times every day; the service for each consists of two parts, one called *Sunnah*, appointed by the Prophet, and the other *Fardh*, ordained by the Kurân.

[3] The *Dua'â* is a short petition which the worshipper offers up—generally in words taken from the Kurân—before the final salutation in the last prayer of each service. While thus engaged he looks at the palms of his hands, which he holds like an open book before him, and then draws over his face, from the forehead downwards. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 112.

[4] This is not one of the five appointed times of prayer, and I am

After performing his ablutions he requested Fadhl to recite the prayer. That done, Fadhl said to him, 'I adjure you by the name of God to tell me what occupies your thoughts this morning.' He replied: 'If you wish me to tell you send your cousin away.' Fadhl rejoined: 'Do not hesitate on his account, for I have proved him, and found him worthy of being trusted with a secret.' Hámed then said, 'I have been thinking of three things, and unless I attain them my life will be unbearable; and yet their attainment is very difficult. First, there is Mombâsah;[1] but its fort is strong, and it is held by the terrible Wanîka, a people whom God alone can number. Secondly, Bombay, which is a town of great resources and thickly populated.' Thereupon Fadhl remarked: 'We are aware of those two things, but what is the third?' Hámed was silent for some time and then said, 'The third is of greater importance than the other two.' 'What is it?' inquired Fadhl. He replied, 'The man who reached Nuâmân before our arrival at Barkah.' 'Why, that is your uncle Sultân,' said Fadhl, 'and we hear that he has only twelve men with him.' 'Nevertheless,' replied Hámed, 'he is of more consequence to me than either Mombâsah or Bombay.' After being silent for an hour he ordered one of his slaves to have all his horses saddled, and directed that he and another should go into the town and bring him every Arab who possessed a camel. In the course of an hour a large number of horsemen and camel-men were collected, and we mounted with him and proceeded with them towards Nuâmân, to invite his uncle Sultân to a feast. When we reached the small cocoa-nut trees, Sultân came towards us, accompanied by twelve men, all of whom dismounted, and Sultân advanced, leading his camel, with shield and sword

unable to say whether the custom of praying at sunrise is peculiar to the 'Omânis or not.

[1] Mombâsah, an island on the east coast of Africa about one hundred miles to the northward of Zanzibar, to which principality it at present belongs.

slung over his shoulder. Hámed opened the greeting, but without alighting from his horse. He said: 'Uncle, I have come expressly to invite you and your party to a feast.' Sultân replied: 'You and your party had better come on to Nuámân, for your fort there is nearer than your walled fort.' So Hámed went and we with him to Nuámân, and we had a chat with Sultân, and were entertained by him at a sumptuous feast, and did not leave on our way back till the hour of noon, Sultân accompanying us as far as the small cocoa-nut trees. The day after our return Fadhl-bin-Seif said to Hámed, 'Was it quite the thing in you Hamed—you who are so uniformly courteous?' 'What do you mean?' rejoined Hámed. The other added: 'Your uncle Sultân met you on foot, leading his camel, out of respect to you, whereas you did not dismount from your horse. You are by no means a haughty personage, and you should have done as he did, for being your uncle he is as your father and you are as his son.' 'By Allâh!' replied Hámed, 'although I was on horseback and my uncle on foot my mind was not easy.' 'How can that be,' said Fadhl, 'seeing that you had a cloud of horsemen and camel-men before and behind you, bestridden by men as swift as the lightning?' 'Very true,' replied Hámed; 'but if my uncle Sultân had barely drawn his sword they would have been swift to flee from me.'"

Again, on the other hand, when the Âl-Wahîbah came to the Seyyid Sultân, saying, "Hámed does not deserve to retain the government, and you can deprive him of it; we will therefore lay in wait for him on his way from Barkah to Máskat, attack him by night, fall upon his followers, and, by the power of God, scatter them right and left, and leave you to seize and bind him, by which means you will be able to take Máskat," Sultân replied: "Such a proceeding would neither become you nor me, therefore say no more on the subject." They persisted, however, in their importunities, and one day while Hámed was on his way from Barkah to

Máskat—Sultân was at Semâîl with one hundred of the Âl-Wahîbah at the time—they set scouts to watch his movements. These having returned and informed them that Hámed would pass the night at Ríwa, Sultân moved with them from Semâîl. When Hámed reached Ríwa he encamped with his attendants near the well of the Sarhanj, and was followed by Sultân and his party, who put up near the fort which Hámed had built, but neither Hámed nor any of his men were aware of their presence. During the night the Âl-Wahîbah awoke Sultân and said: "We have reconnoitred the party and found them asleep: you will never have a better opportunity against Hámed;" but he delayed getting up until the morning had dawned. Then when Hámed and Sultân had both said the prayer of the *Fajr*, the former was apprised of the presence of Sultân and his party, and sent one of his followers to request him to come to him. The messenger having met Sultân coming towards him returned and told Hámed, who thereupon directed one of his servants to take a ewer and walk before him, but not to carry any arms. On reaching the commencement of Sîh-el-Harmel, Hámed performed his ablutions and prayed two *Raka'ahs*, and then bade the servant to go and tell Sultân to come to him. The man found Sultân standing, waiting until Hámed had finished his devotions, and after kissing his hands and saluting him said, "My lord, your son Hámed wishes to see you." So Sultân went, and uncle and nephew clasped hands—the latter being armed with a dagger only. Hámed then opened the colloquy and said: "Uncle, I do not know what your intention is, nor who has instigated you to take this step; but you will never have a similar opportunity, therefore carry out your design." Sultân began to apologize, and said: "My son, I have only come to you for good; so put aside all suspicion and think well of me. You should not listen to evil whisperings about me, even as I disregard them about you. I look upon what you possess as if it were

mine, and I do not envy your enjoyment of it." After talking together for a long while they returned to their respective encampments, and then Hámed ordered his people to proceed onward to Máskat, Sultân and his party accompanying them as far as el-Mátrah, where Hámed presented them with robes of honour and many presents. Sultân then returned to Semâîl and Hámed went on to Máskat.

During Hámed's administration there was a severe drought in Omân, far exceeding that which had occurred before his father Sâîd transferred the government to him. Most of the date-trees died, and the greater portion of the inhabitants fled to el-Bâtinah and Máskat, and the price of a bucket of water at el-Mátrah rose to ten *fals*, the owners of the wells there refusing to sell it for less. When Hámed heard of this he went forth with the people to pray for rain, on the first day in the great Wâdi, on the second in the central Wâdi, and on the third in the small Wâdi, near Máskat. While he and the people were so engaged, a cloud appeared in the heavens, followed by lightning and thunder; then the clouds covered the sky, and the rain descended, as if poured from buckets. Thereupon Hámed mounted his horse and rode away swiftly, and he had scarcely reached the Island before the waters ran from the valleys into the sea. Great fertility throughout 'Omân followed, and its inhabitants returned thither; the crops became abundant and prices were low.

Seven years after Hamed's first efforts to attain the government, and three years after securing it, he ordered a large levy of soldiers throughout 'Omân without apprising any one what use he intended to make of them. He ordered the levies to repair to Barkah, he himself remaining at Máskat. When the force was assembled, the people of el-Hazm suspected that he intended to employ it against them; Kais, the son of the Imâm [Ahmed], thought that he was about to attack Sohâr; others, that he designed to

make war upon his father and drive him from er-Rastâk; whilst others again fancied that he was bent on a campaign against Mombâsah. On his way to join the army, and while at Sîh-el-Harmel, he was seized with fever, and being unable to proceed returned to Máskat, where the fever developed into small-pox, which covered his entire body. He accordingly sent for his father, who joined him without delay, and on the night of his father's arrival the ship *er-Rahmâny* was burnt. When the flames broke out there was a great outcry, and on being told the cause he remarked, "I do not know who has burnt the ship, but if I recover from this malady the guilty shall not go unpunished." He survived three days, and died on Thursday, the 18th of Rájab, A.H. 1206, [13th March, 1792], and was buried at dawn on the slope of the central Wâdi, near Máskat, a little above the graves of the two sheiks, Mas'ûd-esh-Shákasy and es-Sabhy.

The fifth day after the death of Hámed, the Imâm Sâid made a large funeral feast in the Eastern fort for the notables and merchants of Máskat. He then appointed his son Ahmed-bin-Sâid over Máskat in the room of Hámed, and over Barkah he placed 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâid. He himself returned to er-Rastâk, but he entirely neglected his subjects and the administration, and was wholly given to indolence, which eventually led to the transfer of the government to Sultân. Sâid lived to a great age and died at er-Rastâk during the rule of the exalted Seyyid Sâid-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed].

SULTÂN-BIN-EL-IMÂM-AHMED,

BIN-SA'ÎD, BIN-AHMED,

EL-BÛ-SA'ÎDY, EL-YÉMENY, EL-AZDY, EL-'OMÂNY;

BY RELIGION AN UPRIGHT IBÂDHY.

Sultân was tall in stature, of a noble countenance, brave, spirited, animated, valiant, caring nothing for the number

of his enemies, preferring a few select adherents to a multitude of followers, and impartial in judgment. On the death of Hámed, Sultân went to 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd,[1] at Barkah, of which place he was then governor on behalf of the Imâm Sâîd-bin-Ahmed. On meeting 'Aly, Sultân said to him, "I wish you would arrange matters between me and my brother Sâîd. Our past differences were all owing to Hámed, but now that he is dead I am anxious to be reconciled to my brother Sâîd, and trust that he will avail himself of my services against any who may oppose him in 'Omân, and appoint me a small portion of the revenues of Máskat. I entreat you therefore to go to him at once on this errand; in the mean time I will set off for Semâîl, and on your return from er-Rastâk send me a messenger to apprise me that all has been arranged betwixt me and my brother Sâîd, and that I may come to you again." 'Aly-bin-Hilâl approving of the proposal consented, and Sultân started forthwith, but halted at er-Rusail and placed scouts to watch 'Aly's movements, bidding them to let him know when 'Aly left Bîr-en-Nasf. When they came and told him that 'Aly had left the Bîr for er-Rastâk, Sultân and his followers mounted their camels and did not dismount until they reached the fort of Barkah.

It so happened that at this juncture one of the garrison was leaving the fort on his way to the market. Sultân made him over to his men, who immediately killed him, while he himself preceded them towards the fort, at the gate of which the keeper attempted to stop him, but drawing his dagger he dispatched him on the spot. Sultân's followers were twelve in number, and among them were Khâmis-bin-Râshid, el-Hinâwy, and Masábbah-bin-Gharîb, el-Karîmy, and Muhammad-bin-Hámed, el-Wahîby, and Sâlim-bin-Thâny, el-Jabry. With these he advanced against the towers of the

[1] The son of Hilâl, the Imâm Ahmed's eldest son, who died in Guzerat; see p. 188.

fort, the garrison of which begged for quarter and were forthwith dismissed, Sultân taking possession of their posts. He then sent a messenger to et-Tau, who returned with a force of one hundred men. All this time the keep of the fortress remained in the hands of the Benu-Ruwâhah, who refused his summons to surrender it to him. Thereupon he sent for the sheikh Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, er-Ruwâhy, and bade him advise his party to quit the castle, promising them quarter and that they should be allowed to take their arms with them. The sheikh did as he was requested, but the men refused to surrender; eventually, however, they submitted and left the castle, taking their arms with them. Then Sultân was joined by the el-Jibûr, who supplied him with dates and rice; and within a short time all the Arabs and Hadhr, together with all the people from es-Sîb to el-Billah, recognized him.

He then dispatched letters to the el-Mââwal and the people of Nakhl, also to those of Semâîl, especially the Nizâriyyah, appointing el-Karm as a rendezvous, and ordering them to join him with all haste. He himself and his followers set off towards Máskat, and on reaching el-Karm he found there a large number of the el-Mââwal and of the people of Nakhl and Semâîl who had come to meet him. Such of the Arabs of the el-Bâtinah who had gone thither without his orders he dismissed to their homes.

To revert to 'Aly-bin-Hilâl: on reaching er-Rastâk he informed Sâid-bin-Ahmed of the message with which he had been entrusted by Sultân, but he had hardly finished his statement when a messenger—one of the people of el-Masnâah—arrived with a letter to Sâid apprising him that Sultân had attacked and seized the fort of Barkah, and had marched with a large force against Máskat. Thereupon Sâid reproved 'Aly-bin-Hilâl for having quitted the fort of Barkah, and then added: "Start at once by way of el-Masnâah, and embark from thence for Máskat; assist my

son Ahmed who is there to the best of your ability, and fight bravely against Sultân and all others who may attack either of you. Beware of cowardice, which is a base and not a noble quality." Following these directions, 'Aly took boat at el-Masnâah and reached Máskat on the same day that Sultân reached el-Karm.

From el-Karm Sultân wrote letters to the merchants and notables at Máskat, assuring them of immunity for their persons and property. Among the letters was one addressed to my father, Muhammad-bin-Razik, and brought to him by a man of the Benu-Ruwâhah, named Sâid-bin-Musábbah, the father of Musábbah and Temîm. The letter was as follows: "When this reaches you, inform the people of Máskat that their persons and property shall be inviolable; for I am not coming to Máskat to plunder the inhabitants, but, as you know, to take its two fortresses and the other defences." After reading this epistle, my father took it to Ahmed-bin-el-Imâm-Sâid and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl, who were at that time on the Island. After showing it to them he asked: "What is your opinion?" They replied, "Sultân cannot prevail against Máskat while it is well supplied with arms and ammunition; besides which we are not cowards. Let him come, and, God willing, we will fight a battle with him with our swords near the hill in the great Wâdi such as neither friends nor foes ever heard of." My father thereupon left and told the merchants and notables of Máskat what Sultân had written to him and what Ahmed and 'Aly had said. They replied: "Letters have come to us from Sultân to the same effect, promising us security and immunity. Our opinion is that Sultân will enter Máskat and effect his object, and that Ahmed and 'Aly will be unable to resist him, for they have not many soldiers with them. In fact, their words are vain and baseless." In the evening of the same day, when all the notables of Máskat were assembled at his house, my father suggested that they should all cry out together, "the enemy!

the enemy!" in order to test the pluck of Ahmed and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl; "for if," said he, "we find that on hearing the alarm they go forth with their soldiers, we may infer that they will fight; but if they keep within the wall with their followers, and do nothing but discharge their muskets therefrom in the air, we may conclude that they feel themselves too weak to venture out." The party acted on this suggestion, and, shortly after, they heard the report of muskets which were being fired from the walls into the open space, whereby all were convinced of the cowardice of their braggart defenders. About an hour afterwards Sultân and his force approached through the Wâdi, with their swords drawn, and singing as their war-song this noble sentiment, "The right has come and has overthrown the wrong; the wrong is overthrown!" When they reached my father's house, my father went out to Sultân, took his hand, congratulated him, and informed him that he had read his letter to the notables and merchants of Máskat, and that they had expressed themselves much gratified at his consideration for them. This news highly delighted Sultân, who then inquired whether he could purchase a supply of dates for his hungry followers. My father took out to them forty baskets-full, and when his soldiers had eaten and rested Sultân ordered them to march against the principal gate. There they encountered a fusillade from the walls, fired by Ahmed's troops, and were obliged to retire with the loss of six men. On making a similar attempt a second time they were driven off with the loss of three men. At dawn, 'Aly-bin-'Abdallah, the sheikh of the Benu-Wahîb, who had charge of the lesser gate, came to Sultân, and after saluting him told him to approach in that direction, promising to admit him. Sultân accordingly accompanied him with his force, going by the 'Akabat-Miyabîn, then turning off at the foot of the 'Akabat-Sidâb, and from thence into the road leading to the lesser gate. On reaching it, 'Aly-bin-'Abdallah ordered his men to

open it, which they did. When Sultân and his force had passed through, the former turned to 'Aly-bin-'Abdallah and said: "May God reprobate you, you traitor! Begone! for I shall not leave you in charge of the gate." After Sultân had thus dismissed him, he appointed Sirhân-bin-Sulcimân, el-Jabry, and one hundred of the Benu-Jâbir to hold the post. Marching from thence with the remainder of his followers Sultân approached the Island, and entered it by the small eastern gate which faces the shops of the goldsmiths Muhammad-bin-Habîb, er-Ramhy, and 'Abd-el-Ghaffûr, the Sâhib of the el-Harth, driving away those who held it, and forthwith his men opened fire upon the Western fort, which the garrison returned with cannon and musketry. Then Muhammad-bin-Khalfân went with his party and dislodged Ahmed and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl's men who were posted on the 'Akabahs of Killabûh and Riyâm. At this time Ahmed-bin-Sâîd occupied the Eastern and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl the Western fort, but Sultân having succeeded in capturing all the other defences of Máskat the merchants and notables waited upon him on the Island to congratulate him. Then my father went to Sidâb to purchase one thousand bales of dates for Sultân's army, and Sultân placed him in the custom-house to serve out rations of dates and rice, and supplies of lead and gunpowder to his soldiers. Most of the inhabitants of Máskat, however, fled from the place to escape the shot from the two forts. The ships, also, and the two batteries were surrendered to Sultân. Muhammad-bin-Khalfân was of great service to Sultân at this time, aiding him with men and money.

Sultân then wrote to his brother Kais, the son of the Imâm Ahmed, as follows: "I have taken Máskat, intending to make it over to you. Therefore, when this letter reaches you march with all the forces at your disposal and encamp at el-Kâsim, and prevent our brother Sâîd from coming to Máskat." Kais followed out these instructions, and wrote

moreover to his brother Sâîd telling him that Sultân had entered Máskat by his orders; "therefore," he added, "remain where you are, at er-Rastâk, and let Sultân and your son Ahmed settle matters between them, for if you attempt to move on Máskat I will march to er-Rastâk. To be forewarned is to be fore-armed. *Salâm.*" When Sâîd received this letter he decided to remain where he was, while Kais continued encamped at el-Kâsim.

Then Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-'Adiy, who commanded the Eastern fort on behalf of Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm and his son Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, marched against the house of the Aulâd-Bîmah, intending to plunder it. When Sultân, who was then on the Island, heard of this proceeding he set out immediately with some of his followers to intercept them. Seeing him approach the whole party fled, Sultân succeeding in killing only two of them; nevertheless, he pursued them until within a short distance of the Eastern fort. In his flight, Muhammad-bin-Suleimân wounded Mas'ûd-bin-Sâîd-bin-'Obaidân with a spear in the nose, and the spear-head penetrated through the neck. One of Sultân's followers also was shot in the thigh by a man of ezh-Zhâhirah, from the Eastern fort, and he died the same night. Mas'ûd, however, recovered and lived a long time after the death of Sultân.

A reconciliation eventually took place between Sultân and his brother Sâîd on these conditions:—The Eastern fort was to belong to Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm, and the Western fort was to be held by Muhammad-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, the Wakîl, and in the event of either of the brothers breaking the peace Muhammad was to make the fort over to the other. Kais-bin-el-Imâm was to have the fort and towers of el-Mátrah, together with its revenues. The revenue of Máskat was to be Sultân's, to expend on the army, the defence of the Eastern fort, and to provide for the navy. Muhammad-bin-Khalfân was to be Wâli of Máskat, and

whenever Sultân visited the place he was to reside on the Island.

Some time after the conclusion of this treaty Ahmed-bin-el-Imâm-Sâîd left the Eastern fort, and by the orders of Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm placed it in the hands of Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, esh-Shákasy. 'Aly-bin-Hilâl also quitted the Western fort and consigned it in like manner to the care of Muhammad-bin-Khalfân. Kais, too, left the fort of el-Mátrah, placing it in charge of the el-Haddân.

When the people had regained confidence and all disturbances had ceased, Sultân came from Barkah on one of his usual visits to Máskat, and Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, esh-Shákasy, who held the Eastern fort for the Imâm Sâîd, went to see him. As he was about to leave, Sultân said to him very angrily: "If you value your life, surrender the fort to me." He replied: "Let me go back first and remove my men therefrom;" to which Sultân answered, "presently, presently!" Then after having him bound he bade him follow him. On reaching the house of the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Ghalûm, Sultân's followers by his orders made him stand up and call to his men to come out of the fort, which they did, and Sultân took possession of it, placing in it the Mawâla of the el-Jibûr, whose commander was Muhaisin-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zahîly, the Maula of the el-Jibûr. Then Sultân wrote to Kais thus:—"I have taken the Eastern fort for you; therefore restrain our brother Sâîd from attempting to interfere with Máskat." Kais was greatly delighted at this; Muhammad-bin-Khalfân also pretended outwardly to be acting as governor on behalf of Sultân, but inwardly he felt very differently, and both parties were secretly intent on overreaching one another. At this time Muhammad began to repair the Western fort, to add guns to its armament, and to increase its ammunition, lead, and other stores. He also sent for Khasîf-bin-Mátar, el Hinâÿ, who joined him with a hundred of his uncle's men of the Benu-Hinâh. These

he invested with robes and treated most liberally, and then placed them in the Western fort, with Khasîf-bin-Mâtar as their commandant. He also purchased a number of Zanj and Nubian slaves, dressed them in fine clothes and armed them with swords and daggers, until at length Sultân began to suspect him; nevertheless, he kept his apprehensions to himself, and did not disclose his suspicions to any one.

Then, on a certain day, Sultân went from Máskat to Barkah, taking with him one hundred Arabs of the Âl-Wahîbah, whose Amîr was Muhammad-bin-Hámed, el-Wahîby, and remained there several days. He returned to Máskat by ship, bringing with him the Âl-Wahîbah and also Bedr, his brother Seif's son. On entering the Eastern fort by the east gate overlooking the Bahr-Mughibb he gave out that he was attacked with small-pox, and a rumour to that effect soon spread throughout the country. When Muhammad-bin-Khalfân heard of it he went with Khalfân his father and 'Aly his brother to pay Sultân a visit. On approaching the Island they were met by Mâjid, another brother, who seized Muhammad by the hand and warned him against going to see Sultân, assuring him that the report of his having the small-pox was merely a stratagem on Sultân's part to seize the fort from him; reminding him at the same time of his conduct towards the esh-Shákasy. "You know, moreover," said he, "that some nights ago he came from Barkah, accompanied by Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, el-Muhâll, and both hid themselves near the steps leading to the Western fort, and were dislodged by the watchman, who hurled a large stone at them, which induced them to return to Barkah." Muhammad, however, would not be advised, and on entering the Eastern fort the party found Sultân quite well, standing in the court surrounded by his Bédu and Hadhr, which caused Muhammad some apprehension. On rising to leave, Sultân said: "As to you, father Khalfân, you are free to depart, but your sons,

Muhammad and 'Aly, must remain here." "What do you mean?" said Khalfân. "The Western fort," was the reply. Then Sultân ordered Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, el-Muháll, to seize Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and confine him in the fort prison. Thereupon Khalfân-bin-Muhammad left the fort in a great rage, calling out to all whom he met on the road, "Muhammad is seized! Muhammad is seized!" Sultân did not bind 'Aly-bin-Khalfân, and subsequently allowed him to return to his father. When Mâjid-bin-Khalfân heard of his brother's imprisonment, he and Khasîf-bin-Mátar, el-Hinây, rushed to the market-place and carried off a quantity of liquid butter, sesame-oil and corn, to the fort, on which they hoisted the war-flag. Máskat was now thrown into the greatest confusion, the merchants closed their shops, and the dagger of fear entered the hearts of all. Then Sultân sent a messenger to my father, Muhammad-bin-Razîk, ordering him to pull down the magazines which Muhammad-bin-Khalfân had built at Máskat, wherein were stored arms, etc. He also directed him to order the ships to open fire upon the Western fort and to raze it to the ground—showing thereby that he was mad with rage against Muhammad-bin-Khalfân. Thereupon my father placed strong locks on the magazines, and went to Sultân and addressed him as follows: "My lord, be gracious, for you are of a kindly disposition. I have searched in the government records to discover whether they contained any houses or magazines entered in the name of Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, but I found none; all the magazines are entered as belonging to the Beit-el-Mâl, and the Beit-el-Mâl is now yours, for Muhammad was only one of your Wâlis, and as you have taken what was placed in his charge, all now belongs to you. Would you, therefore, have me destroy your property? To do so would be to act like those spoken of in God's holy book: 'They destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.

Attend to this, ye people of intelligence.'[1] Then, again, as to the proposed attack on the fort by the shipping, the attempt would be vain, for the fort is far above the ships and their fire would not be effective; whereas were the fort to open fire upon the ships it would shiver them to atoms." Seeing that Sultân was convinced by this reasoning, my father handed him the keys of the magazines, but Sultân bade him retain them and told him that he was at liberty to leave. My father, however, begged him to allow him to see Muhammad-bin-Khalfân first, hoping that he might be able to induce him to surrender the fort. To this Sultân consented and told my father—who carried his inkstand in his girdle—how to advise and what conditions to propose to Muhammad. My father found the latter unbound, and began at once to urge him to surrender the fort; but Muhammad was obstinate and said, "let him do what he likes with me." My father pointed out the absurdity of such a resolve, and assured him that unless he accepted the proffered conditions he could never hope for liberty. Muhammad finally yielded, and wrote a letter to Khasîf-bin-Mâtar, el-Hinâÿ, to surrender the fort to Sultân; but when my father delivered the letter, Khasîf refused to act upon it, saying, "paper and ink shall not make me give up the fort;" whereupon my father went to Khalfân-bin-Muhammad and informed him of all that had transpired. Then Khalfân proceeded to the fort and brought out his son Mâjid and roundly abused Khasîf for his contumacy. The latter replied: "If he wants his fort, let him come to me himself; for unless he does so I shall not quit it." Contention ensued for some time on this subject between Sultân and Khasîf, but eventually a reconciliation was effected through the intervention of the sheikh Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, er-Riwâny, on these terms:—"Khasîf-bin-Mâtar was to be allowed to carry away all the arms, dates, and rice that he pleased.

[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-el-Hashr*, (lix.) 2.

He accordingly did so, Sultân thereupon taking possession of the Western fort and releasing Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, who went forthwith to the Beit-el-Falj and garrisoned it with fifty men of the Benu-Hinâ, under Khasîf-bin-Mâtar. Sultân then appointed Khalfân-bin-Nâsir, el-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli of Máskat, having ordered him the day before, which was the day on which the Western fort had been made over to him, to destroy the fort of el-Mâtrah, which was at that time under the authority of his, Sultân's, brother, Kais-bin-el-Imâm, as already related. Khalfân-bin-Nâsir accordingly went thither and threw up a breastwork from the wall of the Luwâtiyah to the sweetmeat market, and placed scouts, patrols, and guns in edh-Dhît, which is behind el-Mâtrah and facing the fort. About midnight the roar of the cannon was like thunder, and the firing was kept up night and day. On the twelfth day, the el-Haddâd who held the fort on behalf of Kais surrendered to Sultân. Next, Sultân ordered Khalfân-bin-Nâsir to attack the Beit-el-Falj, which he did, but the shot from his guns did not produce any effect, some being fired too high and others too low. Peace was eventually concluded on Muhammad-bin-Khalfân agreeing to surrender all the guns which were in the Beit. When these were given up Sultân ordered them to be taken to el-Mâtrah.

Then Sultân ordered Khalfân-bin-Nâsir to build a castle on the edge of the Táwy-er-Râwiyah, and a square tower on the summit of the 'Akabat-en-Naâshy, opposite er-Râwiyah, and another on the top of the 'Akabah above my father's house. These three defences were completed in six months.

At this time Muhammad-bin-Khalfân entered into correspondence with Kais, the Imâm's son, instigating him to make war upon his brother Sultân. One of his letters was written in poetry. It resulted in a league between Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and Kais and Sâîd, the sons of the Imâm [Ahmed], to attack Sultân. Kais accordingly collected a large

force from ezh-Zhâhirah and el-Bâtinah, and among them a body of the el-'Affâr, who feed on dead bodies, just as other people eat dates. Kais is said to have assembled as many as sixty thousand men, and was also joined by his brother Sâîd and his followers. On hearing of these proceedings, Sultân sent letters to the people of 'Omân, and to the esh-Sharkiyyah, the Bédu of Jaalân, and to other parts, calling upon all who bore arms to come to his assistance. Much to his annoyance none came, with the exception of the sheikh Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, er-Riwâny, accompanied by one hundred men. In the meantime Kais and Sâîd moved with their forces and halted at el-Karm, and Sultân had issued orders that fires should be lighted at night on the tops of all the mountains, from those of Ríwa as far as those of Dâr-Sît. This stratagem was so far successful that it led Kais and Sâîd's army to believe that Sultân had a large force with him, whereas he had only Mâjid-bin-Sâîd's men and a few others, in addition to those who fed the fires with oil, cotton and wood. Then Sultân wrote to his brother Kais, saying: "When this letter reaches you, march with your force to the town of Bádbad, and halt there till I come, and I will put you in possession of the forts of Bádbad and Semâîl; but beware of attacking Máskat." Kais, relying on Sultân's promise, marched accordingly to Bádbad, while Sultân went by way of the Wâdi-Hatât to Semâîl. On reaching it, he ordered the people to take up arms against Kais and Sâîd, and directed the garrison of the fort of Bádbad to fire upon them with their guns. As provisions for their army began to fail, and they saw no prospect of prevailing against Sultân, Kais and Sâîd retired from Bádbad, the former going to Sohâr and the latter to er-Rastâk, with their respective followers. Thus hostilities were suspended for a time, but rancour still dwelt in the breasts of all parties.

Subsequently the people of 'Omân and the esh-Sharkiyyah, the Bédu and those of Jaalân, together with all the other

districts, recognized Sultân, so that a clear horizon now opened before him. Then, on a certain day, he went to Nezwa and ordered Suwailim-bin-Suleimân and Muhammad-bin-'Isa, en-Nîry, to proceed to el-Mâtrah, and there to lie in wait for Khasîf-bin-Mâtar, el-Hinâÿ,—between whom and Muhammad-bin-'Isa there was an old grudge,—to seize him when he descended from el-Falj on business, to send him bound to Máskat, to imprison him in the Western fort, and to keep him there without food or water till he died, then to place his body in a boat and to throw it into the sea a long distance from land. The plot succeeded, for, on hearing that Sultân had gone to 'Omân, Khasîf left el-Falj for el-Mâtrah, with an escort of twelve men only. On the way he was seized by the ambuscade and carried off to Máskat, where he fell a victim to the fate which had been prepared for him, greatly to the delight of Sultân.

Sultân went next to es-Suwaik,[1] which was then in the hands of his brother Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm, and captured it, and from him he also took el-Masnaâh. (At this time a reconciliation was effected betwixt Sultân and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân.) His next conquest was Shahbâr,[2] of Mekrân; after which he attacked el-Kásum [Kishm], and reduced it. Then, after a reconciliation was effected betwixt him and the Benu-Mâîn, the people of el-Kásum, he attacked it again; he also attacked Hormûz, the port of which island belonged to Mullah Hásan, el-Mâîny, and took both places. These successes increased his renown and whetted his thirst for conquest.

Afterwards he attacked and conquered the island of el-

[1] Suwaik is, next to Sohâr, the largest place on the east coast of 'Omân, northward of Máskat. It is a walled town containing about seven hundred houses, with a strong fort in the centre. The country around is very fertile The district in which it is situated has generally been held in appanage by one of the ruling Seyyid's relations.

[2] The "Charbar" and "Choubar" of our maps. The place has remained a dependency of the Máskat state ever since.

Bahrein and appointed Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy, to rule over it, subsequently removing him and making his son, Sâlim-bin-Sultân, Wâli there in his stead. Sâlim being young, he associated the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Khalf, esh-Shîâ'y, with him in the administration, committing to the latter full powers to settle the disputes which existed between the el-'Uttûb and the esh-Shîâah.[1] The el-'Uttûb, however, disregarding their treaty with Sultân, assembled in force against Sâlim, who at that time resided at the castle of 'Arâd,[2] with a small garrison, and closely besieged him. Sâlim capitulated, on condition that esh-Shîâ'y and all his other dependents should be permitted to leave el-Bahrein with their arms, etc. Sâlim, accordingly, together with Muhammad-bin-Khalf, esh-Shîâ'y, and Suwailim, and all their followers returned to Máskat, whereupon the island of el-Bahrein again reverted to the el-'Uttûb, who forthwith fell upon the el-Bahârinah,[3] seized their property, killed a great many of them, obliged numbers to flee to other countries, and treated those who still remained in the island with every species of outrage and indignity.

[1] Owing probably to the repeated occupation of the island by the Persians the bulk of the population of el-Bahrein, consisting of the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, are mostly Shia'ahs; their invaders and masters, the el-'Uttûb, are Sunnis. According to native tradition, as reported by the late Colonel Taylor, the el-'Uttûb consist of three Arab tribes, united by intermarriage, who settled originally near Kuweit, or Grane, at the north-western extremity of the Persian Gulf, namely, "the Beni Sabah, under Shaikh Sulaiman bin Ahmed the Beni Yalahimah, under Shaikh Jabir bin Uttoobee; and the Beni Khalifah, under Shaikh Khalifah bin Mahomed." Their first conquest of el-Bahrein was effected A.D. 1779. See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 27. The Khalifah branch of the confederation gradually acquired the ascendancy over the other two, and have maintained it with varying success, under the frequent political changes which the island has undergone, since that period.

[2] Called 'Arâda at p. 182.

[3] That is, the people of el-Bahrein as distinguished from their invaders the el-'Uttub.

About this time the Benu-Nâîm invaded Sohâr and encamped at el-'Auhy, killing many of the people. Thereupon Kais wrote to his brother Sultân urging him to hasten to his assistance. Sultân accordingly raised levies from 'Omân, from the esh-Sharkiyyah, from the Bédu and Jaâlân, and from all the other districts bound to furnish contingents. He was also joined by his brother Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm, by Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad, and others. When Sultân reached Sohâr with his army, Kais wrote a letter to the Benu-Nâîm and sent them a present of money; but they refused any such compromise. He had assembled a considerable army, including about five hundred men of ezh-Zhâhirah and some from Yânkal and es-Salîf, and it was arranged that he and Sultân should fall upon the Benu-Nâîm with their respective forces, and that Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad should command the cavalry. In the mean time the Benu-Nâîm had been reinforced by the Benu-Kutb and by some of the Benu-Yâs, the people of Dabai,[1] under their Amîr Hazzââ. The two armies met at ed-Dabbâgh and there was a severe battle between them, but the Benu-Nâîm were utterly routed, with the loss, it is said, of three hundred men; the Seyyids' side losing only a third of that number. The Benu-Nâîm fled as far as the Wâdi-el-Jâzy, where they halted to await the arrival of the ezh-Zhawâhir, who had fought with the Seyyids, the sons of the Imâm, against them. The ezh-Zhawâhir, thinking that none of the enemy had escaped, left Sohâr for el-Jau, but on reaching the Wâdi-el-Jâzy the Benu-Nâîm, who lay in ambush, rushed upon them. A

[1] Dabai, a port in the Benu-Yâs territory, situated on the banks of a backwater, in lat. 25° 16′ 26″ N., long. 55° 24′ 42″ E., and inhabited by between seven and eight hundred of the Bû-Falâsah, a branch of the Benu-Yâs, who seceded from the main body about A.D. 1834, and have retained their independence under sheikhs of their own tribe ever since. This place must not be confounded with the Dabâ on the eastern coast of 'Omân, which is mentioned on the next page, and for the position of which see note 1, p. 24.

conflict ensued, which resulted in the overthrow of the ezh-Zhawâhir and their allies, and the loss of three hundred men killed. This incident gave rise to a war between the two tribes which lasted a long time before they were reconciled.

Subsequently, the Âl-Wahîbah invaded the territory of the Benu-Nâîm as far as Kâbil and killed many of them.

Then Sultân attacked Dabâ by sea, and slew many of the Nakbiyyîn and the esh-Sharkiyyîn.

A.H. 1214 [A.D. 1799] the ed-Durúwwâ[1] infested and plundered on the roads. Sultân attacked them at Salkh and forced them into submission.

Then Sultân began to build the fort of el-Fulaij, and when it was completed he placed some of his *harîm* there, and made it his principal residence. After the death of Khalfân-bin-Nâsir, el-Bû-Sâîdy, he first made Seif-bin-Mis'ûd, el-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli of Máskat, but subsequently removed him to Behlâ, and gave the Máskat appointment to Suleimân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily, el-Maily, but soon after deposed him and made Mâjid-bin-Muhammad, the Wakîl, the el-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli in his stead. Shortly after he appointed the latter over Sûr, and Jaâlân, and the esh-Sharkiyyah, and placed Seif-bin-Muhammad over Máskat. Him he subsequently removed, and gave the office successively to Khasîf-bin-Khamîs-bin-Hamdûh, el-Wahîby,[2] to Khalûf the Maula[3] of the Benu-Hinâh, to Seif-bin-Hánzhal, el-Bû-Sâîdy, and then again to Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy.

Then a book arrived from 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, the Wahhâby, in which all the governors of 'Omân and their subjects were

[1] The ed Durúwwa' are settled near Jebel-el-Akhdar, and are estimated at 20,000 effective men.

[2] The Al-Wahîbah are one of the finest tribes of Omân; see note, p. 120. They must not be confounded with the sect of the Wahhâbis.

[3] *Maula*, (plural, *Mauâla*,) signifies lord or master. The title, as designating the chief of a family or clan, seems to be peculiar to several of the 'Omâny tribes. In one instance (p. 220) we read of a "*Maula* of the *Mauâla*," which probably indicates the leading or presiding chief.

summoned to submit to his authority. The book began thus:—"In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! This is the book of the *Solution of Difficulties*,[1] written by the sheikh Muhammad-bin-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb. May God grant him the highest reward, and admit him into heaven without bringing him to account." The treatise contained a mass of incoherent sentences quite inconsistent with the truth, and no one took any notice of it. Nevertheless, 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz sent el-Harîk, one of his Nubian slaves, to 'Omân with a force of seven hundred cavalry, and he waged war upon the Benu-Yâs until they submitted to him. He then attacked the Benu-Nâim and Kutb, in conjunction with the Benu-Yâs, and reduced them also. Moreover, the ezh-Zhawâhir and the esh-Shawâmis, and all the Hadhr of ezh-Zhâhirah eventually yielded to him. He took up his residence at Tawwâm, and levied whatever amount of *Zakâh* he chose from the people. He also began to make incursions into el-Bâtinah, and entered into an alliance with the el-'Uttûb, who also became converts to the religion of the *Tauhîb*,[2] and thereupon commenced committing outrages upon the sea, seizing every ship that fell in their way.

Then a dispute arose between Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed and Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, esh-Shakily, el-Ghâfiry, respecting the heritage of Nâsir's daughter, Hamîd-bin-Nâsir's sister, who was wife to Sultân,[3] and on whose death

[1] The original Arabic title is *Kashf-esh-Shubhât*. It is to be regretted that Mr. Palgrave has not given us the titles of those Wahhâby treatises, written by the same author, which he appears to have read. "Their invariable theme," he says, "is the explanation and confirmation of the doctrines characteristic of his sect." *Travels in East. and Cent. Arabia*, vol. i. p. 379.

[2] A noun formed from *Wahhâb*, part of the cognomen of the author of the sect, signifying Wahhâbeeism, like our Calvinism from Calvin. 'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb means the Servant of [God] the bountiful Giver.

[3] Here we have another intermarriage between the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd dynasty and the el-Ghâfiry tribe. The other instance, mentioned at p. 183,

Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, her brother, refused to give Sultân any of the property which she left, maintaining that all their property was *Beit-Mâl*, not transferable to heirs. Hamîd, moreover, refused to see Sultân; whereupon the latter determined to attack him. On making inquiries, however, respecting the fort at Yabrîn he was informed that it was impregnable; and, further, that it was defended by a wonderful brass gun of such and such dimensions. Thereupon Sultân ordered Ahmed-bin-Yûsif-bin-Mûsa, esh-Shîây, the brasier, to find out some way of destroying the said gun. Ahmed accordingly went to Nezwa, where he abode some time making pots and cauldrons for boiling the juice of the sugar-cane. Hearing of this Hamîd-bin-Nâsir wrote to 'Aly-bin-Tâlib, el-Bû-Sâîdy, the Wâli of Nezwa, to send Ahmed to Yabrîn to make a cauldron of the same kind for him. When he arrived, Hamîd gave him a piece of brass which he took out of the fort for the purpose; but Ahmed objecting that it was not suitable Hamîd bade him remain at Yabrîn while he went to el-'Ainein to procure some better metal. In the mean time Ahmed began to watch for an opportunity to damage the gun. It so happened that the crier of Yabrîn proclaimed: "Away to your comrades the Benu-Shakîl, for hostilities have broken out between them and the Benu-Hinâh!" Accordingly, all Hamîd's levies departed, and none remained at Yabrîn but his own personal followers, who garrisoned the fort. Ahmed forthwith availed himself of the occasion to accomplish his task: he first dismounted the gun, then kindled a fire about it, and finally broke its neck. Leaving his tools behind him, he fled with his apprentices to Nezwa, and from thence went to Máskat, where he was welcomed and amply rewarded by Sultân.

On Hamîd's return to Yabrîn the garrison of the fort informed him of all that Ahmed the brasier had done. War

was the marriage of Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd's daughter with Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry.

in consequence broke out between Hamîd-bin-Nâsir and Sultân, and the people of Behlâ and Nezwa;—Sultân's Wâli over the former place at that time being Seif-bin-Mas'ûd, el-Bû-Sâîdy, as already stated. Frequent raids and attacks followed, and many were slain on both sides. The Nizâriyyah and their confederates the people of el-Hamrâ, those of the Jebel [Riyâm?] and Saifam, as also of ezh-Zhâhirah took part with Hamîd; the el-Kutb were opposed to him. One day Seif-bin-Mas'ûd went with the people of Behlâ to destroy the watercourse at Yabrîn, and a fight took place between them and the people of Yabrîn, in which the Wâli Seif-bin-Mas'ûd was wounded with a musket-shot. He returned with his men to Behlâ and died three days after.

In the year 1218 [A.D. 1803] Sultân resolved on performing the Hijj, taking with him a number of the notables of 'Omân, such as the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Mâtar, esh-Sharky, the Sâhib of el-Fujairah, and Muhenna-bin-Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, and the sheikh Rabîâah-bin-Ahmed, er-Ruwâhy, and others. A few days after their departure, Bedr-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed[1] started from Habrâ and came to Máskat, entering it by night with a few men, and he and Mâjid-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, the Wakîl, agreed to seize the Eastern fort, the garrison of which Sultân had left in the charge of a slave named Kûmbu, a manumit of Seif-bin-el-Imâm, Bedr's father. On the night of their arrival, Bedr and his followers had concealed themselves in the house of Mâjid-bin-Khalfân. The night after, Bedr proceeded to the Eastern fort, taking with him Barakâ-es-Sármalah, another of Seif-bin-el-Imâm's manumitted slaves, and five other men carrying a bag containing one thousand dollars. On reaching the gate they shouted for Kûmbu, who looking out from a window inquired who they were. Bedr replied: "I am your

[1] Sultân's nephew, the son of his brother Seif who died at Lâmu. See p. 205.

master Bedr-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd; open the door, and let me and my companions in; if you do, I shall leave you in your present appointment. Meanwhile, accept from me this trifle." Kûmbu inquired what it was, and on being told that it consisted of a bag of dollars he caused a basket to be let down and hauled it in. That done, he said to Bedr: "Return whence you came; if you do not, I will fire upon you;" and then commenced throwing stones at him. When Bedr informed Mâjid-bin-Khalfân of what had taken place, the latter advised him not to remain in Máskat. Bedr and his companions accordingly left for Habrâ, where they remained a few days and then started for Nejd. On reaching 'Ajmân, the demesne of Râshid-bin-Hamîd, en-Nâîmy, the latter entertained him and his three companions courteously. Some days after, Bedr departed from 'Ajmân to ed-Dir'iyyah[1], where he joined 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, the Imâm of the Wahhâbis,[2] and took up his abode with him. The morning after Bedr's visit to the fort, Kûmbu went to Seif-bin-Hándzal, el-Bû-Sâîdy, whom Sultân on his departure for the Hijj had left Wâli over Máskat, informed

[1] Ed-Dir'iyyah, the capital of the Wahhâbis under Su'ûd the First, is situated a little to the north-west of Riyâdh, the modern capital. It was destroyed by the Egyptian army under Ibrahîm Pâsha, after a siege of five months, A.D. 1817, when 'Abdallah, the son of Su'ûd the Second, surrendered himself, and was eventually sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded. "The ruins of an enormous palace, and of a scarce less enormous mosque at Derey'eeah, even now remain to attest the magnificence of the monarch who reared them, and the old capital displays, amidst all its desolation, traces of much greater regularity and ornament than Riad can boast." Palgrave's *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 39.

[2] 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz succeeded his father Muhammad-ibn-Su'ûd, the first political and religious head of the Wahhâbis. He is here styled Imâm, though according to Palgrave that title is seldom given to the existing Wahhâby sovereigns. He says: "In Nejed, Feysul is sometimes, but very rarely, denominated Imam by his subjects, and I have heard the same word applied twice or thrice to his heir 'Abd-Allah." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 285.

him of what had occurred during the night, and delivered to him the bag which Bedr had given to him. "As to the bag," said Seif, "keep it until your master's return from his journey, and moreover do not disclose the matter to any one. Return to the fort, and be on your guard against all such stratagems and tricks." After dismissing Kâmbu, Seif sent for Barâka-es-Sârmalah, whom he ordered to be bound in the Western fort and starved to death. His body was then cast into the sea. Meanwhile Mâjid-bin-Khalfân was in great dread of Sultân's arrival. On the return of the latter from the Hijj, and being informed how Mâjid had been implicated in the attempt upon the fort, he caused him to be bound, but released him in the course of a few days. On being told that his nephew Bedr had gone to ed-Dir'iyyah, Sultân remarked, "Had he remained at Habrâ, or in any other part of 'Omân, I would have forgiven him. His presence at ed-Dir'iyyah bodes no good to us from the people of the el-Gharb."[1]

Then a party of the *el-Mutawâhhibîn*[2] of ezh-Zhâhirah, together with some of the Nejd horsemen, attacked es-Suwaik. Intelligence thereof reaching Sultân, who was then at Barkah, he ordered Muhammad-bin-Hâmed, el-Wahîby, with his men of the Âl-Wahîbah, to encounter them. Hâmed accordingly took a number of his uncle's men and other Arabs, mounted on camels, and hearing that the invaders had entered the Wâdi-el-Haimaly he followed them as far as the centre of the valley, where the mountains closed in upon them, when they were assailed with musketry from those who were posted on the heights, and those who were in ambush below rushed out upon them, so that the Wahhâbis overcame them, and only a few of their number escaped. Muhammad-bin-Hâmed and several of his followers were among the slain.

[1] That is, the People of the West, meaning the Wahhâbis of Nejd, which is westward of 'Omân.

[2] Another plural noun formed from *Wahhâb*. It designates partisans or abettors of Wahhabeeism.

News of this disaster having reached Sultân he was greatly oppressed with sorrow and anger, and set out from Barkah to el-Fulaij, where he ordered Muhenna-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, to come to him. Muhenna, on hearing what had taken place, advised him to write and consult all the people of 'Omân, from Jaálân to Sohâr, as to the best course to be pursued. Muhenna then returned to Nakhl, and Sultân summoned all the heads of 'Omân, especially the Benu-Sâîd. Those who answered the summons were as follows:—of the heads of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, Ahmed-bin-el-Imâm-Sâîd, and 'Azzân-bin-Kais-bin-el-Imâm, and Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad, and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, and his brother Mâjid-bin-Khalfân; and, of his own brothers, Tâlib and Muhammad, sons of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd. Of the heads of 'Omân there came the sheikh Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, er-Riwâny, and Muhenna-bin-Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, and the sheikh Hajjy-bin-Sâîd, el-Hásany, and Sâlim-bin-'Aly, el-Temâmy, and the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih, el-Harâthy, el-Hâshimy, and Khâdim-bin-Muhammad. On their arrival Sultân invited them into the upper room of the fort at Barkah, and when they were seated he addressed them to the following effect: "It is known to this assembly of sheikhs and tribes how many of our people were slain in the Wâdi-el-Hainaly, since which occurrence I have been like a hand without fingers. War threatens us on all sides, while those who have heretofore been friends have become our enemies, and those on whom we relied have, under the impending difficulties, proved themselves untrustworthy. The dagger's point is at our breasts, and I ask your opinion of the situation." None replying to this appeal he repeated it a second time, whereupon Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy, answered, saying: "If you fancy that since the death of Muhammad-bin-Hámed, el-Wahîby, and his followers there are none left in 'Omân brave enough to contend against these Nejdy enemies, our opinion

differs from yours; for there can be no doubt that 'Omân still possesses men who are stronger than they are, more numerous, and more indomitable in war. We are not dispirited on account of the Wahhâbis, or any other possible enemies, for we have hearts in our breasts ready to encounter them, and the swords are on our shoulders with which we are ready to smite them. Blood is man's only dye, and war, like the manna and quails, is as food to us. But words are vain unless followed by deeds; therefore let the Wahhâbis and their allies prepare for the overthrow which awaits them." Here the speaker stopped, and the Âl-Bû-Sâid having consulted together said: "We approve of what Seif has uttered." The heads of 'Omân, of esh-Sharkiyyah, of el-Bediyyah and of Jaâlân added: "We shall be delighted to fight these insolent tyrants: we esteem their many as few, and the most valiant among them as cowards. The brave man scorns to be a dastard runagate, and the noble man disdains to live in subjection." During the conference a messenger arrived from Kais with a letter to his brother Sultân, which he delivered to him sealed. On opening and reading it Sultân said: "My brother informs me of the advance of el-Harîk on Sohâr, and that he is encamped with his army at el-'Auhy. Kais asks for assistance, and urges me to hasten to him; therefore let all return at once to their homes and then join me with their respective followings. The rendezvous will be at el-Khabûrah." They replied unanimously: "We will do so, God willing."

The representatives then left, and Sultân with Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and Mâjid-bin-Khalfân went to Máskat. On their arrival Sultân ordered his ship the *el-Fálak* to be made ready and laden with as large a cargo of arms, dates, and rice as she could carry; after which he himself proceeded by land and encamped at el-Khabûrah, where the ship also arrived in due time and anchored to the westward of the fort. The tribes also began to join him, until the number of

the el-Yemeniyyah and the Nizâr amounted to twelve thousand men. Meanwhile el-Harîk, the Wahhâby, remained encamped at 'Auhy, near Sohâr, in ignorance of the levies which had been raised by Kais and his brother Sultân to act against him, whereas Sultân had been kept fully informed of the movements of el-Harîk. Just as Sultân was about to start for Sohâr from el-Khabûrah, a letter reached him from his brother Kais apprising him that as soon as el-Harîk heard of the preparations which were being made against him he left 'Auhy by night, setting fire to his tents, and returned to el-Bereimy. Thereupon Sultân dismissed his forces and returned to Máskat, and el-Harîk, after staying a few days at el-Bereimy, started for Nejd. When the el-'Uttûb heard of the departure of the latter they made peace with Sultân and withdrew their allegiance from 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, and those of their number who had resided at ez-Zubârah[1] left that place and became inhabitants of el-Bahrein. A reconciliation was also effected between Hamîd-bin-Nasir, el-Ghâfiry, and Sultân-bin-el-Imâm, so that revolts were quelled and troubles passed away.

(In fine, the achievements of the glorious Seyyid Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd were most renowned, and his rule over the people was most auspicious. In proof of this we may state that no drought occurred in 'Omân during the whole term of his administration; on the contrary, its produce increased to a surprising extent, more especially in 1213 [A.D. 1798]. At Máskat, in that year, the water nearly drowned the people who resided on the level ground near the lesser gate of the wall, the flood reaching as far as the *Takiyyah*. The water also from the great, middle, and small

[1] Ez Zubârah, once a large town, now in ruins, situated in a deep bay in the district of Kátar—which formed part of the ancient el-Bahrein on the mainland—to the eastward of the island which has since been called by that name. It was occupied by a branch of the el-'Uttûb about the same time that they seized the island (see note 1, p. 227), and is still held by a chief of the el-Khalifah dynasty.

vallies extended to the sea, the stream continuing to run for sixty days, the rain falling sometimes slightly, then heavily, and during all that time neither sun, nor moon, nor stars were visible. After the sixty days the sun shone, and the inhabitants went to their respective avocations in the market.)

In the year 1219 [A.D. 1804] Sultân determined to go in person to el-Básrah to receive the *Kâmân* from the inhabitants of that place, which had been paid since the time of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd. He embarked on board his ship the *Jinjawâr*, leaving Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli over Máskat. On reaching el-Básrah he was received with the greatest respect by the notables there, who renewed their obligations of obedience and submission, and paid him the usual *Kâmân*, which, as just stated, the inhabitants of el-Básrah had always paid since the reign of the Imâm Ahmed. After remaining there a few days he re-embarked and arrived off Linjah,[1] where he got into his yacht called *el-Badry*, with only a few of his slaves and followers, his object being to go through the straits to the Bunder [el-'Abbâs?] and Hurmûz, the ship being ordered to remain near el-Kásum, [Kishm], until he rejoined her. Near Linjah

[1] Linjah is situated in lat. 26° 32′ 50″ N., long. 54° 59′ 10″ E., on the southern coast of Persia, just outside the western entrance into "Clarence's Strait," separating the mainland from the island of Kishm. It is a large and flourishing town, with a tolerable anchorage, and carries on considerable trade with India and most parts of Arabia. Mr. Palgrave gives a detailed and interesting account of the place and its motley population in his *Travels* (vol. ii. pp. 288-296), but I am surprised to find that he describes it as being under a governor appointed by the ruler of 'Omân, of which state he seems to consider it a dependency, subject to certain tributary dues payable to Persia. It seems probable from our author's narrative that during the Imâmate of Sa'îd-ibn-Ahmed and the contemporaneous regency of the Seyyid Sultân, who became master of Kishm and Hormûz, that Linjah also was within his jurisdiction; but for many years past, and certainly up to 1854, it was held by the Jowâsim Arabs, under a local chief named sheikh "Khalifah-bin-Guzib." See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 287.

he fell in with three boats belonging to the esh-Shuaihiyyîn,[1] who are a tribe of the el-Háwalah, of Julfâr. The encounter took place at midnight, the boats of the esh-Shuaihiyyîn being crowded with men, whereas Sultân's boat, the *el-Badry*, carried as already stated only a few of his slaves and freemen. The esh-Shuaihiyyîn hailed the crew of the *el-Badry* and asked what boat it was. Sultân replied: "It belongs to Sultân-bin-el-Imâm, who himself answers you." The latter words were meant as a defiance, and implied further, "who will smite you with the sword, and will not suffer the wounded to escape." They retorted: "We are in search of Sultân." He answered: "Then furl your sails, and, God willing, we shall fight at dawn." They did so, and he ordered the men on board the *el-Badry* to do the same. Then some of his followers advised Sultân to get into the yacht's boat and let them row him to the ship. He replied: "God forbid that I should leave my men in the hour of danger!" At dawn, and after Sultân and his followers had recited the appointed prayer, he directed the crew to move the yacht close to the enemy's boats, whereupon a fierce conflict ensued, the esh-Shuaihiyyîn hurling javelins and long arrows at him, which he parried with his sword, roaring at them all the time like a lion. Several of their men being killed they determined to flee, at which juncture one of their number, the vilest of the

[1] The "Shihiyyin" of the late Colonel Taylor, who describes them as inhabiting five small towns situated on the eastern coast of Cape Musándim, or Ruûs-el-Jebel, from the extreme point of the promontory as far as "the first pirate port of Ramse," namely, "Dar Sinni, Khasab, Jadi, Julfâr [once occupied by the Portuguese], and Boka. They are occupied by the stationary and more civilized part of the tribe, who are employed in pearl fishing, in trade, and in agriculture . . . . The remainder of the tribe gain a precarious livelihood by fishing in the small bays on the coast, or in the islands at the head of the cape, or else in the character of pastoral Arabs, wandering over the interior portion of this country, which affords a scanty supply of burnt vegetation for their flocks...The male adults of the tribe are said to amount to 14,000." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 14.

vile, fired at him with a musket, and the ball entering his mouth he expired on the spot. On hearing the wailings for him on board of the *el-Badry* the enemy attacked the vessel and plundered it, but spared the lives of the crew, so that Sultân was the only one killed. The esh-Shuaihiyyîn then returned to their country, while some of Sultân's followers made their way to Linjah and informed his friends there of all that had taken place, which distressed them greatly. Then they placed the body of Sultân in a coffin and buried him there. When the crew of the ship were apprised of this sad affair by the people of el-Kâsum they could scarcely discriminate between their sorrow and their anger; but they said, as all in trouble should say, "We are God's, and to Him we must return."

The ship then sailed for Máskat, but the *el-Badry* arrived there before her. During the voyage of the latter, while passing Barkah, one of Sultân's slaves swam to land and went straight to el-Fulaij to communicate the intelligence to the Seyyids. Those present on the occasion were, the Seyyidah, the daughter of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, and the two Seyyids, Sâlim and Sâîd, the sons of Sultân, who had quitted Máskat with some of their *harîm* after the death of Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Sâîdy, the Wâli, who died a few days before the news arrived of the death of Sultân, and after appointing the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to succeed him. The Seyyids started the same night for Máskat and arrived there the following morning. When the intelligence of Sultân's death was known in the town the whole population was convulsed with sadness, and when it reached 'Omân the sorrow became universal.

The death of the renowned Seyyid Sultân-bin-el-Imâm took place near Linjah, a little before dawn, on Thursday, the 13th of Shaâbân, A.H. 1219, [20th November, 1804.] Many poets wrote eulogies of him, most of which are very long.

List of the male children severally left by the Seyyids of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd family:—

The glorious AHMED-BIN-SA'ÎD left

1. Hilâl. 2. Sa'id. 3. Kais.
4. Seif. 5. Sultân. 6. Muhammad.[1]

HILÂL, son of Ahmed, left only 'Aly.

The Imâm SA'ÎD, son of Ahmed, left

1. Hámed. 2. Nasr. 3. Seif.

HÁMED died before his father, leaving one son, namely, Hilâl-bin-Hámed.

The Seyyid KAIS, son of Ahmed, left one son only, namely 'Azzân-bin-Kais.

The Seyyid SEIF, son of Ahmed, left Bedr-bin-Seif only.

The Seyyid SULTÂN, son of Ahmed, left

1. Sâlim. 2. Sa'id. 3. Hámed.

TÂLIB, the son of Ahmed, died childless.

MUHAMMAD, son of Ahmed, left only Hilâl-bin-Muhammad.

SEYYID SÂLIM-BIN-SULTÂN.[2]

On the death of the Seyyid Sultân, when the kingdom fell to his son Sâîd, he and his brother Sâlim became greatly attached to each other—an attachment which was uninterrupted until the death of Sâlim.

The Seyyid Sâlim was remarkable for his courtesy, liberality and integrity, not only abstaining from wrong, but doing what was right. He was strict in observing the stated times of prayer, dispensed the obligatory *Zakâh* to the poor and needy, besides giving largely of his own free will. He was a lover of the devout and pious, was fond of associating

[1] Tâlib, reckoned the sixth of Ahmed's sons by the author at p. 188, is omitted here. He is mentioned, however, a few lines farther down, as having died childless.

[2] The following biography of Sâlim, Sultân's eldest son, who appears to have ruled conjointly with his younger brother Sa'id, after their father's death, is evidently inserted here in order to keep the subsequent account of Sa'id's reign more distinct.

with literary men, was bountiful towards Muslims of merit, listened patiently to the unfortunate, and by his urbanity placed all his associates on an equality with himself. In fine weather, when he resided at Máskat, he used to frequent the *másjid*, called the Másjid of the Wakîl, before early dawn. (The Wakîl who built it in the year A.H. 1182 [A.D. 1768] was the seyyid Khalfân-bin-Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, el-Bû-Sâîdy.) There the Seyyid Sâlim would offer up the usual prayers, and then follow them up by other supplications until the *Muedz-dzin* announced the prayer of *el-Fajr*, when he took his place behind the learned and pious sheikh, Abu-Zuhair-Muhenna-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, el-Bû-Saîdy, in company with the other Muslims.[1] Afterwards he would read a portion of the gracious Kurân, until the sheikh prayed the Prayer of *edh-Dhúha*, and then return home. If his brother Sâîd happened to be at Máskat, he would then go out with him; if not, he used to take a walk in the building near the Island, where his father Sultân used to promenade. Such was his ordinary mode of life. There was always some learned *Fakîh*[2] or famous poet present at his receptions. He committed to memory the poetry of the Arabs before and after the times of Islâm, studying diligently the histories of Arabian and foreign dynasties, insomuch that he was quite familiar with their policy and the events of their reign. He often sat up a great part of the night discussing with the learned such topics as the rules of poetry and rhetoric, the comparative sciences, and other subjects in which he took an interest. And if, on any of these occasions, reflections were made upon the dead, he used to say, personifying the departed :—

[1] It is clear from this incidental statement that the Seyyid Sâlim, though regent and virtually sovereign of the country, did not perform the religious functions of Imâm. It should be borne in mind that the Imâm Sa'îd-bin-Ahmed was still alive at er-Rastâk.

[2] A jurisconsult. For an elaborate disquisition on the import of the original word, see Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arab.*, pp. 203-208.

"We were men as you are, but we are changed;
Another age, and you as we are shall be."

He was very assiduous in all matters connected with the administration, very determined in purpose, and at the same time most discriminating and impartial, regarding all as equal before the law, so much so, that one whose lustre is well known used to say of him: "He is not a human being, but a beneficent angel." He destroyed the sources of oppression, and by his uprightness put an end to the evil-doings of malefactors. At night-fall he used to go forth disguised, and walked about for two or three hours, accompanied by a number of his officers and slaves, and if he caught any one transgressing he had him punished according to law. The good esteemed him for such conduct, the evil-disposed hated him, and the malevolent found fault with his leniency. Tales of ancient or modern warfare had a great charm for him; he listened with rapture to accounts of the victories gained by the faithful over unbelievers, and was saddened whenever the unbelievers prevailed against the faithful—the triumph of tyrants and hypocrites over the right, as sanctioned by the religion of the protecting Creator, piercing his heart like a dagger.

He carefully selected as counsellors a number of eminent men from among the Muslim community. Of these were: the learned seyyid Muhenna-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad; the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Hâshimy; the devout sheikh Seif-bin-Sâîd, el Mâûly, el-Wadâmy; the sheikh the Kâdhi Abu-'l-A'hwal-Sâlim-bin-Muhammad, ed-Dârmaky, and his son the sheikh, the Fakih, Hamîd-bin-Sâlim; the learned but blind sheikh Thunayyân-bin-Nâsir-bin-Khalf, ez-Zâmily; the eloquent sheikh Hamâd-bin-Muhammad-bin-Sâlim, el-Bast, and many other renowned men. I was present on one occasion at his honourable assembly, when I saw him surrounded by a number of the sheikhs: I saluted them and was saluted in return, and then sat down. The conversa-

tion turned on the subject of the Wahhâbis of Nejd, who charged with *Tashrîk*[1] those of the Muslims who dissented

[1] *Tashrîk*, literally, ascribing a Companion or Companions (to God); polytheism. This charge was based on the excessive reverence which Muslims in general had long been in the habit of paying, not only to Muhammad, but to departed Sheikhs, Wâlis, Fakîrs, etc.,—a veneration altogether inconsistent with the religious theory embodied in the Kurân, and more especially with the fundamental formula of Islâm, "there is no god but God." Mr. Palgrave, in one of the most splendid passages of his work, shows how much beyond their literal import is implied by these words—"Their full sense is, not only to deny absolutely and unreservedly all plurality whether of nature or of person in the Supreme Being, not only to establish the unity of the Unbegetting and Unbegot, in all its simple and incommunicable Oneness, but besides this the words, in Arabic and among Arabs, imply that this one Supreme Being is also the only Agent, the only Force, the only Act existing throughout the universe, and leave to all beings else, matter or spirit, instinct or intelligence, physical or moral, nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or quiescence, in action or in capacity. The sole power, the sole motor, movement, energy, and deed, is God; the rest is downright inertia and mere instrumentality, from the highest archangel down to the simplest atom of creation. Hence, in this one sentence, 'La Ilâh illah Allâh,' is summed up a system, which for want of a better name may be called the Pantheism of Force, or of Act, thus exclusively assigned to God, Who absorbs it all, exercises it all, and to Whom alone it can be ascribed, whether for preserving or destroying, for relative evil or for equally relative good....Such is the pervading idea, the central figure, the master or mother thought, in brief, the keystone of Islâm, as Mahomet conceived it, and as the Wahhabee understood it. Later doctrines and schools, introducing now free will, now merit, now hierarchical institutions and mutual dependence of man on man, now devising intercessors and mediators, living or dead, selecting holy places, honouring saints and tombs, forming ascetic brotherhoods and darweesh associations, were by the Wahhabee recognised henceforth in their true light, from this point of view, as innovations, corruptions, and distortions of the great and simple vision of one solitary autocrat over one even mass of undistinguished and undistinguishable slaves. This deduction was eminently logical. How, in fact, can the Absolute leave room for intercessors, or the Uncommunicable admit of a hierarchy linking the creature with the Creator? what free will can find place in a passive automaton? or what meaning can be attached to ascetic practices and good works when the Universal Lord and Ruler has declared that He cares not what His slaves may do, or to what he destines them? To suppose sanctity or

from their doctrines, whereby also they virtually legalized the murder of the *Muwâhhidîn*,[1] the despoiling of the people of the *Kiblah*[2] of their property, the marriage of their wives without divorce,[3] and the enslavement of their children.[4] Sâlim listened without speaking, but after the discussion respecting the Wahhâbis—those people of darkness and tyranny—had continued a long time, he said: "Sheikhs, I am disposed to visit the learned sheikh Muhammad-ez-Zuwâny, el-Hasây, esh-Shâfây, who, as you know, has been driven from his home to our country and

distinction in a creature, is an invasion of the all-absorbing rights of the Creator; and neither place nor title can avail when the beast and archangel, heaven and hell, are all the same before the unmoved and inaccessible One. That Mahomet had thus thought and acted accordingly whenever these heretical deviations came under his notice, the son of 'Abd-el-Wahhâb well knew; and he very fairly inferred that he would have looked upon with equal abhorrence, and treated with no less rigour, the analogous corruptions and overlayings of later times." *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 365, 370. The thoughtful pages from which these extracts are quoted deserve to be carefully studied by all who would understand the leading doctrine of Islâm, and what Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb undertook when he formed the project of replacing this its "neglected keystone, and with it and by it reconstructing the broken fabric." Imbued with these views respecting the Unity of God, his followers were strictly consistent in charging with *Tashrîk* all Muslims who had adopted theories or practices incompatible therewith, notwithstanding that they denied all plurality in the Godhead by an unswerving adherence to the formula, *La ilâh illa Allâh*.

[1] *Muwâhhidîn*, those who affirm the Unity (of God).

[2] That is, Muslims, who turn towards the Kiblah, meaning Mekkah, when engaged in religious worship.

[3] That is to say, without being first divorced a third time from their husbands. Such is the law of the Kurân:—"Ye may divorce your wives twice, and then either retain them with humanity or dismiss them with kindness....But if the husband divorce her a third time, she shall not be lawful to him again until she marry another husband. But if he also divorce her, it shall be no crime in them if they return to each other." *Sûrat-el-Bâkarah*, (ii.) 229, 230.

[4] All these acts were legitimate on the part of the Wahhâbis, as orthodox Muslims, towards all others whom they chose to regard as *Mushrikîn*, or Polytheists, whether Muslims, Christians, Jews, or Pagans.

has become one of our people. Moreover, he is a near neighbour, and we must not leave it in his power to say that we neglected him, or by refraining to associate with him treated him with contempt." Thereupon he arose and was followed by the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Hâshimy; the sheikh Seif-bin-Saîd, el-Mâûly, el-Wadâmy; the sheikh Thunayyân-bin-Nâsir-bin-Khalf, ez-Zâmily; the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Muhammad, el-Bast, and others—twelve in all, myself included. The sheikh Muhammad-ez-Zuwâny resided at that time in a small neat house in one of the streets of Máskat. When we knocked at the door one of his attendants came out, to whom Sâlim said: "Ask the sheikh's permission for us to see him." The attendant did so, and returned immediately, requesting us to enter. When we had taken our seats and exchanged salutations with the host, the Seyyid Sâlim opened the discourse, saying: "O sheikh, this country has become used to you, and your renown therein is like the perfume of roses. Men of your stamp can receive no injury, for you always command respect. Recount to us, I pray you, what befell you among the followers of 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, et-Temîmy, en-Nejdy, el-Wahhâby, for many reports have reached us respecting him and his followers: how they charge with *Tashrîk* those Muslims who eschew their doctrines, legalize the plunder of their property, and the taking their wives in marriage before they are legally divorced from their husbands, and without observing the *'Iddah*.[1] Moreover, that they regard as unbelievers and as *Mushrikîn* all those who reject their peculiar tenets, maintaining that

[1] The *'Iddah* "is the period during which a divorced woman, or a widow, must wait before marrying again,—in either case, if pregnant, until delivery; otherwise, the former must wait three lunar periods, or three months, and the latter four months and ten days. A woman who is divorced during a state of pregnancy, though she may make a new contract of marriage immediately after her delivery, must wait forty days longer before she can complete her marriage by receiving her husband." Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 137.

their profession of faith, 'There is no god but God, and He has no companion,' does not profit them. If such is their way, it is the way of Nâfi'-bin-el-Azrak,[1] and they have been taught it by their sheikh, Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb, the author of the book which he entitled the *Solution of Difficulties*. It begins, as we have ourselves seen, in this style: 'In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! This is the book of the Solution of Difficulties, written by the sheikh Muhammad-bin-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb; may God grant him the highest reward, and admit him into heaven without bringing him to account.' I understand that you were obliged to leave your own country of el-Hasâ and take refuge at Máskat, owing to the ill-treatment which you received at their hands. Here you enjoy comfort and security; continue to dwell here, and may future happiness cause you to forget your past misfortunes."

The sheikh Muhammad-ez-Zuwâny replied: "The career of 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz and his sect is most wonderful. When his army increased and his banners waved over them, he selected a number of unlearned men, who made great pretensions to learning, whom he styled *Mutâwa'ah*,[2] in consideration of

[1] This remark seems to suggest that Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Wahhâb was not the first to inculcate his peculiar doctrines. I have searched in vain for any further information respecting the Nâfi'-bin-el-Azrak here mentioned.

[2] *Mutâwa'ah*, plural of *Mutâwwa'*, a volunteer, follower, or coadjutor. Mr. Palgrave writes the word *Metowwaa'* and *Metow'waa'*, and renders it "minister—clergyman, if you will," adding, "the literal meaning of the Arabic word is 'one who enforces obedience,' to God, understood," thereby giving the participial noun an active transitive signification, in which case, however, the English should have been written *Mutâwwi'*, or, according to his style of expressing Arabic words in the Roman alphabet, *Motowwi'* with a *kâsrah* to the final syllable. I have adopted the active intransitive signification, which equally admits Mr. Palgrave's "minister." The original word, in the equivalent plural form of *Mutâwa'ûn*, is used by our author at p. 203, in a part of his narrative wholly

their having flattered and deceived him by sanctioning his tyranny and approving of his charging those of the people of the *Kiblah* with *Tashrîk* who might call in question any thing which he had written in his book, entitled the *Solution of Difficulties*. It is a small book, consisting mostly of sophisms and conjectures. It legalizes the murder of all Muslims who dissent from them, the appropriation of their property, the enslavement of their offspring, the marriage of their wives without being first divorced from their husbands, and without observing the *'Iddah*. The actuating principle in all this was their thirst for gain, through fraud and stratagem. They listened to what tyrants taught them, but they forgot the dictum of the Almighty: 'Do not think that God is heedless of the actions of the evil-doers.'[1] They reduced most of the inhabitants of el-Hasâ from plenty to poverty, their clothes to rags, their power to weakness, and they murdered a number of the Fakîhs who opposed their doctrines, as I have just stated them." The sheikh continued: "One striking peculiarity about them is their mode of replying to those who differ from them. Should one of the latter say: 'I confess that there is no god but God, and that He has no companion, and that Muhammad is his servant and apostle,' they ask, 'What proof have you of that?' They try to distort his orthodox creed by asking him to prove that God who created and sustains him is what He is, that there is none other equal to Him, and that He is the only One, the eternal, the existing, the self-existent. If they knew what argument was, they would know that there is no argument against one who confesses that God is one and eternal, with-

unconnected with the Wahhâbis, to designate free soldiers, or volunteers, who followed their chiefs willingly and gratuitously. According to Mr. Palgrave, the Wahhâby *Mutâwa'ah* "thrive on the involuntary contributions of a people that detests them." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 79, 317.

[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-Ibrahîm*, (xiv.) 43.

out any associate in His unity or companion in His oneness. By thus assuming the position of those who ask for a proof that God is God, and that He has no companion, they have been led into error; and through their doubts respecting God and their sophistical tenets they become like beasts who have no understanding—they do not know that they do not understand, for no one knows that but the knowing." He proceeded: "Such being their way, which we declined to follow, a motley crowd of their tyrants conspired against us, and wrote to 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz telling him that there was at el-Hasâ a number of persons who opposed his doctrines, who believed that he and his followers were a sect of tyrannical innovators, who set at nought the laws of the Most High, and were steeped in profanities and immersed in crimes. After they had sent many letters to him to the same effect, he eventually directed the Wakîl whom he had appointed over the people of el-Hasâ to forward to him twelve men, named by himself, I being one of the number. Fearing that a worse fate might befall us if we resisted, we all obeyed. Amongst us was a young man who was well versed in theology, in the commentaries on the Book and the Traditions of the Apostle, a good logician, a learned controversialist, besides having read most of the standard works of the time. While on the road we strove to impress upon this young man that our answer and his to any questions propounded to us by the other party should be confined to this: 'May God reward you! Point out to us the way of salvation, for we are most anxious to attain it.' On reaching Riyâdh, of Nejd, we saw 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz there, with a number of his followers and ministers, but before we came within saluting distance the children cried out: 'God is great! let the vain be crushed! the vain are crushed! God exalt the Muslims and bring down the *Mushrikîn!*' Surrounded in this manner we alighted at the Másjid, called the Másjid of the Mutâwaáh, and as soon as we had deposited our travel-

ling equipment, goods, and food, 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz came to us, accompanied by a number of his Mutâwaâh, and after exchanging salutations with us they sat down and welcomed us. After they left, a most liberal supply of food arrived from 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz for ourselves and our animals; and trays of refreshments, which left nothing to be desired, continued to be sent to us every morning and evening. 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz also used to pay us a visit every morning, with one of his principal Mutâwaâh, who used to read to us from the *Solution of Difficulties*, to which we affected to listen with the greatest attention. Whenever he brought his lecture to a close, we used to say with one accord: 'God recompense you;' or, 'Show us the right way, for we are anxious to know it, and to follow the words of truth.' This refrain of ours rather puzzled them, for it tended to conceal our own views. One day, however, 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz came to the Másjid, accompanied by several Mutâwaâh, and directed him who had been accustomed to read to us to read us a portion from the *Solution of Difficulties*. That done, he addressed us as follows: 'Ye men of el-Hasâ, we understand you believe that there are eminent Fakîhs among you whom no one can match in learning, and that you are far superior to us in acquirements. Question us, therefore, if you be sincere; or submit to us, if you be followers of the truth.' The young man already mentioned as one of our number turned to him and said: 'Thus far you have spoken to us a good deal, and have read to us what is contained on the leaves of that book, which consists chiefly of negations most difficult to be dealt with, even by men of the highest intellect; but permit me to ask you to call upon these eminent sheikhs to answer a question touching the religion of God and His Apostle:—Is there a link wanting thereto after [the teaching of] the Apostle of God and his orthodox Successors which you and your followers have supplied, or is yours a distinct religion?' As the Mutáwwâ was silent, not venturing to

reply, 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz said to him, 'By Allâh!—and there is no other but He,—the youth has vanquished you and stopped your mouth; for if you say that it is distinct, you are a liar, for a distinct religion cannot reach us except through an apostle sent to that end, and there has been no such apostle sent since Muhammad, the Apostle of God. On the other hand, if you say that it is an additional link, you are an innovator, since he who adds creed to creed cannot be regarded in any other light, and is in the darkness of error. The religion of God is one, not many, and one of your calibre should not have attempted to ply the learned with your speculative opinions: you have smitten a hard rock with your glass, and have imitated the walk of the blind in your aberrations. As to you, ye learned men of el-Hasâ, may God recompense you! you are far removed from all doubt, and have no sympathy with the doctrine of *Tashrîk*. If you remain with us, you shall be valued and respected; but if you prefer to return, you are free to return in peace.' We all told him that we preferred the latter alternative, and we accordingly left him the same day. On reaching el-Hasâ we found that the Mutâwaàh of the Wahhâbis had become more tyrannical, even towards those who had submitted to them, to say nothing of their outrageous conduct towards those who refused to recognize their devilish and sophistical pretensions; so we left the place with a heavy heart, and were not quieted until we found security in Máskat of 'Omân." Here the sheikh ended his narrative; after which we discussed the lives of the four Khalîfahs, namely, Abu-Bekr, 'Omar, 'Othmân and 'Aly, in the course of which discussion the sheikh Muhammad-ez-Zuwâny made the following remarks: "I am astonished at those people who believe that 'Othmân-bin-'Affân abstracted some portions from the exalted Kurân, out of envy, and because he was not distinguished by those characteristics which no one in the world, high or low, has been endowed with since the Apostle

of God, and that what 'Othmân abstracted they possess, but may not show it, except to the principal followers of their creed, maintaining that it is unlawful for them to communicate it to any who differ from them. Let the impartial inquirer weigh such language as this, for investigation clears up what is doubtful and exposes error. Was it possible for 'Othmân or any one else to abstract what was written in the heart? for the Almighty saith: 'these are evident signs in the breasts of those who have received understanding.'[1] It is certain that the blessed Kurân was not brought down by Gabriel from the Lord of both worlds to Muhammad the Apostle written on paper, neither did the Apostle rehearse it to the people from paper; what power, then, could abstract what was in the heart, or what was not committed to writing except from the heart? But if the case is as they maintain, why did not 'Aly, after 'Othmân's death, restore what 'Othmân had abstracted, even if they can bring themselves to believe—what would be most derogatory under the circumstances—that he feared him during his lifetime? But all such assertions on their part are either lies, or insinuations, or sophisms congenial to these libertinisms."[2]

[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-el-'Ankabût*, (xxix.) 48.

[2] I am not aware that this pretension on the part of the Wahhâbis of being possessed of certain portions of the original Kurân, not to be found in the recognized version, has ever been noticed before. The orthodox opinion regarding the mode in which the Book was colligated, during the Khalifate of Abu-Bekr, Muhammad's successor, coincides with the following account of the undertaking, compiled by M. Caussin de Perceval from Abulféda's *Annales Muslemici*:—"Up to that time there was no complete copy of the Kurân; even fragments of the same, written either on skins or palm-branches, were scarce. Some portions, moreover, had not yet been reduced to writing, and existed only in the memories of the *As-hâb*, [Companions of the Prophet]. The loss of so many of the *Kurrâ*, [Readers who knew the Kurân by rote,] who had been killed in the battle of 'Akrabâ, [against Musailamah], had impressed the Khalifah with the necessity of collecting the Kurân together into one book, in order that the deposit of the law which Muhammad had consigned to his contemporaries might be transmitted in its entirety to

Here the sheikh paused and Sâlim said to him, "God reward you, for you are a Fakîh of a noble stamp! Is there any thing that we can do for you, or any particular object wherein we may assist you?" He replied in the negative; so we took leave of him, mutually congratulating one another.

The eminent Seyyid Sâlim-bin-Sultân was very circumspect until he was attacked with the sickness of which he died. On his journeys from one place to another, whenever food was brought to him, he would not partake of it until some one else had eaten of it first, dreading treachery. He was more suspicious of friends than of enemies, and when a visitor entered his room he seized the hilt of his dagger, fixed his eyes upon the person, and did not remove them until the close of the interview. I spent one night with him—it was the night before the 14th of Ramadhân, A.H. 1230 [19th August, 1815]. A third part of the night having passed in conversation, he remarked, "How is it that I do not hear the cry of the watchman from the Eastern fort? My brother Sâid has imprisoned therein some refractory men of the Benu-'Uttûb and a number of their notables." (They belonged to el-Kuweit and el-Bahrein, and among them were Ibn-Salâmah, el-Kuweity, and 'Abdu-'r-Rahmân,

succeeding generations. A commission, composed of the surviving *Kurrâ* and of the best instructed *As-hâb*, was accordingly charged with the task of gathering together all the fragments of the sacred book into one volume. This prototype, revised under the care of the said commission, Abu-Bekr confided to the safe keeping of Háfsah, the daughter of 'Omar, the Prophet's wife." (*Hist. des Arabes*, vol. iii. p. 379). In a subsequent part of his history Abulfáda says: "When 'Othmân succeeded, finding that various readings were in the hands of the people, he caused a copy to be made from that which Háfsah had, and sent it everywhere, superseding all others." (*Apud* Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arab.*, p. 348).

The alleged assertion of the Wahhâbis, that 'Othmân took advantage of his position on this occasion to omit certain passages from the Kurân, which they profess to have recovered, is hardly met by the arguments of their ultra-orthodox opponent in the narrative.

and Muhammad-bin-Sákar, both of el-Bahrein. The Seyyid Sâîd had taken away all the rudders from their boats and imprisoned them in the fort, when he was about to set out on his first expedition against el-Bahrein.) "Go this instant," added Sâlim, "to the commandant of the troops at the lesser gate"—Suleimân, el-Huwaisy, held the appointment at that time—"and also to the commandant of the troops at the great gate"—Muhammad-bin-Sâlim, er-Ruwâhy—"and order them each to bring ten of their men to me." On their arrival he set out, some of us going before and others after him, until we came near the house of the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Ghalûm, when he ordered the soldiers and slaves to halt. Then taking my hand and the hand of a man of the Abu-Sâid, named 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, he walked on until we approached the fort, when the watch threw a stone at us. Finding that the watchmen were on the alert, we walked away quickly by the broken wall of a house which the sea had demolished—the house belonged to Muhammad-bin-'Âkîl, a victorious Amîr—and saw on a mound of the ruins twelve figures, about twelve cubits in height, clad in white shirts and turbans, all in the act of praying together, behind an Imâm who was taller than the rest. When he came to the salutation and had saluted them, he then turned to us and said, "Stop where you are." We accordingly halted, and, in fact, our legs seemed as if they were bound with iron fetters. After witnessing this apparition we returned to the soldiers and slaves, and inquired of them whether they had seen what we had. They had neither seen nor heard of any such thing before we told it to them. Going back in company to the same spot we saw nothing of what we had seen previously, and were greatly amazed. Then we were convinced beyond doubt that those we had seen were pure Sûfis.[1] We accompanied the Seyyid Sâlim to his house,

[1] In the original, *Sûfiyyûn safiyyûn*, meaning probably purified Sûfis, who through mortification and devotion had attained a beatified state,

and then each returned to his home and the soldiers to their posts.

Sâlim had a great regard for the destitute Sûfis, as the following narrative will show. One day I accompanied him on a visit to his brother Sâîd. When we got near the shop of the coppersmith Ahmed-bin-Yûsif, esh-Shiây, we noticed a youth of a beautiful countenance, with long flowing hair, clad in ragged garments. The Seyyid Sâlim gazed earnestly at him, while the young man abstained from looking at the people and continued moving his lips, uttering gentle sounds which the listeners could not understand.[1] Sâlim then motioned me to him, and said: "Go quickly to my Wakîl and get ten dollars from him and give them to the man who is standing near the coppersmith's shop." I did as he directed me, but when I returned the man was gone. I then made inquiries about him, but no one could give me any information on the subject. On reporting these circumstances to Sâlim, when he had returned to his house, he bade me restore to the Wakîl what I had taken from him, remarking that the opportunity for its use had passed away, and adding, "Ye shall not will unless God willeth."[2]

As regard's Sâlim's bravery I may mention the following:

equal to that of the angels. The tenets of this extraordinary class of Persian enthusiasts, whose free opinions regarding the dogmas of Islâm and contempt for its forms contrast so strikingly with their claim to ineffable communion with the Deity, are ably described by the late Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 382-414.

All religions being tolerated at Máskat, it is not surprising to find that some of the Súfis had found their way to that town, and that the more credulous among the population sympathized with them, although the national creed of the Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân discountenances the superstitious practices of Fakirs, Wâlis, Darwîshis, and such like fanatics and confraternities.

[1] The "Adhumeân," one of the Fakîr sects of the Sûfis mentioned by Malcolm in the foregoing quotation, devote themselves to a life of mendicacy: "They are always travelling, and are companionless. This sect continually move their lips in devotion."

[2] Kurân, *Sûrat-el-Insân*, (lxxvi.) 30.

—I accompanied him when the Julfâr boats approached the Eastern battery to plunder the Seyyid Sâîd's subjects especially, and the vessels of the people of India generally. At that time the Amîr of Julfâr was one Hásan-bin-Ráhmah, el-Háwaly, a Wahhâby of the Wahhâbis, the number of whose forces afloat was said to amount to four thousand five hundred, composed of men from Nejd and various other parts. He had twenty-four vessels, one of which was a large ship which he had plundered from a native of Yemen, called Abu-'Abîd. The Seyyid Sâîd and his brother Sâlim, and all the others of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd who resided at Máskat, embarked on board one vessel, and when they met the enemy there was a great fight between them. Then the two Seyyids returned to Máskat to prepare four additional vessels, carrying twelve hundred men, for the contest. The Seyyid Sâlim accompanied this second expedition on board of his ship the *Faidh-'Álam*, the Seyyid Sâîd being on board the *el-'Aul*, Ahmed-bin-Seif-bin-Muhammad on board his own vessel, while that belonging to Muhammad-bin-Ghalûm was manned by men from Persia. We had two encounters with the enemy at sea, the second more severe than the first. The fire from our ships and their boats was like the roar of thunder and the flashing of lightning. I can even now see Sâlim standing by the helm, smiling while all the rest were scowling. During that sharp struggle, when the dagger seemed ready to pierce all hearts, he exemplified by his composure the saying of the poet Abu-et-Táyyab: "O God! the fire of this crisis has melted away all shams, leaving only men and braves." We chased the retiring enemy as far as Salâmah and then returned to Mâskat.

After the Julfâr affair Sâlim took up his residence at el-Masnaáh, whither I and the two sheikhs, Hamîd-bin-Muhammad-bin-Sâlim, el-Bast, and 'Aly-bin-Muhammad, ed-Dármaky, went to congratulate him on his victory. He overwhelmed us with the showers of his liberality and made us

recline in the meadows of his courteous hospitality. We remained with him many long days which delight made short, and when we were about to return to Máskat he gave us our choice either to perform the journey by land or by sea. As we preferred the latter, he caused a splendid boat to be made ready for us, and on taking leave of us he quoted this verse:—

"No welcome to the morrow, and no congratulation to it,
If separation from those we love is to be on the morrow."

Sâlim's love of his friends was very great. When he was dangerously ill I took several of my companions with me to pay him a visit. On reaching him he gently reproached us for not having come to see him the day before. Alas! alas! for that time. Alas! for the loss of that Seyyid whose affection for his friends was so deep and lasting. I shall never cease to lament him, and my only comfort is the word of God to His Prophet, "Proclaim glad tidings unto the patient."

In fine, the Seyyid Sâlim-bin-Sultan's praiseworthy characteristics are innumerable. He died of paralysis, in the city of Máskat, on Wednesday night during the month of Rájab, A.H. 1236, [April 1821], and was buried in the small building which had been erected by Sultân's mother on the western side of the central Wâdi of Máskat. Sâlim left three male heirs, namely, the Seyyid Muhammed, the Seyyid Hámed, and the Seyyid Sirhân. He was eulogized by many poets after his death.

BOOK THE THIRD.

The Life and Actions of the glorious Seyyid Sa'îd-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed.

[A.H. 1219-1293 = A.D. 1804-1856.]

Preface and Summary.

This book, entitled the Full Moon, contains the life of the exalted Seyyid Sâîd, the son of Sultân, son of the renowned Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, Al-Bû-Sâîdy, el-Yémeny, el-'Omâny, el-Azdy, written by the eloquent Fakih, the sheikh Salil-ibn-Razîk, who invokes God on his own behalf and on behalf of the Muslims generally, beseeching Him to put away all trouble from among them: He wrote this noble biography in the year of the Prophet's Hijrah, the year 1273 of Islâm [A.D. 1856].

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate!

Praise be to God through whom Sâîd, the happiest of rulers, attained quiet prosperity and perennial glory, decreeing to him sublime eminence in the sphere of happiness and renown, insomuch that by the Divine aid vouchsafed to him he subdued the sovereigns of his time, acquired dignity by the battles which he fought with his enemies, conquered with the sword hitherto unknown countries, and made a straight road over the dissevered necks of the rebellious! Blessing and peace also rest upon His sustained Apostle, our lord Muhammad, who by His power humbled the enemy; and likewise upon his Family and Companions, who tri-

umphed with the edge of their sharp swords, and whose victories only stimulated them to fresh conquests!

But to proceed: After having to the best of my ability put together a connected narrative of the life of the magnanimous Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, and followed it up with a detailed account of the glorious deeds of his eminent sons, I forbore taking up the biography of the most noble and distinguished Sâîd-bin-Sultân, following therein the example of ancient and modern historians who abstain from recording exalted virtues until the decease of their possessors; and rightly so, inasmuch as the scope and influence of such virtues are not apparent until the hour of their death, for God alone knows the unknown. Now, when I wrote the life of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd and of the sovereigns his sons, Sâîd was still alive; after his death, however, I felt at liberty to record the transactions of his time and those which redounded to his renown and dignity.

Now, therefore, I shall proceed to recount somewhat of the information which I have acquired respecting his exalted life; some parts I omit owing to their general notoriety; the propriety of secrecy must be my excuse for other omissions.

I have styled this biography of the eminent Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm the *Full Moon*, and after repeating the formula, "In the name of God the most merciful!" I submit what follows to every gentle reader:—

It is certain that the glorious and exalted Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Bû-Sâîdy, el-Azdy, was born at Semaîl, in the year A.H. 1206 [A.D. 1791], and died on the 19th of Sáfar, A.H. 1273 [19th October 1856], his entire age therefore was sixty-two years and two months, all but eleven days.[1] He died on the voyage between Máskat

[1] The date of the Seyyid Sa'id's death as here stated is correct; but if he was born A.D. 1791, he was sixty five years old when he died.

It is not clear why the author should have given this account of the

and Zanzibar, on board his ship called the *Victôr*, [Victoria], while in the sea of Seychelles. He was then washed and shrouded, and prayers were said over him on board the said vessel, and then he was placed in a wooden coffin. It took the vessel six days to reach Zanzibar, and he was buried at night in the garden of his residence there, and his two sons, Mâjid and Barghâsh, together with all the people, mourned for him three days. When the mourning was ended, Mâjid was promoted over his brothers who were at Zanzibar, and on assuming authority he confirmed all the officials in the rank which they had severally held during his father's life-time; the people, moreover, recognized him and were satisfied with his arrangements. Then he dispatched one of his father's ships to Máskat, entrusting to a special messenger letters from himself conveying the sad intelligence to his brothers Thuwainy, Muhammad, and Tûrky,[1] sons of Sâîd-bin-Sultân, and to all others of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd to whom he felt bound to write. The ship in due course anchored off Râs-el-Hadd, and Mâjid's messenger sent the letters to the sheikh of that place, who took them on to the Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Khalfân-bin-Sâîd, el-Bû-Sâîdy, the Wâli of Sûr, who proceeded with them to Máskat and delivered them to the Seyyid Thuwainy-bin-Sâîd. (The vessel returned to Zanzibar immediately after the letters were consigned to the sheikh of el-Hadd.)

After the Seyyid Thuwainy had read the letter addressed to himself, and after the Wâli of Sûr had told him about the

Seyyid Sa'îd's death here rather than at the end of his biography of that sovereign.

[1] Mr. Palgrave calls the Seyyid Sa'îd's son, who held Sohâr at the time of his father's death, "Amjed;" but the Seyyid had no son of that name. (*East. and Cent. Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 277.)

The statement made by the same author, in the passage referred to, about the division of his "ample possessions" by the Seyyid, on his death-bed, between his three sons, "Thoweynee," "Mājid," and "Amjed," is equally erroneous, as has already been pointed out in the latter part of the Introduction.

sheikh of el-Hadd and Mâjid's messenger, he decided to retain the other letters and to keep the news a secret for the present. All he did was to direct his scribes to write to the commandants of all his father's forts to be on their guard. Then when he had taken satisfactory precautions at Máskat and el-Mátrah, he caused his father's death to be proclaimed, and sent all the letters to the addressees. The intelligence caused such a wailing throughout the town that the hills were almost shaken by it. Then Thuwainy and his brother Muhammad-bin-Sâîd, and the two sons of their uncle Sâlim, namely Muhammad and Hâmed, and the rest of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd who were at Máskat, went into mourning for three days. When the news arrived, the Seyyid Tûrky was at Sohâr, of which place his father Sâîd had made him Wâli; but on the arrival of his brother Mâjid's messenger with the letter conveying the intelligence, he also went into mourning with his people for three days, and all prayed to God for resignation, in accordance with the words of the Most High: "Proclaim good tidings unto the patient, who when a misfortune befalls them say: We are God's, and to Him we shall surely return."

A Ray from the resplendent Life of the SEYYID SA'ÎD,

The Son of Sultân, Son of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd,

with a narrative of some of his glorious and renowned achievements.

On the death of his father Sultân, (the manner of which we have already described in his biography,) the Seyyid Sâîd his son assumed command over 'Omân, and sat on the throne of the government. His preferment thereto over his brother Sâlim-bin-Sultân was chiefly owing to the Seyyidah, the daughter of the Imâm,[1] to which arrangement Sâlim was

[1] That is, of the Imam Ahmed. In like manner, by "the son of the

a consenting party. Sâîd appointed over Máskat one Durrah-bin-Jumaâh, a Belooch. This Durrah was a distinguished man, and had been very kind to Seif and Sultân, the sons of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, when they repaired to Mekrân, owing to some dissensions which had arisen betwixt them and their father. The Seyyid Sâîd also sent for the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Jabry, and associated him with himself in the administration, and he further directed his scribes to write and summon all the chiefs of 'Omân to come to him. On their arrival he took their suffrages to aid him against any who should oppose his rule, and thereupon distributed gifts among them according to the rank of each; after which the tribes returned to their homes.

But the seyyid Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl, was ill-disposed towards the Seyyid Sâîd, fearing his vengeance on account of some differences of old standing, which had existed between him and Sultân. He accordingly left Máskat with his family and went to Hail-el-Ghâf, from whence he wrote to Kais, the son of the Imâm [Ahmed], to move quickly on Máskat, offering to supply his army with provisions, money, and arms. Kais fell in with the proposition and dispatched messengers to all his people in that sense. Many of the tribes also, and most of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd urged him in the same direction; the only persons of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd who kept aloof were, Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, el-Muhâll, and 'Aly-bin-Tâlib-bin-Muhenna, and Hilâl-bin-Hámed-bin-el-Imâm-Sâîd, and Seif-bin-'Aly, uncle to the Seyyid Sâlim-bin-Sultân. When these machinations became known to the Seyyid Sâîd, he wrote letters summoning the sheikh Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, er-Riwâny, and Muhenna-bin-Muhammad-bin-Suleiman, el-Yaâruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, and Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâry, and Sâlim-bin-

Imâm," Ahmed, the first Imâm of the Âl-Bú-Sa'íd, their Imâm κατ' ἐξοχήν, is always to be understood.

Thâny-bin-Mas'ûd, el-Haily, el-Jâry, and Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby. The first to arrive was Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, together with all the chiefs of the Wâdi-Semaîl: these he directed to take up a position at es-Sedd, of er-Ríwa. When his letter reached Muhenna-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, the latter immediately dispatched his brothers Himyar and Khalfân-bin-Mâlik, el-Yaáruby, to the Benu-Riyâm and the el-'Obriyyîn, with instructions to proceed from thence to ezh-Zhâhirah and summon the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry, and all the Nizâriyyah of that district; then to proceed to the Benu-Nâîm and all others who were of the same mind with them, urging them to lose no time in going to the assistance of the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân-bin-el-Imâm.

When Kais-bin-el-Imâm had assembled his forces at Sohâr, his brother Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm joined him with a contingent from er-Rastâk, as did also his brother Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, with a large body of Arabs from es-Suwaik. Besides these reinforcements, 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm came with a number of the el-Haddâh and others; many of the ezh-Zhawâhir also swelled the ranks of his supporters, so that in all his army is said to have exceeded twelve thousand men.

Marching at the head of this force Kais moved on el-Khabûrah, the sheikh of which, Nebhân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily, surrendered all its forts to him without opposition. (This man had been appointed to the post by Sultân-bin-el-Imâm.) Kais passed by el-Masnaáh and also Barkah, but on reaching es-Sîb, Seif-bin-Hánzhal, of the Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, delivered up the place to him without fighting. (He also had been made Wâli of that district during the lifetime of Sultân-bin-el-Imâm.) On arriving at el-Karm he ordered his men to attack es-Sedd, which was held by the Benu-Jâbir—the people of et-Tau and Semaîl—and the es-Seyyâ-

biyyîn, under Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, who repulsed their charge with guns and musketry, and obliged them to retire. On their return to Kais at el-Karm, to whom they reported that their attempt upon es-Sedd had failed, owing to the artillery and musketry of the large force stationed there, he directed them to attack 'Akabat-el-Marâkh, which was held by the people of Semâîl. They did so, and succeeded in dislodging them; they also expelled the Beloochees from the Beit-el-Falj, who had been posted there by the Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Sultân. Then the army under the Seyyid Kais returned to attack the force at es-Sedd, who were quite unaware of the approach of the enemy by the 'Akabat-el-Marâkh, until a man of Dâr-Sît apprised them thereof. (Es-Sedd at that time was held by Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, el-Muhâll, with 300 of the el-Hajariyyîn, and a like number of the Benu-Jâbir and the es-Seyyâbiyyîn.) Thereupon Muhammad-bin-Khalfân and his followers retired by the road of Sîh-el-Harmel, meeting with no opposition, and crossed the 'Akabat-el-Khail towards Mâskat. On the way, Sirhân dismissed one hundred and fifty of his men, who went by the Wâdi-Hatât and then descended from Kâz-hah, on their way home, while he himself with the remainder went by the 'Akabah of the great Wâdi and reached Máskat on the morning after the evacuation of es-Sedd, and by order of Sultân's sons posted themselves at the three gates of the town, namely, Bâb-el-Kebîr, Bâb-es-Saghîr, and Bâb-el-Mithâ'îb.

Then the Seyyid Sâlim-bin-Sultân went by sea to Barkah in the vessel called *et-Tawákkuly*, and sent a messenger from thence to Muhenna-bin-Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, the Wâli of Nakhl, urging him to come to their aid. Muhenna set out immediately with one hundred men: these were in addition to fifty whom he had sent to Barkah before he received the Seyyid's letter, and who had been posted in the castle of es-Sârûj. Then Sâlim-bin-Sultân and Muhenna-bin-Muhaimad embarked with their men on board

the *et-Tawákkuly*, and reached Máskat the following afternoon. Muhenna remained on the Island, and posted some of his men on the heights overlooking the 'Akabat-es-Sahûn, with orders to keep up a constant fire from their muskets during the night. The Benu-Jâbir and the Benu-'l-Musîb also cöoperated with Muhenna, who had now charge of all the fortified posts, with the exception of the two forts and the two batteries. (As to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, el-Muháll, and the Hajariyyîn, they started first to Sûr, and from thence to esh-Sharkiyyah, and did not return to Máskat until the war was over.) Then Muhenna was joined by 500 men from Tîwa and Halm, and all the valleys of the Benu-Jâbir, under their Amîrs 'Adiy-bin-Barakât and 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, es-Salbiyyân, in pursuance of an appeal which he had sent to them through Sâlim-bin-Thâny, el-Jâzy. These Muhenna posted on the heights overlooking el-Makulla as far as Râs-el-Bâz. Afterwards, he was joined by one hundred men of the Benu-'l-Aswad, known as the el-Masâkarah,[1] whom he stationed at el-Mithâ'îb. Muhenna also collected many of the Nizâriyyah, and then he and Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, el-Barwâny, consulted together on the advisability of war or peace between the Seyyid Kais and the sons of the Seyyid Sultân. They decided on the latter, and wrote a letter to the Seyyid Kais offering to give him two thousand dollars monthly, and to allow him to retain the forts which he had captured, if he would desist from hostilities against his nephews. (Kais, as stated above, had seized the forts of es-Sîb and el-Khabûrah.) The Seyyid replied to the following effect:—"You have made me a vain proposition, and my only alternative is war." On the receipt of this communication hostilities began on both sides with musketry. Parties of Kais's people would come to Riyâm by the 'Akabat-el-Khail and plunder the houses of the inhabitants, and when

[1] Probably the "Massakeeah" of the late Colonel Hamerton, who estimates the tribe at four thousand fighting men.

the raid was reported at Máskat some of Muhenna's men would issue forth to attack them, and after a skirmish the two parties separated. Again, detachments of Muhenna's people would proceed as far as Ríwa, and plunder whatever they could lay hands on. When this state of things had lasted for several days, the daughter of the Imâm [Ahmed] sent the sheikh 'Aly-bin-Fadhl, esh-Shîáy, to Bedr-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm requesting him to come to them. 'Aly met him at Barr-Kátar,[1] and immediately on receiving the invitation Bedr embarked in a boat with only three of his followers and went to Máskat, where Sultân's sons and the Imâm's daughter forthwith consigned the management of affairs into his hands. After remaining two days at Máskat Bedr went by sea to Barkah, and took up his residence in the fort. A few days subsequently he learnt that seven hundred of the Benu-Riyâm, under their Amîr the sheikh Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, er-Riyâmy, and three hundred of the el-'Obriyyîn, under the sheikh Mâlik-bin-Râshid, el-'Obry, had come to Nakhl, and he forthwith sent a messenger to urge them to join him without delay. On their arrival he got boats for them at Barkah and took them to Máskat, where by Muhenna's orders they were encamped in the lesser Wâdi, their encampment extending from the Bîr-el-Lûluah to the Bîr-es-Sabârah.

A messenger then arrived with a letter from the Mullah-el-Hâjj, the commandant of the fort of el-Mátrah, addressed to the Seyyids, Sultân's sons, and the Imâm's daughter, apprising them that the cistern of the fort contained only a small quantity of water, and that their supply of powder and shot and other warlike stores was very limited; further, that unless they could replenish those stores within three days he should be obliged to surrender the fort to Kais, whose troops were in force on his right and left, and had besieged him, having succeeded in establishing posts from

[1] See note, p. 237.

el-Mutairah to the sweetmeat and blacksmiths' markets, from which latter positions they kept up a constant fire from their guns during the day, and at night their men, who were concealed in the cotton-market, sallied out against them. The besieging force was under the command of 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm, the Seyyid Kais and the remainder of his army being encamped from the Bîr-es-Sawaihy-el-Belooshy, as far as es-Sedd. His cavalry consisted of forty horses. All the residents of el-Mátrah and its suburbs had submitted to him.

Mullah-el-Hâjj's letter excited the gravest apprehensions of the Seyyids, and they forthwith dispatched a messenger for Muhenna. When he arrived—at that time they had fortified themselves in the Eastern fort—they submitted the letter of the commandant of the fort of el-Mátrah to him; his messenger also corroborated the written statements respecting the deficiency of water, provisions, and ammunition, and the critical position of the besieged. Muhenna's brief reply was: "You may inform the Mullah that, God willing, our people shall be with him to-morrow, bringing with them the different supplies mentioned in his letter." They accordingly wrote to him to that effect.

Muhenna then left them, and made no movement in the matter till after the prayer of sunset, when he sent to the Seyyids and requested them to have several of their small vessels, together with the supplies wanted by the commandant of the fort of el-Mátrah, ready for him at Riyâm on the following morning. Then he ordered the Benu-Riyâm and the el-'Obriyyîn to proceed that same night to el-Mátrah, and to dislodge those who held the heights overlooking Sîh-el-Harmel, and on the approach of dawn to keep up a constant fire from their muskets. On the cessation of the artillery and musketry fire at el-Mátrah they were to return to Máskat.

At dawn on the following morning Muhenna and the remain-

der of the force went to Riyâm, where he gave directions to the crews to anchor the ships at some distance from the fort, and when they saw that his force had entered el-Mátrah and had engaged the enemy, they were to call out to the garrison of the fort to come and carry away the cargoes from the vessels. On reaching the pass overlooking el-Mátrah, Muhenna posted some musketeers on the surrounding heights, and then turned off with the remainder. I was with the force on the occasion, and the assault was made at dawn of the 28th of Ramadhân, 1219, [31st December, 1804]. The assault led to a sharp action between the two parties, extending from the cotton-market to the first wall of the Luwâtiyah, during which the vessels approached the fort, and the detachments of the enemy which were posted in the sweetmeat and cotton markets fled. Then the garrison of the fort succeeded in carrying away all the water, provisions, and warlike stores from the vessels. In the mean time many of Kais's men, on hearing the fire of the musketeers who had been placed on the heights above Sîh-el-Harmel, proceeded in that direction, but on finding that the musketeers did not come down they concluded that it was one of Muhenna's stratagems to deceive them. They then retraced their steps to el-Mátrah, but saw none of Muhenna's force, which had returned to Máskat as soon as their object had been effected. A few of Kais's men, however, followed the retreating party, and caught sight of them on the summit of 'Akabat-el-Khail, killing two stragglers whom they encountered near the well; thereupon both parties returned to their respective encampments. In this affair Muhenna lost five and Kais twenty-five men; the names of the former are as follows:—the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Râshid, el-Hinly, el-Jâry, and Sâîd, er-Rîkhy, and Mas'ûd-bin-Râshid, es-Sâîdy, en-Nakhly, and Mas'ûd, et-Tûby, and one of the people of Behlâ. There were six wounded, but none of them mortally.

On the 8th of Shaáwâl Muhenna attacked el-Mátrah, and after coming within gun-shot of Kais's party from the heights of Sîb el-Hârmel both armies retired.

Then Hamîd-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry, and Himyâr-bin-Sulcimân, el-Yaáruby, the former accompanied by seven thousand of the Nizâriyyah, arrived at Barkah, halting at Nuámân, whither the Seyyid Sáîd-bin-Sultân went to meet them from Máskat, and renewed the covenant which he had already made with them, distributing robes of honour among them and such supplies as they required. Now, when the seyyid Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl, saw that the power of the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân, and also of Bedr-bin-Seif, was on the increase, while that of Kais's partisans was on the wane, he wrote to Muhenna-bin-Muhammad, el-Yaáruby, for an interview with him at Killabûh. At that interview, Muhammad acting for Kais, and Muhenna for the sons of the Seyyid Sultân, for Bedr and the daughter of the Imâm, the following conditions of peace were agreed upon:—Kais to have the forts of es-Sîb and el-Khabûrah, to evacuate el-Mátrah, and return to Sohâr. (Muhenna was a very upright and conscientious man: when the Benu-Ghâfir wished to enter Máskat, he, fearing that if they once got into the place, being so formidable a body, they might not leave it again; and, further, knowing that they had already entered into communications with Sultân-bin-Sákar, el-Kâsimy, el-Háwaly, and concerted with him to that effect, and that Sultân was already collecting his forces, forthwith dispatched a messenger from the Seyyids to Hamîd-bin-Nâsir and his army, with a sum of forty thousand dollars and other presents, informing them at the same time that as peace had been concluded between the Seyyids and Kais, their presence was no longer required.) Kais accordingly embarked with his army for Sohâr, but on reaching Barkah he went straight to Nakhl, fearing that he might be pounced upon by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir.

The latter, on hearing that Muhenna had left for Nakhl, started with his followers for ezh-Zhâhirah, while Himyar-bin-Muhammad returned to Nakhl.

Two months after the peace, Mâlik-bin-Seif-bin-Sultân murdered Muhenna-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, in his own fort. His cousin, Muhammad-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muhammad, was charged with having instigated him to the crime, but most persons think that Bedr-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm was the chief conspirator. What gives colour to this opinion is that Bedr-bin-Seif went to Habrâ with a few followers and reached that place at night. At dawn the next morning the report of guns was heard from the fort of Nakhl, whereupon Bedr said to his companions: "I suspect that Muhenna has been killed," and he dispatched Sâlim-bin-Thâny, el-Jâry, to make inquiries. When the latter reached Nakhl he found that it was so, and he returned to Bedr and informed him that the deed had been committed by Mâlik-bin-Seif, who had also sent the body of the murdered man to his brother Himyar, who at that time occupied the Hujrah at el-Jamîmy. By this means Mâlik-bin-Seif got possession of the fort of Nakhl.

Muállim Mas'ûd-bin-Khamîs-bin-Sâlih-bin-Sinân, el-Aáma, el-Mándhary, gave me the following information on the subject. He said: "I used to repair to the fort every morning at dawn to give lessons in the Kurân to the Wâli Muhenna-bin-Muhammad. On Friday the 9th of Dzul-Kaádah, 1219 [8th January, 1805], I went thither as usual, and found that Muhenna had already trimmed the lamp; so we sat down at once to peruse the blessed Book. At the second dawn he prayed with me, after which we again studied the Kurân, and had come to the *Sûrat-en-Náhal*, when one of Muhenna's slaves exclaimed, 'The enemy is at hand, O Muhenna!' Muhenna remarked, 'This slave is demented.' Then as he was reading, 'In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate!

The sentence of God will come, therefore do not hasten it,' Mâlik-bin-Seif and several of his companions suddenly fell upon him. He wrestled with Mâlik and overpowered him, and then strove to strike him with his dagger, whereupon Mâlik cried out, 'The man has killed me.' Then Sâlim-bin-Nasîb, nicknamed esh-Shakîly, came forward and plunged his dagger into Muhenna's belly, killing him on the spot."

When Kais-bin-el-Imâm heard of the death of Muhenna he ordered Nâsir-bin-Sâîd, el-Hâbashy, known as es-Sammâr, to make inroads in the direction of el-Bûshir,[1] and to close the sea-route with his boats, so as to prevent any of the craft belonging to the people of Barkah and el-Masnaâh from going to Máskat. This Nâsir-es-Sammâr was at the time Kais's Wâli over es-Sîb, and held the fort there. He went even beyond his instructions, for he collected a great number of freebooters and went with them to Finjâ, the people of which joined him, and then attacked the fort of Bádbad, then in the hands of 'Aly-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm, and took it by force, but did not kill any one. Nâsir pursued this career for a considerable period, sometimes making raids on the people of es-Sarûr, and then returning to es-Sîb to ravage the villages of Bûshir, insomuch that he effectually stopped all communication both by sea and land. These proceedings estranged the Seyyids from their uncle Kais; they were still more estranged from Bedr-bin-Seif, whom they accused of having instigated Mâlik-bin-Sâlim to murder Muhenna, chiefly, as they believed, because Muhenna was their principal adviser and entirely devoted to their interests. These feelings, however, they kept to themselves and did not communicate them either to high or low.

[1] See note 1, p. 68. Mr. Palgrave writes it "Besheyr," and describes it as "a large village, but mostly constructed of wood and thatch; the streets wide, clean and irregular; an earth wall surrounds the whole, dividing the houses and the gardens." *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol: ii. p. 375.

When es-Sammâr's plunderings by sea and land had become notorious, Kais began to collect troops and then wrote to his brother Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, who was at that time in 'Omân holding possession of the fort of Behlâ and the castle of Nezwa and Azka, to go down to Semâîl and divert the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and all the Nizâriyyah of that place, so as to prevent them from going to Máskat. Muhammad did as he was requested, taking a large force with him, and found the Benu-Ruwâhah and the people of the 'Alâyat-Semâîl assembled together to oppose him. Kais, on the other hand, marched with his army to Máskat, which was then held by the Seyyid Sâlim, with a force consisting of some of the Benu-Jaâlân, the Benu-Râsib and el-Kawâsim, the Benu-Jâbir of Tîwa, and some of the men of Nakhl, adherents of Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaâruby; (at this time Sâid-bin-Sultân was at Barkah.) On the approach of Kais and his army towards es-Sedd, the Benu-Râsib and the el-Kawâsim encountered him, and there was a severe fight in the Wâdi, called el-'Adiy, in which Muhammad-bin Mâjid, the Amîr of the former, and likewise the Amîr of the el-Kawâsim were killed, and only a few of their followers escaped unhurt. Thereupon Sâlim-bin-Sultân returned to Máskat with the remainder of his forces, while Kais and his army entered es-Sedd and halted there three nights. Bedr-bin-Seif then went out with his followers and lay in ambush above the villages of the castle of the er-Riwâyah, in the greater Wâdi.

Towards night, Kais-bin-el-Imâm started with his army, taking the road of the 'Akabah of the greater Wâdi, and then turning off towards Máskat. Bedr's men getting scent of this took to flight, Bedr taking refuge in the castle, but two of his horsemen, one named Hudayyid and the other 'Abd-esh-Sheikh, were killed.

Now, Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl, had concealed a number of men in his house, without the knowledge either

of Sâlim-bin-Sultân or of Bedr-bin-Seif. These rushed to the great gate—the warder of which was a manumitted slave of Muhenna-bin-Suleimân, named Sarûr, el-Awghâny—and opened it for Kais's forces, who forthwith went to the house of the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Khalf, esh-Shîây, and utterly rifled it. One of the Benu-Jâbir who held the tower of the great gate, namely, Ahmed-bin-Rabîât, el-Jâbiry, brother-in-law to the sheikh Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâbiry, was killed in the onset by Bin-Dân, en-Nûby, one of Muhammad-bin-Khalfân's servants, after he had given him quarter. Then Kais's soldiers plundered the market of Máskat and killed the money-changer Minshâh, taking thousands of coin from his shop.

To revert to Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm; on his arrival at Semâîl he employed his troops in cutting down all the date-trees of Sittâl, the property of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Hájary. Thereupon Sirhan-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâbiry, attacked them with his men of the Benu-Jâbir and the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl, and put them to flight; so Muhammad and those of his party who escaped returned to 'Omân.

Kais having now possession of the whole of Máskat, with the exception of the Island, the two forts, and the two batteries—these were still in the hands of the Seyyids, his brother Sultân's children—his sister, the daughter of the Imâm, went to him by night at the house of the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, esh-Shîây, and adjured him to put an end to the war. Peace was consequently arranged between the two parties, on condition that the fort of el-Mátrah should be made over to Kais, together with a monthly allowance of one thousand dollars; and that all the other forts which he had taken from his nephews should continue to be his. Kais then inquired of her respecting Bedr, as he had heard that he had been killed. She replied: "He is in the Eastern fort. After taking refuge at the castle of the

er-Riwâhah, he started therefrom before dawn by the road of the 'Akabat-Killabûh, and then embarked for Máskat."

On the cession of the fort of el-Mátrah to Kais he transferred it to Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, who began to erect strong forts on the surrounding hills, called ez-Zamm, and Hákam, and 'Arâf, and ed-Dauhah.

Subsequently, Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, came to Máskat, and instigated Sâîd-bin-Sultân and his brothers, as also Bedr-bin-Seif, to make war upon Kais. Seif-bin-'Aly accordingly began writing to the people of esh-Shamâl, and to the ezh-Zhawâhir, urging them to come to Máskat to aid the sons of Sultân against Kais. In consequence of this appeal, Hazzâà, el-Yâsy, came with two hundred auxiliaries of the ezh-Zhawâhir. Bedr-bin-Seif also wrote to Ibn-'Abdân, el-Wahhâby, en-Nejdy, who brought the same number. He wrote also to the el-Harth and the el-Hajariyyin; and the sheikh Mâjid-bin-Sâîd, er-Riwâny, came with five hundred. In like manner, the chiefs of the Benu-Hásan came with two hundred; and Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, with five hundred; and Khâdim-bin-Muhammad, el-Hâshimy, two hundred. He wrote also to his own loyal adherents, and Barrâk-bin-Ghurâb came to him with many of the ezh-Zhawâhir. The Benu-'Aly, also, and the el-Mukâbîl, and the Benu-Rîs, and the Benu-'Omar, and the el-Haddân, and the Benu-Sâîd and Kindah, and all other peoples under his authority sent him numerous auxiliaries. Moreover, the brothers of the Imâm Sâîd-bin-Ahmed largely reinforced him; and a great many of the Âl-Sâîd joined him, besides a considerable contingent from the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih. Altogether, the number amounted to thousands.

Then the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân, and the daughter of the Imâm wrote to the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, directing him to go to ezh-Zhâhirah and obtain for them the cöoperation of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir in their war

against Kais, and to request that on reaching Barkah he would encamp with his army at Nuâmân. (A large sum of money was sent with this message to the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and to the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Nâsir.) The sheikh Muhammad succeeded in his mission, for Hamîd sent a summons to the people of ezh-Zhâhirah and el-Jau, both Hadhr and Arabs, and dispatched the Benu-Sûâdah and the Benu-Yezîd in advance to Nuâmân. When they reached Barkah, Bedr-bin-Seif sent them on to Máskat, and they were quartered in the buildings opposite the Island, where Sultân-bin-el-Imâm used to promenade.

When the whole of these forces were mustered, Sâîd-bin-Sultân and his brothers and Bedr-bin-Seif, on hearing of their uncle Kais's arrival at el-Mátrah, stopped the allowance which they had covenanted to pay him. On the other hand, Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Wakîl, aided Kais with large sums of money. Thereupon Kais ordered his musketeers to attack Máskat; they accordingly approached it by the road of the 'Akabat-er-Riyâm, parties being placed in ambush from the hollow as far as the heights overlooking es-Sarûr and the castle of er-Riwâyah. Another party marched by night towards the 'Akabah of Killabûh, which was held at that time by Suleimân-bin-Ahmed, el-Harâsy, the Sâhib of Jamma, with a number of the Benu-'Ammah and his slaves, on behalf of the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân. On being apprised of the impending attack they ascended the heights overlooking el-Makulla and hid there, and whenever the assailants attempted to establish themselves in the 'Akabah, Suleimân's men dislodged them with their musketry fire. Suleimân and his followers remained in the 'Akabah from daybreak and ascended the heights when night approached. So Kais's party were thwarted in their strategy.

About this time Sâîd-bin-Sultân and his brothers were joined by many of the Benu-Jâbir from Tîwa and Halm,

and from other of their towns; some of the Benu-'Arâbah also came to him. These were posted from the heights of el-Makulla to below Râs-el-Bâz. Then Muhammad-bin-Khalfân planted a gun in the open space facing the battery of el-Makulla, and a constant fire was kept up between the two posts, the gun in the opening effectually preventing the entrance of any vessels from Barkah and el-Masnâah, by way of el-Makulla, and obliging them to approach Máskat by the sea, in the rear of the Eastern [fort]. He also sent a detachment to occupy the tower which he had erected on the heights of ed-Dauhah, opposite to Râs-el-Bâz, while another party of his men seized the position on Râs-el-Bâz itself. Thereupon Bedr-bin-Seif, with the Benu-'Arâbah, rushed upon the gunners attached to the gun in the open space, but was driven back with the loss of the sheikh of the 'Arâbah, which vexed him very much.

Then Kais with the mass of his army approached Máskat by the 'Akabat-es-Sahûn, ascending from thence to the Mahállet-el-Belûsh, and then descending into the small Wâdi, ensconcing most of them under the mound in which is the well of Muhammad-bin-Seif, el-Muhállaly, and the remainder in the Másjid adjoining the Musálla-el-'Eid.[1] Thereupon the garrison of the castle of er-Riwâyah opened fire upon them from their guns, but the shot fell short. Then they fired upon the Másjid with muskets from the tower called the Tower of Muhammad-ibn-Razîk and killed three of Kais's men; a like number were also killed by an explosion of gunpowder in a ship belonging to the Benu-Muhállal, caused by a spark from a gun-match.

The Seyyid Sâîd was at this time at Barkah, his brother Sâlim at el-Masnaâh, the daughter of the Imâm and Hámed-bin-Sultân in the Eastern fort, the daughter of Seif-bin-Muhammad in the Western fort, and Bedr-bin-Seif and

[1] The Place of Prayer on festivals: generally an open space where public prayers are offered up on extraordinary occasions.

Seif-bin-'Aly on the Island. The Wâli of Máskat, for the time being, on behalf of Bedr-bin-Seif, was Sâîd-bin-Hamâd-bin-Sâlim.

When the alarm was raised, Bedr-bin-Seif repaired with his men to the great gate, intending to sally out against his uncle Kais with the adherents of Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, and the el-Hashm, the followers of Khâdim-bin-Muhammad, el-Hâshimy; but Seif-bin-'Aly dissuaded him, saying: "Your idea is not a good one. If it be so that an attack must be made on your uncle, bring out against him the Wahhâbis, and the ezh-Zhawâhir, and the el-Hajariyyîn; for, as you know, there is an old-standing blood-feud between Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, and his men and the Benu-Hásan and their men, which has not yet been healed. Hence, if they were to go forth together to attack your uncle, it is very doubtful whether the Benu-Hásan would follow Sâlim's men; perhaps they might deliver them over to the swords of your uncle Kais, or they might come to blows amongst themselves, to their own hurt and to the strengthening of the enemy. Moreover, were Sâlim-bin-'Aly and his men to triumph over your uncle Kais they would not spare him; whereas we, in this matter, do not wish your dissensions with your uncle to be carried to such lengths, neither we are persuaded does he so wish: the struggle between you is for preeminence—for things, not for lives." Bedr, approving of this advice, dispatched Muhammad-bin-'Abdân, the Wahhâby, with his two hundred followers, and as many of the ezh-Zhawâhir, to attack his uncle. These, after offering up a prayer, set forth and came to a hand-to-hand struggle with Kais's forces stationed at the Másjid of the Awlâd-Muhállal, driving them out from thence and pursuing them as far as the burial-ground on the plateau of the mountains of the lesser Wâdi, killing some of them. Thereupon a large body of Kais's men rushed out against them from the Wâdi, putting the Wahhâbis and the ezh-Zhawâhir to flight as far as the

house of Sâlim-bin-'Abdallah, the Wahhâby. In this encounter six of the pursued and seven of the pursuers were slain.

Then Kais marched with his force against Sidâb, descending upon it from the heights overlooking the dye-house. On reaching level ground they rushed to the 'Akabah of Sidâb and seized it. Some of them ascended the mountain of es-Sâây, until they approached the stockade commanding Waljât, which at that time was held by a number of Belooches, the followers of the Mullah-el-Hâjj, who thereupon evacuated it. Kais's party, however, were still separated from the stockade by the ditches which existed below it. (These ditches were the work of the Portuguese during their rule at Máskat. Their object was to prevent the Arabs coming down upon them from the heights of es-Sâây to the outskirts of the town.) The post of the fugitive Belooches, by order of Seif-bin-'Aly and Bedr-bin-Seif, was then occupied by Suleimân-bin-Ahmed, el-Harâsy, the Sâhib of Jamma, with some of the Benu-'Ammah and his slaves, who prevented Kais's party from removing the stockade. A constant fire of musketry was kept up on both sides day and night.

A force of seven hundred men of the Benu-'Utbah[1] came at this time to the assistance of the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân; most of whom were musketeers, and a detachment of them was stationed at the stockade, which left Suleimân-bin-Ahmed, el-Harâsy, at liberty to return to the 'Akabah of Killabûh. Meanwhile the Benu-'Utbah and Kais's party maintained their opposite musketry fire without intermission; then rain fell for several days successively, and both sides in the general war were about equally matched. Kais, with his principal men, was at Sidâb, in the house of Nâsir-bin-Suleimân-bin-Múflih, ed-Dallâl.

[1] Or Benu-Uttûb, see note 1, p. 227. The two names are synonymous.

Then sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, came from ezh-Zhâhirah with a force of Hadhr and Arabs, amounting, according to the best authorities, to twelve thousand men, under the command of the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, and encamped with them at Nuâmân. The Seyyid Sâîd went out to see them, and they engaged to join him against his uncle. He accordingly accompanied them to es-Sîb and invested its fort, and then opened fire upon it with a gun brought in a ship from Barkah. When they had demolished one side of the fort, the garrison capitulated, surrendering the fort to the Seyyid Sâîd, who thereupon left it in charge of one of his officers. There was an enclosure at es-Sîb belonging to the Benu-Hayâ, from which they began to open a musketry fire upon Hamîd-bin-Nâsir's men. Refusing to obey the Seyyid Sâîd's order to desist, he permitted the ezh-Zhawâhir to attack them, which they accordingly did, scaling the walls, and then putting to death all who were within. Old and young they numbered seventy persons.

From es-Sîb the Seyyid Sâîd marched with his force to Finjâ, which he surrounded, and after cutting down many of their date-trees the people submitted to him. From thence he went to Bádbad, where he was joined by a large body of the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâîl, under Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâry. The fort at that time was held, on behalf of Kais, by Nâsir-bin-Sâîd, es-Sammâr, with a number of the Benu-'Ammah, the el-Habûsh, and others. Seeing himself surrounded on all sides, Nâsir asked for quarter, offering to surrender the fort. He accordingly made it over, through Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, his garrison leaving it without their arms; and the Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Sultân, after placing it in charge of the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, returned with his force to es-Sîb.

Hamîd-bin-Nâsir having thus had an opportunity of seeing the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâîl, remarked to the

Seyyid Sâîd: "I had no idea that the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semaîl were so numerous; whosoever has such a force at his disposal may dispense with all other aid." The Seyyid Sâîd then wrote to Bedr-bin-Seif, who was at Máskat at the time, to the following effect: "You have doubtless heard of our proceedings and of our success; but how comes it that you have taken no part in the war with the forces at your command?" (Prior to this communication another contingent of the Benu-'Utbah had reached Bedr, in addition to the five hundred of that tribe who had already joined him. Three hundred men of the people of 'Asailwah, the adherents of the sheikh Seif, had also been added to his available force.) After reading the Seyyid Sâîd's letter, Bedr forthwith ordered Seif-bin-'Aly-bin-Muhammad to attack es-Sedd, while the Benu-Yezîd and the Benu-Sâidah were to lie in ambush for the garrison of the tower of ed-Dauhah in the house of Muhammad-el-Kathîry. He also ordered Hilâl-bin-Hamdân to attack the 'Akabah of Ryâm, which was then held for Kais by the Benu-er-Rîs. Hilâl having succeeded in taking the 'Akabah, and Seif-bin-'Aly in seizing es-Sedd, the latter proceeded with a part of his force to Riyâm, reinforced by a great many of the Wahhâbis, and also of the Benu-Yâs, the followers of Hazzââ, besides contingents from the el-Manâsir and from all the Nizâriyyah of Jaalân. After a cannonade from the ships, he ordered the Benu-'Utbah to storm the wall of the Luwâtiyah, and to kill all who fell in their way. He further directed the Zidgâl to seize the heights surrounding el-Mátrah. Then, as he was about to ascend the 'Akabat-el-Khail to descend with his force upon el-Mátrah, he was met by 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed], who had come from that place by edh-Dhait, accompanied by the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, el-Hâshimy, who addressed him in these terms: "Do not be so hasty to fight, for the man you are fighting against is your uncle, and an uncle is like a father.

We have come to arrange matters between you and him." This expostulation calmed his indignation, and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl remained with him, while the sheikh Khamîs-bin-Sâlim returned to el-Mátrah. On reaching that place he went forthwith to Kais, and spoke to him as follows: "I have seen that Bedr has a large force, which you will be unable to resist. Moreover, as regards your own army, externally they are in your interests, but inwardly they are against you. Of course, you have heard what your nephew has effected at es-Sîb, and Finjâ, and at Bádbad. He is now encamped at es-Sîb, and in your unfortunate position you are like the man who ran after a bird to catch it." Muhammad-bin-Khalfân spoke to the same effect, as did also Râshid-bin-Sâîd, el-Makhâshily, who said to Kais: "You have no soldiers remaining but me and your slaves: dispose of us as you please; nevertheless, if you desire peace, let it be negotiated by Khamîs-bin-Sâlim, for he is wholly devoted to your interests." While they were discussing these matters they heard the roar of musketry proceeding from es-Sedd, followed by a messenger from el-Falj, announcing that Seif-bin-'Aly, with the ezh-Zhawâhir and the el-Manâsir, had attacked and taken it, and had, moreover, seized the castle and plundered all the people whom they found there. On hearing this, Kais said to Khamîs: "Arrange matters betwixt me and them;" whereupon the latter went back to Bedr, whom he found on the summit of the 'Akabat-el-Khail. He started in a small boat before 'Aly-bin-Hilâl's return to el-Mátrah. In the mean time, Bedr had been joined by men of the Benu-Râsib, who mingled with the followers of Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, and those of Khâdim-bin-Muhammad, el-Hâshimy, and they urged him, saying: "Let us attack el-Mátrah." On the arrival of the sheikh Khamîs, he said to them: "As my uncle refuses to surrender the fort to us without war, I shall lead you to the attack;" then turning to the sheikh

Khamîs, he asked what he had to say. The sheikh replied: "I think the better course would be for you to accompany me with ten men to the date-plantation of the sheikh Khalfân, where I have also requested your uncle to come with five attendants only, in order that we may make peace." Bedr accordingly went, taking with him one hundred of the people of Jaâlân, but on seeing that his uncle had only five men with him he selected a like number from his escort, and bade the remainder to halt where they were. Through the medium of the sheikh Khamîs peace was concluded between the two parties, on condition that the fort of el-Mátrah should be immediately surrendered to Bedr-bin-Seif. That was accordingly done, and Bedr placed the fort in charge of a man of the es-Sakâsik, named Sâm. Kais remained at el-Mátrah three days longer, and then embarked with his men for Sohâr on board an English ship.

Bedr wrote an account of all these proceedings to the Seyyid Sâîd, who approved of them; whereupon the latter dismissed the people of Semâîl, and taking with him the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and the men of ezh-Zhâhirah he went to Barkah, from whence he wrote to Bedr to send him forty thousand dollars for the troops. Bedr borrowed the money from the merchants and sent it by Mubârak-bin Sâîd, the Maula of the el-Jibûr. On his arrival he made some of his men march before him, carrying the money, and delivered it to Hamîd-bin-Nâsir; but, according to another account, Mubârak took the money to the Seyyid Sâîd, who was then at es-Sîb with the ezh-Zhawâhir, and the Seyyid himself gave it to the Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, whereupon the latter and his followers returned to ezh-Zhâhirah. Thus terminated the war between the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân, and Bedr-bin-Seif and their uncle Kais. A reconciliation was also effected between the Seyyids and Muhammad-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, the Wakîl.

After this an estrangement took place between the Seyyid

Sâîd and Bedr-bin-Seif, the cause of which was as follows: Bedr wished to remove the Beloochos of Mullah-el-Hâjj from the Western fort and to substitute the Belooches of Jamma in their stead; but his nephews and the daughter of the Imâm would not agree to the arrangement. Thereupon he went to Barkah and garrisoned the fort with Wahhâbis, giving the command to Sulcimân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily. One day Sâlim-bin-Sultân, after leaving el-Masnaâh, on his way to Máskat, put up at the Másjid built by Khasîf-bin-Khamîs bin-Hamâduh, el-Wahîby, but Bedr did not come to see him, neither did he pay him any attention. So Sâlim sent for Sulcimân and ordered him to take a note of the bread, sweetmeats, fodder, and so forth that he wanted for his men and animals; whereupon Sulcimân said: "I dare not do anything of the kind without the orders of Bedr, whose agent I am; but he is himself in the fort, therefore send one of your men to him for whatever you require. He has given me no orders, and without his orders I can do nothing, for, as you know, 'the house is entered by the door.'" This reply so incensed Sâlim that he broke a stick in beating him on the back, and after he had dismissed him he put off his journey to Máskat and returned to el-Masnaâh. Bedr, on hearing from Sulcimân what had occurred, ordered horsemen to make ready, intending to overtake Sâlim and make him apologize, but Rashîd-bin-Hamîd, en-Nâîmy, who was with him at the time, dissuaded him from the attempt. This incident embittered the estrangement between Bedr and the sons of Sultân.

Subsequently Bedr proposed to the Seyyid [Saîd] that they should make war upon their uncle Kais, on the ground that he had wronged them by taking the fort of el-Khabûrah, urging that unless he was made to restore it he would never cease intriguing against them until he got possession of all the fortified posts which they now held. The best plan, he suggested, would be to order Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-

Yaâruby, to attack Behlâ, they assisting him with arms and ammunition; "for," said he, "that fort and the castles of Nezwa and of all 'Omân [proper] are at present under the authority of our uncle Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, who is altogether alienated from us, and one with our uncle Kais. Should Behlâ fall to us, the castle of Nezwa and all the other posts throughout 'Omân will be surrendered to us, and Kais's game will be effectually stopped, especially if we also succeed in getting possession of the fort of el-Khabûrah, for then we shall be able to exercise authority over all the Arabs of the coast, and the inhabitants of 'Omân will at once submit to us." The Seyyid Sâîd approving of the proposal, Bedr wrote to Mâlik-bin-Seif directing him to commence hostilities against Behlâ, and furnished him with means for the undertaking. Mâlik had with him Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaâruby, with two hundred men of Nakhl, and these on being joined by the el-'Obriyyîn and the Benu-Shakîl surrounded the fort of Behlâ. In the mean time Bedr wrote to the Nizâr of ezh-Zhâhirah and to the el-Yemeniyyah of es-Sharkiyyah to join him. The first to arrive was the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih, el-Hârithy, and the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Mâjid, el-Barwâny, el-Hârithy, with five hundred men of the el-Harth and their respective followers; these remained with Bedr at Barkah. He then wrote to Mâlik-bin-Seif to make over the command of the siege to Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, who thereafter directed the operations in concert with Mâlik-bin-Râshid, el-Yaâruby. The services of the esh-Shakîly were dispensed with, and Mâlik-bin-Seif, agreeably with the instructions which he had received, went to join Bedr at Barkah. The fort of Behlâ at this time was held by a garrison of the Benu-Hinâÿ, on behalf of Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed].

As soon as Mâlik-bin-Seif reached Bedr, the latter wrote to Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, to meet him with all his forces at el-Khabûrah, while he himself, accompanied by

Hilâl-bin-Hámed, of the Âl-Bû-Sâid, went to the Seyyids Sâîd and Sâlim and prevailed upon them not to go with him. When he reached el-Khabûrah he was joined by a great many of the Arabs of the coast, and encamped with them above the fort. Mâlik-bin-Seif he posted near his own camp, and the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih, with his men of the el-Harth, westward of the fort. Then came the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Zhálam, el-Wahîby, with many of the Âl-Wahîbah, who were posted next to the encampment of the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih. Bedr now awaited the arrival of the sheikh Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, and in the mean time he was joined by the Benu-Kelbân, who encamped with the multitude. On the arrival of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, who was accompanied by Ibn-Muâaiḳal, the Wahhâby, and all the Nizâriyyah of ezh-Zhâhirah, he said to Bedr: "Don't be in a hurry to fight your uncle; we will go to him and advise him also not to fight. Perchance he may surrender the fort to you without hostilities; if so, so much the better; if not, then we will attack him." Bedr consented to this proposal.

Now Hamîd in reality did not wish Bedr to fight Kais, fearing lest he might overcome him, and thereby acquire a predominance over 'Omân, and be further supported by the Wahhâbis, who were strongly in his favour. Hamîd accordingly set out with his force to Sohâr, leaving only the Benu-Kelbân contingent at el-Khabûrah. Mâlik-bin-Seif also accompanied him with some of his men, the rest remaining behind with the Benu-Kelbân. The Benu-Harâs, the people of Jamma, joined the latter, as did also the el-Masâkarah, and they encamped close to the encampment of Ibn-Muâaikal, the Wahhâby. Subsequently, the sheikh-Saîd-bin-Mâjid, el-Barwâny, with a detachment of his men, joined Mâlik-bin-Seif's party, both following the leading of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir.

Hamîd met Kais at Sâham, and addressed him in these terms: "I have not come to you on a hostile errand, there-

fore be under no apprehension as regards me. Bedr aims at supreme authority over 'Omân, and is intent on gaining over the people of ezh-Zhâhirah and esh-Shamâl, as also the Wahhâbis, who are already devoted to his interests. As a proof of his ambition, I may recall the fact that in the peace which I arranged betwixt you it was stipulated that you should retain all the fortified forts then in your possession, and that he was not to meddle with them.[1] That treaty is not of old date, it is still quite new, and you have desisted from all hostilities against him, whilst he is determined to promote them against you, deceiving his nephews and at the same time wronging you. Be assured as regards myself and those who are similarly situated; for if we are not against him we shall not be with him." These words pleased Kais exceedingly.

About this time the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih heard that Seif-bin-Thâbit, el-Janîby, had arrived from ezh-Zhâhirah to co-operate against el-Khabûrah, and that Hamîd-bin-Nâsir had engaged him in the expedition. Now there was a violent grudge of old standing between the sheikh 'Isa and Seif-bin-Thâbit; so the former placed spies over Seif-bin-Thâbit, who on his part was ignorant that Bedr-bin-Seif had enlisted 'Isa, or that he was then at el-Kabûrah. On the return of the spies with a report that Seif-bin-Thâbit had only seventy men of the el-Ǧanîbah with him, and that he was not far from the camp, 'Isa gave the order and a great many of the el-Harth and of the Arabs of the coast assembled. As he was on the point of starting on this expedition Hamîd-bin-Zhâlam, el-Wahîby, dissuaded him, saying: "Desist from your enterprise, seeing that Seif-bin-Thâbit has come to fight in the same cause with yourself: he is now an adherent of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, who will not brook any injury done to him. Moreover, you know that the sheikh Sâid-bin-Mâjid-bin-Sâid, with a number of the el-Harth, has gone with

[1] See page 269.

Hamîd-bin-Nâsir to settle matters amicably between Kais and his nephews, so that if you venture to kill but one man of the el-Janîbah you may rest assured that Sâîd-bin-Mâjid and his men will not escape the vengeance of the Benu-Ghâfir. That, in fact, will be the result, whether you succeed or fail in your design; therefore I entreat you to restrain your violence," Hamîd-bin-Zhâlam said much more to the same effect, but 'Isa would not listen to him, and set forth with his followers. When the two parties met, Seif-bin-Thâbit conjured 'Isa, in God's name, to desist, but the latter replied: "We must fight." So the combatants alighted from their animals and fought with swords and spears. 'Isa's party were worsted in the engagement, for he lost thirty men killed, and received two spear-wounds himself, while on Seif's side only three fell. The noise of the conflict reaching the combined camp of the Benu-Kelbân, of Ibn-Muâaikal, the Wahhâby, the Benu-Harâs, (the people of Jamma,) and the el-Masâkarah, they started immediately to the assistance of Seif-bin-Thâbit, but on reaching him found that the affair was ended. Thereupon they began to upbraid Seif-bin-Thâbit for not having appealed to them for aid. He replied: "I myself was quite unaware of any such impending conflict until I was suddenly surrounded by the assailants, and God has adjudged the result betwixt us."

Then the Benu-Kelbân dispatched a messenger with a letter informing Hamîd-bin-Nâsir of what had occurred between 'Isa and Seif. The messenger met Hamîd and his force at el-Kasabiyyah, on their return from Kais, and after Hamîd had read the letter he made the messenger give him all the details of the affair, halting with his men for that purpose. Thereupon Mâlik-bin-Seif, el Yaâruby, gave the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Mâjid-bin-Sâîd a hint to make his escape. He and his men accordingly detached themselves from the other troops, spurred their camels, and did not come to a halt till they reached Ardh-el-Hadhrâ, near es-Suwaik.

Then Hamîd-bin-Nâsir sent for the Benu-Kelbân, and Ibn-Muâikal, and Seif-bin-Thâbit, and the Benu-Harâs, and the el-Masâkarah, and those of Nakhl, who were all encamped above the fort of el-Khabûrah, and said to them: "Let each tribe return to its home, for we have nothing more to do with Bedr and his warfare." They all followed his advice, and he himself set out for ezh-Zhâhirah, and on reaching el-'Aincin dismissed his followers.

On Mâlik-bin-Seif's return to Nakhl he remained there a few days and then proceeded to Behlâ, by the route of Jebel-el-Akhdar. On reaching that place 'Aly-bin-Tâlib, acting under the instructions of Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, who thereby sought to promote union between himself and the children of his brother Sultân, made over the fort to him. Then Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaâruby, placed Muhammad-bin-Suleimân-bin-Muhammad, el-Yaâruby, as Wâli over Behlâ, while he went back to Nakhl for a few days. On his return however, Muhammad-bin-Suleimân refused to admit him into the fort, saying, "Nakhl is yours, but Behlâ is mine." Mâlik was therefore obliged to return to Nakhl, while Muhammad-bin-Suleimân kept possession of the fort, and broke off all communication with Mâlik.

Then Kais-bin-el-Imâm set out with a detachment of his men towards ezh-Zhâhirah, and obtained Hamîd-bin-Nâsir's permission to go to Nezwa. (At this time there was war at Nezwa between the people of Sémed and el-'Akr and those inhabiting the outskirts of el-Wâdi and el-'Akr, and Hamîd thought that Kais intended to reconcile them.) Nezwa was then under Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, who had transferred the government to Kais.) Kais remained two days at el-'Aincin as Hamîd-bin-Nâsir's guest, and on leaving him he started by the way of the Nejd of ezh-Zhâhirah. On approaching Yabrîn, he dispatched a party of his men—they belonged to the Âl-Abi-Karîn—against that place, and they killed three of Hâmid-bin-Nâsir's men belonging

to the ed-Durúwwá, and on reaching Nezwa he ordered an attack upon el-'Alâyah, and there was a severe conflict between his force and the inhabitants. The report of what had occurred at Yabrîn coming to the knowledge of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, he forthwith began to assemble his forces, and wrote to the el-'Obriyyîn, and the Benu-Shakîl, and the Benu-Riyâm to precede him to Nezwa, and there was a fierce battle between them and the people of el-'Akr, and the el-Hawâïr, and those of Sâál, during which Kais-bin-el-Imâm left and went to esh-Sharkiyyah and remained there three days, endeavouring to induce its inhabitants to aid him, but finding they were not so disposed he departed for Sôhâr by el-'Akk. Hamîd, on the other hand, went to Behlâ and mustered its people, and on reaching Nezwa the struggle between him and the inhabitants of el-'Akr, the el-Hawâïr, and those of Sâál waxed hotter. Samh-esh-Shakîly also attacked es-Sârûjiyyah and was killed, whereupon his followers burnt the walls of the Hujrah and put to death all those who were in it. Thus the war was prolonged between them, when Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed] wrote to the garrisons of the castle at Nezwa and its forts to make them over to the Seyyid Sâíd-bin-Sultân, and they accordingly surrendered them to 'Aly-bin-Tâlib, who took possession on behalf of the Seyyid Sâíd. This put an end to the strife between the people of Nezwa and the Benu-Ghâfir.

When the Seyyid Sâíd saw how Bedr-bin-Seif was coquetting with the Wahhâbis, the Arabs of Jaálân, the el-Yemeniyyah, the Nizâriyyah, and all the tribes of esh-Sharkiyyah, he became more and more estranged from him, fearing some treachery on his part. He confided his suspicions to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, but to no one else. He then said to Bedr-bin-Seif: "We must attack the fort of el-Khabûrah, with the aid of the el-Yemeniyyah, the Arabs of esh-Sharkiyyah, and the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâíl, without resorting either to the Wahhâbis or the people of ezh-Zhâ-

hirah." Bedr agreed, and wrote accordingly, summoning the esh-Sharkiyyah to come to him immediately. He also wrote to 'Aly-bin-Hilâl-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed] to join him with all his men. (At this time 'Aly was not on good terms with Kais and wholly devoted to Bedr.) On the arrival of the tribes he ordered them to encamp in the open plain. Then he was joined by Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, with the two sheiks of the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâîl, namely, Sirhân-bin-Suleiman, el-Jâbiry, and Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, with seven hundred men, accompanied by Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaaruby, with one hundred of the people of Nakhl; these were encamped at Nuâmân. After they had been there three days the Seyyid Sâîd said to Bedr: "Muhammad-bin-Nâsir has come to us and we have not yet been to greet him. This is not as it should be, for he has answered our appeal and hastened to our assistance." Bedr approving of the suggestion, he and Sâîd started with their respective escorts, ten men in all. When they reached Nuâmân, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and his force alighted, and after they had pressed hands Sâîd and Bedr entered the fort, attended by Khalfân-bin-Muhaisan and his retinue of the el-Jibûr. In the mean time Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and his men seated themselves close by, Muhammad giving orders that no one should be allowed to approach the fort until the two Seyyids and their attendants came forth.

After Sâîd and Bedr, and those who were with them, had been seated in the fort for some time, the subject of swords and daggers was discussed, during which Khalfân-bin-Muhaisan, the Maula of the el-Jibûr, drew the dagger of Bedr-bin-Seif from its sheath in a jocose way, whereupon Sâîd drew his sword and commenced threatening to strike him, as if in fun. Suddenly, however, he stood up and struck Bedr with it, the blow breaking the bone of his arm. Bedr fled forthwith and threw himself from a window of the fort to the ground, exclaiming, "Help, O men!" The men

turned towards him, but Muhammad-bin-Nâsir stopped them, saying, "Let the descendants of the Imâm do what they please to one another." On hearing these words Bedr mounted his horse and set off at full gallop, but on reaching the small cocoa-nut plantation of Nuâmân the wound in his arm overcame him, and he fell from his horse to the ground. The Seyyid Sâîd and his followers, who had gone in pursuit, then hurled several lances at him, one of which striking him in a vital part his spirit took flight.

Thereupon the Seyyid Sâîd and his horsemen galloped on until they reached the open space where the esh-Sharkiyyah were encamped, and calling out to them he said: "Hasten to join Bedr, for Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and his men have surrounded him." 'Aly-bin-Hilâl and Hilâl-bin-Hâmed immediately rose up to go to Nuâmân. Then when the Seyyid Sâîd's men had entered the fort they called out to the Wahhâbis: "Go and join Bedr, for Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and his men have surrounded him." The Wahhâbis mounted their horses forthwith, and met the esh-Sharkiyyah, and 'Aly-bin-Hilâl, and Hilâl-bin-Hâmed near the small plantation of cocoa-nuts, where they discovered Bedr dead. At first they decided to attack Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, but learning from some peasants that Bedr had been killed by the Seyyid Sâîd and his horsemen they returned to the open plain. On their way back, and as the Wahhâbis were passing close to the fort, the Seyyid Sâîd's men, by his order, pointed the muzzles of their guns at them, whereupon they started at once for el-Bereimy.

On the Seyyid Sâîd's return to the fort of Barkah he placed some of his most devoted men in it, bidding them to be on their guard, and ordering them to open fire upon any one attempting to enter who did not belong either to him or to his brother. Taking another escort with him he set out for Máskat at noon, and reaching el-Mátrah in the afternoon he sent a messenger to the es-Sáksaky, who held the fort there

for Bedr. The messenger forthwith summoned the garrison to leave the fort, adding, "for the man is dead who placed you there." They obeyed immediately, whereupon the Seyyid Sâîd committed it to the safe keeping of the Beloochos of the Âl-Durrah-bin-Jumâah, el-Belûshy, and then proceeded with his escort to Máskat. The inhabitants generally did not hear of the occurrence until the morning of the following day. As to Hilâl-bin-Hámed and the esh-Sharkiyyah, when they knew for certain that it was the Seyyid Sâîd who had killed Bedr they returned at once to their respective homes, and Hilâl-bin-Hámed-bin-el-Imâm went to Habrâ. After the Seyyid Sâîd's departure for Máskat the notables of Barkah went out and took up the corpse of Bedr, prayed over him, and then buried him in the field.

Two days after the Seyyid Sâîd's return to Máskat, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaârubỳ, and Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jabry, and Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, arrived there at about sunset, with their respective followers. They halted near the castle of er-Riwâyah, and sent a messenger to inform the Seyyid Sâîd of their arrival, and where they were. His written reply was: "Return this very night to your several homes, for I am apprehensive lest our slaves and soldiers, who have a secret love for Bedr, may attack you. I am also anxious about Semâil, lest 'Aly-bin-Hilâl and his men, and his allies of the el-Yemeniyyah, the Arabs of esh-Sharkiyyah, should invade it." They quite understood from this reply that he did not want them to remain at Máskat, so they all left that same night for their respective districts.

Then the Seyyid Sâîd wrote to his uncle Kais apprising him of what he had done to Bedr. (Now it was notorious that Kais hated Bedr intensely on account of his intimacy with the Wahhâbis, and for having seceded from the creed of the el-Ibâdhiyah to their sect.) Whereupon an open reconciliation took place between Kais and his brother Sultân's children.

A year afterwards the Seyyid wrote to his uncle Kais as follows: "We must declare war against Sultân-bin-Sákar, el-Kâsimy, for he is our common enemy, committing depredations at sea, and forcibly seizing the boats belonging to your people and mine. Moreover, whenever his boats are short of water, or meet with bad weather, they run into Fakkân for supplies and repairs, and then set off again to commit piracy and murder on the sea. Sultân-bin-Sákar has also built a strong tower, with stone and mortar, at Fakkân; therefore collect your forces, and I will collect mine, and let that place be our rendezvous." Kais agreed to this proposal.

Thereupon the Seyyid Sâîd wrote to the Al-Wahîbah, and the el-Hajariyyîn, and the el-Harth, and the Benu-Hásan, all which tribes joined him with many men. He also wrote to Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaáruby, and the Benu-Harâs, the people of Jamma, to come to him without delay. He himself embarked in ships with a part of the Arabs who were with him, the remainder going by land. Kais and his followers went by land, and the conjoined forces surrounded the fortalice at Fakkân, stormed it and killed all, young and old, whom they found in it.

When Sultân-bin-Sákar heard of these proceedings he began mustering his forces, and collected a large body of Arabs and Hadhr, estimated at twelve thousand men, whereas the Seyyid's army only amounted to half that number. When Sultân-bin-Sákar's men approached the 'Akabah and perceived that it was held by a large body of the Seyyid's musketeers, they told their leader that it would be impossible for them to reach Fakkân with such an obstacle before them, urged him not to attack them, and then declared that if within three days the Seyyids' men did not descend from the 'Akabah they would return home. Now, some of the party who held that post came and informed Kais that Sultân's men were in force on the other side of the 'Akabah,

stating their belief at the same time that not feeling sufficiently strong to fight their way up the ascent they would retire without making the attempt. Thereupon Kais said: "Let us descend, then, for we wish to satisfy our revenge, and if we suffer them to retreat without fighting our object will not be gained." The force accordingly quitted the 'Akabah during the night, and at dawn next morning Sultân-bin-Sâkar's followers, seeing that the position had been evacuated, reported the fact to him, whereupon he ordered them to march up the 'Akabah, which they did, shouting *Allâhu Akbar!* [God is the most Great!] and then descended on Fakkân, marshalling themselves in front of the Seyyids' forces. Then the fire of the muskets rang, swords were brandished, spears pointed, and daggers reached the hearts of all; and Kais's motley adherents fled, as did also Muhamham-bin-Mâtar, the Sâhib of el-Fujairah, and none stood by the Seyyid Sâîd but the Al-Wahîbah and the el-Hajariyyîn; Kais also was deserted by all his men, with the exception of his slaves. These were hard pressed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, nevertheless they continued the contest until Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, the Seyyid Sâîd's commander-in-chief, the braves of the el-Hajariyyîn and the Âl-Wahîbah, the Seyyid Kais's slaves, and Kais himself were slain. Whereupon the Seyyid Sâîd retired from the field, embarked in a boat, and got on board one of his ships, in which he sailed for Máskat.

When Azzân heard of the death of his father Kais, he wrote to Seyyid Sâîd asking him to enter into a covenant to defend him against any attack from Sultân-bin-Sâkar, or any other adversaries. The Seyyid Sâîd consented, and supplied him with all necessary munitions of war.

The depredations of Sultân-bin-Sâkar and his people, both by sea and land, now increased more than ever, in which outrages he was supported by the Wahhâbis and an indiscriminate rabble who had joined him, and also by Mu-

hammad-bin-Jâbir, el-Jâlhamy, whose piracies were most extensive. Sultân-bin-Sákar's confederates also made more frequent raids in the neighbourhood of Sohâr, 'Azzân going out to prevent them from approaching any of the fortified posts, while the Seyyid Sâîd aided him with men and money.

The Seyyid Sâîd's suspicions of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir increasing, he became more and more estranged from him. He wrote to him ordering him to come to Barkah, as he wished to consult him. Muhammad decided to go, but several of his intimate friends dissuaded him. About this time a difference had arisen betwixt him and Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jabry, which kept him from asking Sirhân's advice, and led him to show more attention to the Benu-Ruwâhah. When Sirhân heard of his decision he remarked to some of his principal men: "If Muhammad-bin-Nâsir comes within the Seyyid Sâîd's reach, the latter will seize him in order to deprive him of the forts of Semâîl and Bádbad; but as he has seen fit not to consult me, and has taken the Benu-Ruwâhah into his confidence, neglecting me, I shall not intrude my advice upon him."

Muhammad accordingly set out, accompanied by several of his men, and after halting at Nuâmân three days proceeded on his visit to the Seyyid. Meanwhile, the latter had given secret instructions to some of his officers to seize Muhammad when he entered the fort. They did so, and delivered him over to the jailor to be bound. Then the Seyyid, accompanied by a party of the Benu-Hásan and about five hundred of the Arabs of Barkah and its environs, started off, taking him with them, and on reaching Bádbad he surrendered its fort to the Seyyid. From thence they carried him to Sarûr, where they halted. The report of the Seyyid having seized Muhammad becoming known at Semâîl, where Sirhân then was, the latter went to Sarûr and had an interview with the Seyyid. As he had taken a strong party of the Benu-Jâbir and others with him the Seyyid fancied at first that he had

come with a hostile intent, on account of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir; but perceiving that Sirhân was most deferential in his manner, and made no allusion to Muhammad, he received him with all courtesy, and dismissed him with a shower of attentions. Thereupon the Seyyid and his force moved with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to Semaîl, the fort of which the latter was obliged to surrender to him. When the Seyyidah, the daughter of the Imâm, heard of Muhammad's seizure by her nephew Sâîd, Muhammad's wife, the daughter of Jabr-bin-Muhammad, who was with her at the time, said to her, "Is this the respect which I meet with at your hands? You have seized Muhammad since you invited me to come to you, and on my arrival I learn what treatment he has received. I now begin to fear for his life." The daughter of the Imâm replied; "No; we do not want his life: all we require is the surrender of the forts of Semaîl and Bádbad, which must be restored. They were given in trust only to Muhammad by Sâîd, and the trust belongs to the rightful owners." The Imâm's daughter, taking Jabr's daughter with her, then went to Semaîl and released Muhammad, the Seyyid Sâîd giving him the choice of residing either at el-Hufry or Máskat. He chose the former.

Thereupon Muhammad said to Sâîd: "I have several trusts which I have confided to different people here, and debts owing to me by others, pray allow me to remain in the neighbourhood of Semaîl for a few days to settle these affairs;" to which request the Seyyid assented. After the Seyyid had left for Máskat, and Muhammad had got in some of his trusts and monies, he sent Bint-Jabr [his wife] to et-Tau, and directed her to remain there. Then he ordered his servants to bring up the animals, and on mounting his camel to start he was attended by the principal Nizâriyyah of Semaîl and the head men of el-Yemeniyyah, their allies, who accompanied him, conversing all the way until they reached the aqueduct of the gardens, when suddenly he

said: "Peace be with you; return home; deliverance from God is near." Then, spurring his camel, he took the road of the Wâdi-el-'Akk, much to the surprise of his attendants, who believed that he had intended returning to Semâîl. However, he urged his camels forward by night and day until he reached el-'Ainein, in ezh-Zhâhirah, where he alighted at the house of Hamîd-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry, and informed him fully of all that had befallen him at the hands of the Seyyid Sâîd-bin-Sultân. Then Hamîd said to him: "I have only the forts of el-Ghabby, and Yabrîn, and Azka at my disposal: take which of these you please as a gift." He chose that of Azka, and went thither and placed his slaves and some of his friends of the Nizâriyyah in it, and then returned to Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, with whom he spent a few days, and then proceeded to ed-Dir'iyyah.

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard of his movements he remarked: "He will cause us trouble yet, owing to the grudge which he has against us. God does as He pleases, and the result rests with Him." On reaching el-Kasîm, Muhammad stayed there a few days, and then, taking some of its people with him, proceeded to ed-Dir'iyyah, where he met Sûûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz.[1] After pressing hands, Sûûd inquired of the men of el-Kasîm about Muhammad; he had heard of him, but had never seen him before. They replied: "This is the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, el-Ghâfiry; he has come to you from 'Omân on business." Sûûd then welcomed him, and after Muhammad had complained of the treatment which he had received at the hands of the Seyyid Sâîd, Sûûd said to him: "Be of good cheer, for I will dispatch Mútlak-el-Mutairy to aid and support you against all those in 'Omân or elsewhere upon whom you may wish him to make war." 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz[2] then gave Mútlak-el-Mutairy the following

[1] The second Wahhâby Amîr of that name. He succeeded his father, 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, the son of Su'ûd I., who was assassinated by a Persian, A.D. 1803.

[2] Su'ûd-ibn-'Abdu-'l-'Aziz is undoubtedly meant.

order: "Procede Muhammad-bin-Nâsir into 'Omân, and make arrangements to subdue all such as may disobey my commands, and do every thing in your power to support Muhammad-bin-Nâsir." The latter accordingly remained with Sûûd, while Mútlak set out for 'Omân. On reaching el-Bereimy he convened all the esh-Shamâl Arabs and attacked Shinâs,[1] the fort of which he captured, and then placed it in charge of Muhammad-bin-Ahmed, et-Tînjy.

On Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's return to 'Omân he wrote to Mútlak, advising him to attack Sohâr. Whereupon the latter called upon the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb, the ezh-Zhawâhir, and all the Arabs of the neighbourhood of el-Bereimy to join him forthwith. Having mustered a large force he descended upon Sohâr and surrounded it. Sohâr was still held by 'Azzân-bin-Kais, but being attacked with small-pox at the time of the siege he had appointed the Seyyid Sâîd to act as his deputy. Sâîd accordingly opposed the Wahhâbis with what forces he had, while Mútlak was joined by Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, both bringing large contingents, insomuch that he is said to have had a disposable army of three thousand men; but finding that he could not effect an entrance into Sohâr he marched with his forces to the sea-coast. On approaching el-Masnaâh they ascended the Wâdi-el-Mâawal, and when they reached el-'Arik they attacked and stormed its Hujrah, killing all those who held it, excepting such as effected their escape. Proceeding to Âfy, Mútlak encamped in the open country, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir occupied a house at ezh-Zhâhir. At this juncture Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaâruby, joined them, whereupon the garrison of the outer Hujrah fled, leaving nearly all their stores behind them, and took refuge in the Hujrat-esh-Sheikh. There-

[1] Shinâs is situated on the el-Bâtinah coast, about thirty-five miles to the northward of Sohâr. Wellsted describes it as "a small town, with a fort and a shallow lagoon, affording anchorage for small boats."

upon Mâlik-bin-Seif opened fire upon them with a gun which he had brought from Nakhl and posted in the outer Hujrah. Then one of the Nizâriyyah, with a party of the Nakhl people, having seized the market-place of ezh-Zhâhir, there was a hand-to-hand fight between Mútlak's forces and the el-Maâwal, which resulted in the submission of the latter to Mâlik-bin-Seif, whom they solemnly swore to obey. After he had sent back the gun to Nakhl, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and Mútlak-el-Mutairy, with their respective forces, went to Semaîl, and surrounded the inhabitants of the el-'Alâyat, drove them from their posts on the heights and seized their Hujrahs, plundering them of all that they contained. Most of the posts they destroyed; the remainder they made over to the Benu-Jâbir. Then Mútlak and Hamîd-bin-Nâsir left by way of el-'Akk, and when they reached el-'Ainein, Hamîd remained there and Mútlak went on to el-Bereimy. Meanwhile, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's force invested the fort of Semaîl, he himself taking up his residence in the house which he had built at Sittâl. (The fort at that time was held, on behalf of the Seyyid Sâîd, by 'Ismaîl, the Belooch; he belonged to the Âl-Durrah-bin-Jumâah, el-Belûshy, and had a garrison with him consisting of eighty Beloochs and twenty of the Seyyid Sâîd's manumitted slaves. Attached to them also was a man of the 'Alâyat-Semaîl, named Dzuhail-bin-Sâlim, edz-Dzuwaiby, who was employed in carrying intelligence to the Seyyid Sâîd respecting the garrison and the movements of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's forces. He used to mix with them at night, and was never recognized. One day he came to the Seyyid, and said: "Send an energetic man to the fort, for the Beloochs and slaves have lost heart, and many of them having died of small-pox and dropsy I fear lest they may be compelled to surrender to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir." Just at this time 'Aly-bin-Tâlib-bin-Muhenna, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, happened to have come on a visit to the Seyyid Sâîd. He was the Seyyid's Wâli at Nezwa,

which he had left for Sûr, from whence he embarked for Máskat. The Seyyid Sâîd thereupon ordered him and Dzuhail-bin-Sâlim to proceed forthwith to Semäîl, and to stir up the garrison of the fort to be on the alert. After reaching Finjâ they started by night, and made their way safely into the fort, without being detected by the investing forces of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir. 'Aly then began to urge the garrison to vigilance and perseverance, but as they complained of want of provisions and warlike stores, 'Aly dispatched Dzuhail back to apprise the Seyyid of the state of affairs. Thereupon the latter summoned the el-Hajariyyîn, and the Benu-Hásan, and several of the el-Yemeniyyah of esh-Sharkiyyah, and on their arrival he proceeded with them by way of Sakhnân to Semäîl, taking with him large supplies of provisions and ammunition, which were laden on their own animals and on others belonging to the Arabs of Barkah and its neighbourhood. On reaching the 'Alâyat-Semäîl a part of them engaged the force of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir located in its towers, while the remainder made for the fort, and succeeded in carrying in all the supplies which they had brought with them. The Seyyid Sâîd then endeavoured to inspirit them, and having deprived them of all reasonable excuse by providing them with all they had asked for he placed 'Aly-bin-Tâlib in command, directing them to obey him implicitly. This done, to the satisfaction of both parties, the Seyyid Sâîd and his escort set out on their return, taking the same road by which they had come. On reaching Sakhnân they became aware of the presence of some of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's men, who began to fire upon them from the heights, where they had been placed in ambush. On attaining Finjâ the Seyyid learnt that two of his followers were missing. From thence he went to Máskat and then dismissed the remainder.

Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was greatly incensed with the people of Finjâ and el-Khatm for the part they had taken in this

matter, and he accordingly ordered his cavalry to attack them, accompanied by many of the Benu-Jâbir and the es-Seyyâbiyyîn. On their approach to el-Khatm the people of that place and those of Finjâ encountered them, fighting with muskets, and several were killed on both sides; after which the assailants retired.

Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir built a lofty tower at Sakhnân and garrisoned it with a number of the Benu-Julánda and others, ordering them to stop up the road with stones, thereby closing it against all messengers from the fort at Semâîl, and also against any messengers from Finjâ to them, except by way of el-Máltaka and Sarûr. By this means the Seyyid Sâîd was prevented from receiving any intelligence respecting the fort at Semâîl. Thereupon he wrote to 'Azzân-bin-Kais to join him with his forces at the Wâdi-el-Mââwal, in order to aid him in a subsequent attack upon Nakhl. His object thereby was so to occupy Mâlik-bin-Seif as to detach him from Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and to cut off the people of Nakhl from Nakhl, just as Mâlik had cut him off from that place when he joined Mútlak-el-Mutairy and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir against the el-Mââwal. (Mâlik was at this time at Semâîl, and had with him some of his Nakhl men.) When 'Azzân and his troops reached the el-Mââwal he encamped at Maslamât, and was received with rapture by the people, who readily joined him, and marched with him by night towards Nakhl. They crossed the Jebel-Albân, and then descended to el-Gharîdh, where shots were exchanged between them and the inhabitants, but they hastened forward to Nakhl, entered it by the Bâb-esh-Shâghah, and encamped in the open space, destroying a portion of the town wall, and cutting down some of the date-trees. They remained there three days and then retired to Sohâr. Of the people of Nakhl the only casualty was Sâlim-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, er-Ruwaishidy; 'Azzân lost six men killed. This affair greatly embittered the relations between the people of Nakhl and the el-Mââwal.

Then 'Aly-bin-Tâlib and Dzuhail left the fort of Semâil by night, and taking the el-'Akk road descended from Káhzah to Hatât. On reaching the Seyyid Sâîd they informed him that the garrison had been greatly weakened by the protracted siege, and urged him to commence hostilities against Muhammad-bin-Nâsir. They returned by the same route, and on reaching the fort communicated the welcome news that deliverance was at hand, for that the Seyyid Sâîd was coming to the rescue with a large force. Then the Seyyid Sâîd wrote to the el-Hajariyyîn, the Benu-Hásan, and the el-Harth to join him in force; he also wrote to 'Azzân to bring infantry and horse. When the above-named tribes reached Máskat he marched with them to Barkah, and encamped there in the open plain. 'Azzân also joined him with his infantry and cavalry, and, besides these, large levies of the coast Arabs from el-Masnaâh as far as the Jebel-el-'Omariyyah. When all these were assembled he started with them to Bádbad, from whence he went to reconnoitre Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's forces at Sarûr, and learnt that they consisted of three hundred of the el-'Awâmir and one hundred of the Benu-Jâbir; further, that Sâlim-bin-Thâny, el-Jâbiry, who had separated from him, the Seyyid Sâîd, had also joined him, and was then their commander. The day after, the Seyyid Sâîd attacked them suddenly, killing eighty of Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's followers, most of them people of Sarûr; Sâlim-bin-Thâny was also among the slain. Thereupon the Seyyid ordered the tower in the Wâdi-Sarûr to be razed, and he sent the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Mâjid to the inhabitants to offer them the alternative of war or submission. They submitted with eagerness, and pledged themselves to withdraw from Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's allegiance. Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, also came to solicit an amnesty on his own and his people's part. After taking a pledge from them, as in the case of the people of Sarûr, the Seyyid Sâîd returned to Máskat and 'Azzân to Sohâr.

When Muhammad-bin-Nâsir heard of all the occurrences he pressed forward the siege of Semâîl, and wrote to the principal men of 'Omân, and to the Hadhr and Arabs of that province who were in alliance with him, to come to him without delay. Thereupon 'Aly-bin-Tâlib left the fort at night and went to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and asked him for a safe conduct to go to the Seyyid Saîd, promising to surrender the fort at the expiration of a certain number of days, unless the Seyyid came to its relief. To this Muhammad consented.

On reaching the Seyyid, 'Aly informed him of the weakened state of the garrison: small-pox and dropsy had carried off many of them, provisions were running short, and they were already negotiating for surrendering the fort to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, on condition of their being allowed to take their arms with them. "When I learnt all this," continued 'Aly, "I induced them to wait until I had applied to you; but as I could not make my way to you I was obliged to have recourse to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, to whom I said so-and-so, and thus the matter stands until my return; therefore I entreat you to hasten to their relief."

On receiving this report the Seyyid Saîd wrote forthwith to the Benu-Hásan and the el-Hajariyyîn; also to the Beloochs and the Zidgâl under his jurisdiction in the territory of Mekrân, and got together a large army, to which he added the Arabs of the coast from es-Sîb to el-Masnaâh, and on reaching Bádbad, Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, joined him with three hundred men; the people of Sarûr he excused from accompanying him. He then marched with his army to Hassâs and there encamped, ordering Walîd-el-Hinâÿ to attack the el-Hâjir with his musketeers. Walîd accordingly ascended the Jebel-el-Hâjir, which overlooks the Benu-Mazrûâ and the Benu-Harâs, while the Seyyid concealed the Belooches and Zidgâl in a spot near el-Khubâr, and ordered the remainder to attack the Benu-Mujállib and

the Benu-Harâs. Intelligence of these movements reaching Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who was then at Sitâl, he ordered his force under Mâlik-bin-Seif, el Yaáruby, to fall upon the Seyyid Sâid's encampment at el-Khubâr and Hassâs, while Sirhân-bin-Sulcimân, el-Jâbiry, and Rashîd-bin-Sâîd-bin Muhammad, el-Jâbiry, with their respective troops attacked Walîd-el-Hinây's party and drove them from the mountain, killing Walîd. Then Seif-bin-Thâbit, el-Janîby, reached the field, and there was a fierce contest between the two armies, the Seyyid Sâîd's followers taking to flight, while Mâlik-bin-Seif, el Yaáruby, and his men rushed on the Beloochcs and Zidgâl, killing most of them.

Thereupon the Seyyid returned to Máskat and dispatched the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Hilâl, el-'Alawy, and the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily, to conclude a peace between him and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, at any pecuniary sacrifice, but not to include the surrender of the forts of Semaîl and Bádbad, and to call upon Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, on their way, to aid them in the negotiations. When they reached Bádbad, Najîm sent them provisions, and after they had eaten he accompanied them on the way to Hassâs, and there left them to proceed on their journey. Now, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had placed a party of the el-Jánabah and ed-Durúwwà near es-Sammâr. (The ed-Durúwwà had an old grudge against the Benu-'Aly, and the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Hilâl was not aware that they had joined the el-Jánabah when the latter went to Semaîl). So when the deputies were near Hassâs, the men in ambush rushed out upon them, killed the sheikh Suleimân-bin-Hilâl, and took the sheikhs Suleimân-bin-Seif and Sâîd-bin-Mâjid, el-Hârithy, bound to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who was at that time at Sitâl with a large force. When Najîm-bin-'Abdallah heard of this occurrence he hastened to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and urged him to liberate them, but the latter refused to do so, unless the forts of Semaîl and Bádbad were

surrendered to him. Then one of Muhammad's officers said to Najîm: "If you want to effect their release, get Suleimân-bin-Seif to write a letter, in the Seyyid Sâîd's behalf, to the garrison at Semaîl, directing them to evacuate the fort, taking their arms with them. If they consent, I will guarantee the release of your friends; if not, matters must remain as they are." Suleimân wrote accordingly, but when the letter reached the garrison they said: "the fort is not to be surrendered through paper and ink, but at the sword's point. There can be nothing but war betwixt us and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir." On the return of the messenger with this reply, Najîm-bin-'Abdallah again pressed Muhammad-bin-Nâsir—this time successfully—to release Suleimân-bin-Seif and Sâîd-bin-Mâjid, and they left with Najîm for Máskat, where the Seyyid Sâîd then was. When they had recounted all that had taken place, the Seyyid remarked to the two deputies: "I suspect that but for the sheikh Najîm's intervention Muhammad-bin-Nâsir would have murdered you." They thought it most likely, and therefore solicited that some token of regard should be awarded to their deliverer. The Seyyid accordingly dismissed Najîm-bin-'Abdallah with substantial proofs of his generosity and affection, and thereupon suspended hostilities against Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, in the hope that the latter would abstain from pressing on the siege at Semaîl. Therein, however, he was mistaken, and no succour reaching the garrison they surrendered it to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, some of the men making their way back to Máskat, among whom were 'Ismaîl-el-Belûshy, the captain over his Beloochee countrymen, and el-Masku, the captain over the slaves. These the Seyyid ordered to be confined, and both died in prison. Thus did Muhammad become master over Semaîl, and the Benu-Ruwâhah and other tribes submitted to him.

The Seyyid Sâîd's anger against Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and also against Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaaruby, for having cö-

operated with him in the capture of the fort was now excited to the highest pitch, and he was induced to dispatch his brother, Sâlim-bin-Sultân, to seek the aid of the Shâh of Persia against his opponents in 'Omân. On the arrival of the Seyyid Sâlim with his retinue at Shîrâz, he received every attention from the Shâh: dishes of fruit and food were sent every morning and evening for their use; nevertheless, the Shâh neither came to visit him nor asked him to the royal presence, but one of the Wazîrs waited upon him every day and had a long talk with him. The Wazîr's message was always to this effect: "The Shâh sends you many compliments and is most anxious to pay you a visit, and also to receive you, but he is at present very much engaged with Persian, Turkish, and Christian ambassadors on matters which require his personal attention.[1] When he has settled their affairs he will accord you whatever you require, and in the mean time you shall be treated with every respect and attention." This man was a Kâdhi from Syria, well versed in jurisprudence and other sciences, and

[1] Succeeding events narrated in this history, and which are also briefly chronicled in the Bombay Government Records, enable me to fix the date of the Seyyid Sâlim's visit to Shîrâz between 1808-9, during the reign of Fath-'Aly-Shâh. Writing in 1815, Sir John Malcolm, then our Minister Plenipotentiary there, says: "The Court of Persia has, within the last fifteen years, been again visited by the ambassadors of European nations. The power which the sovereign of that country possessed to check the Affghans, who threatened to invade India, and his ability to aid in repelling the ambitious views of France, if ever directed to that quarter, led the Governor-General of the British possessions in the East to form an alliance with Futteh Aly Khan immediately after he was raised to the throne." Subsequently, the friendship of the King of Persia was courted by Buonaparte, to enable him to attempt his cherished project of invading India. "The Court of London took considerable alarm at these proceedings: and the efforts that were deemed necessary to counteract them have led to a more direct intercourse with the Government of Persia, which has, within the space of five years, been honoured with two embassies from the King of England." *History of Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 315-317.

whenever he conversed with the Seyyid Sâlim he spoke in pure Arabic. His name was el-Mîrza.[1]

Among the 'Omâny Kâdhis in the Seyyid Sâlim's retinue was Nâsir-bin-Sulcimân, el-'Adiwy, el-Mâûly, to whom the Persian Kâdhi who waited upon the Seyyid used to say every day: "I have visited you again and again and you have not come to see me: I shall be honoured by your visit." (Now, this said Mîrza was known to entertain great enmity towards the *Ibâdhiyah*, although he was careful to conceal it, and manifested nothing but affectionate courtesy towards the Seyyid Sâlim and to Nâsir-bin-Sulcimân. He had, moreover, written to tell the Shâh that the arrivals from 'Omân were *Khawârij* [schismatics] from the true religion, whom it was not right that he should assist, and recommending that they should be put off with promises from day to day until they got disgusted and returned to their homes.) At length Nâsir said, in reply to his repeated solicitations, "I will call upon you to-morrow at your court, God willing. Where do you sit in judgment?" The answer was: "Close to the Shâh's fort." When the Mîrza left them he wrote to inform the Shâh that the Kâdhi of the *Khawârij* had promised to visit him next day, adding that the said schismatic was a great hater of his Majesty's people, and asking for instructions how he was to deal with him. The Shâh sent a message to the following effect:—"When he comes to you, propound some questions to him which will give you an opportunity of controverting the dogmas of

[1] Rather, that was the Kâdhi's title. Sir John Malcolm says that "the ministers of state in Persia, and the secretaries of the various departments of the Government generally, bear the name of Mîrza. The term is a contraction of two words, signifying the son of an Amîr or lord; but at present it does not, when prefixed to a name, denote high birth. It may be translated civilian, as it implies complete civil habits: all who assume it are understood to have been well brought up, and to devote themselves to those duties that require education." *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 571.

his creed. If you succeed, we may then infer that the people are *Khawârij*, as you say they are; but if he overcomes you in argument, the inference will be that yours are lying words, that these people do not entertain those sentiments towards us which you charge them with, and that, consequently, it will be our duty to aid them against their adversaries in 'Omân."

The Seyyid Sâlim had also a Persian with him named Mûsa, who had been domiciled at Máskat. Though a Mûsawy[1] in creed, he was an upright and honourable man, who opposed the Shiâah on those points wherein they err from the truth. His advice to Nâsir was: "Have no confidence in the Mîrza, for he has the greatest hatred of you. If you visit him, and he questions you about your creed, answer him according to what is written in your books and contained in your doctrines, and do not falter in your replies." The Seyyid Sâlim's advice to him was: "If you question him about his creed use the utmost caution, and do not say anything respecting it but what will be agreeable to him; for if with all their courtesy towards us they are not acting in good faith, it behoves us to be on our guard against their deceit." Nâsir said: "Be under no apprehension about me."

When Nâsir set out the following morning on his visit to the Mirza he found the Shâh's fort surrounded by a dense crowd of Persians, numbering thousands, some seated and others standing, with downcast eyes, not daring to look up

[1] That is, a follower of Mûsa. The Mûsa referred to was probably the son of Ja'afar-es-Sâdik, reckoned the sixth, and his son Mûsa the seventh, of the legitimate Imâms, in succession to Muhammad and his son-in-law 'Aly, by a sect of the Shia'ahs called *el-Ithna-'ashery*, because they believed that there were *twelve* such Imâms. Mûsa was born A.H. 128 = A.D. 715, and is supposed to have been poisoned at Baghdâd by order of the Khalîfah Harûn er-Rashîd. He was buried at the village of el-Kâzhemain, on the right bank of the Tigris, a little above Baghdâd. The Persians have built a handsome mosque over his remains, the cupolas of which are covered with beaten gold.

to the fort, out of respect for the Shâh. Nâsir passed through all these, and saw those who were pulling out their eyes and arms by the roots, and other madmen sitting on hot copper dishes,[1] when to the Mîrza's astonishment he perceived him at his side, and wondered at his courage and hardihood. Placing him on his right hand, the Mîrza proceeded to try the cases which were brought before him. The first was that of a Persian who complained that the defendant, also a Persian, had killed his brother. The Kâdhi having asked the latter whether the charge was true, and being answered in the affirmative, forthwith ordered the executioner, who was at hand, to decapitate him, which he did at one blow. As all the parties in the case had spoken in Persian, which Nâsir did not understand, he said to the Kâdhi in Arabic: "Why did you condemn the man to be executed?" The other replied: "On account of the charge of the complainant that he had killed his brother. I asked the culprit: 'Did you kill his brother?' he said 'Yes;' whereupon I adjudged him to death, in accordance with the Book and the holy *Sunnah*." Nâsir then remarked: "If the matter is as you state it, you have pronounced a just sentence; but had you sentenced the man to death, without his own confession of the crime, and without two trustworthy witnesses, you would have acted contrary to the Book and the holy *Sunnah*." "I call God to witness," rejoined the Kâdhi, "that the sentence is just, for the case is as I have stated it to you." (Now the Shâh had a large mirror in the fort, so placed that it reflected what passed among the crowd; he also had an interpreter by his side who translated to him what was said in Arabic; and, surrounding him, were his principal Wazîrs.)

Then the Mîrza remarked to Nâsir: "You are a respectable, conscientious, and upright people; why, therefore, are

[1] Sir John Malcolm describes the feats of jugglers, wrestlers, and buffoons among the public amusements of the Persians of all classes.

you called *Khawârij*, and why do you not abjure the tenets of that sect, knowing that a curse rests upon them on account of their wicked ways." (The interpreter translated these words to the Shâh.) Nâsir replied: "We are not Khawârij; the Khawârij were a set of fanatics who existed amongst us in olden time; but since then we have been separated from them, as we are now, on account of their deviation from the truth and their excesses, wherein they followed what was vain. Our fanatics are the *Khawârij*, yours are the *Rawâfidh*, and the curse of God rests alike on both."[1] (The interpreter translated this reply also to the Shâh.) The Mîrza remaining silent for some time, Nâsir said to him: "O Mîrza, I want to ask you a question, but I fear to do so, seeing that I am in a situation of danger, whereas you are quite safe." The Mîrza replied: "Say what you please; I guarantee your immunity." "I will not speak," rejoined Nâsir, "until I have the same assurance from the Shâh." The interpreter having repeated this to the Shâh, the latter sent one of his Wazîrs, who spoke Arabic, to Nâsir with this message: "The Shâh salutes you, and bids me to tell you that he has overheard and understood what you have said, and gives you full liberty to say what you please, under his guarantee that none of his subjects shall harm you." Thereupon Nâsir asked the Mîrza:

[1] *Rawâfidh*, (sing. *Râfidhy*,) literally, Gainsayers, a term generally used by Sunnis to denote their opponents, the Shia'ahs, who profess an exclusive attachment for 'Aly and his descendants, maintaining their right to the Imâmate in succession to Muhammad, and regarding Abu-Bekr, 'Omar, 'Othmân, and Mo'âwiyah as usurpers. It would appear, however, from the text, that the designation is applied in Persia to the numerous sects of dissidents from the orthodox (?) Shia'ahs, with whom they are at variance, both as regards the nature of 'Aly's claims to the Imâmate, and also as to the number of his legitimate Successors. For an account of the origin of the name, see el-Makrizy, quoted with comments in the Introduction to De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, vol. i. p. lxviii.

"Why do you convey your dead bodies from a great distance to Kerbela,[1] and expend large sums of money in the transport? Is not the mercy of God vouchsafed everywhere to those who deserve it; or, is it vouchsafed especially to those not only who live and die at Kerbela, but to those also who have not lived there but who are carried thither to be buried after death?" The Mîrza replied: "We are assured that those who are buried in the land where Husein (upon whom be peace!) was buried will go to heaven, notwithstanding all the crimes they may have committed. Why, then, should we not carry our dead thither, and why should we not expend money in doing so? Every one who is buried there was a Shiâ'y in creed, whose portion is heaven." Nâsir rejoined: "What say you, then, about those who are not buried there?" The other answered: "Every Shiâ'y who is not buried there is afterwards carried by angels and buried there." "Who amongst you," asked Nâsir, "has seen the angels carrying them? Then, again, if it is as you say, what need is there of your carrying your dead to Kerbela, and spending so much money on the task, if, according to your belief, the angels who have no need of silver and gold carry them thither gratis?" The Mîrza was silent and did not venture to reply.

Then Nâsir said to him: "Which of the two is the more esteemed with you, Husein or his grandfather, the Apostle of God?" He answered: "His grandfather, for he is the

[1] Kerbela, where Husein the son of 'Aly was slain in battle, on the 10th of Muhárram, A.H. 61 = 10th of October, 680, was the name of a district in Babylonian 'Irâk, not far from the city of el-Kúfah. The Persians regard Husein as a martyr, and the first of the el-Búiyah sultâns raised a sumptuous monument over his sepulchre, generally known as Másh-had-Husein. Crowds of Shia'ah pilgrims continue to pay their annual devotions to the shrine, and the privilege of being interred near the remains of the saint is bought by the rich at an extravagant price. Strings of animals, carrying two or more corpses enclosed in coffins, are constantly arriving at Kerbela from different parts of Persia.

most excellent of God's creatures." "What say you, then," rejoined the other, "of those who are buried near the tomb of the Apostle of God, and whose graves are nigh to his; are such in heaven or in fire?" "They are in heaven," replied the Mîrza, who, seeing that Nâsir had the best of the argument, added, "with the exception of these two, to wit, Abu-Bekr and 'Omar." "Have you any proof for that statement either from the Book or the holy *Sunnah*?" asked Nâsir. As the Mîrza did not attempt to reply, Nâsir took leave of him, feeling that he had vanquished him, and returned forthwith to the Seyyid Sâlim.

When the interpreter had translated the colloquy to the Shâh, the latter sent one of his Wazîrs to the Mîrza with this message: "The Kâdhi of 'Omân has overcome you: you have disgraced us by your answers, and brought contempt on the Shâfy creed. You deserve to be beaten with sticks rather than to dispense law and justice. Therefore, quit your office and become the companion of clowns or sweepers." The Mîrza, on his part, poured forth a volley of abuse upon the Wazîr.

When Nâsir reached the Seyyid and reported all that had occurred, the Seyyid said: "Nâsir, you have imperilled us by your tongue; you have disobeyed my injunctions and your companionship will do us no good." But Mûsa remarked: "Know, O Seyyid, that the sheikh Nâsir has done well and not ill, and I augur from it a favourable settlement of your affairs by the Shâh." Nevertheless, the Seyyid retired that night very much disquieted, owing to Nâsir's discussion with the Mîrza; and he was the more apprehensive because the Shâh himself had heard the colloquy, and he was under the impression that the Shâh had entrusted his (Sâlim's) mission to the Mîrza's decision. The next morning, however, the Shâh dispatched his principal Wazîr, who was accompanied by a great concourse of people, to Sâlim, and who, after he was seated, said to him: "The

Shâh salutes you, and asks you to visit him to-morrow in his fort, and he has given the warders directions to have the way cleared for you." As Sâlim was about to set out with his suite Mûsa said to him: "Go alone, and be not disconcerted at the sight of the soldiers, or of the lions and other wild beasts which are chained at the foot of the fort. On entering, and when you meet the Shâh, take an empty chair with your own hands, and seat yourself nearer to him than all his Wazirs, and when you address the Shâh speak boldly, without affecting any nicety of language, for the Shâh has only sent for you to find out whether you are plain-spoken, of decided views, and of a dignified bearing." Sâlim accordingly went unattended, and was not distracted either at the sight of the soldiers, or of the lions and other wild beasts which were chained below the fort. On approaching the gate he bade the warder to open it, saying simply, "I am Sâlim-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd." So the gate was opened, and he ascended. On seeing him approach, the Shâh rose and seized his hand; whereupon Sâlim took one of the Shâh's chairs, which greatly increased his dignity in the estimation of the Shâh and his Wazîrs. The Shâh treated him with great courtesy, and apologized for having so long delayed having an interview with him, on the ground of press of business. The Shâh then asked what request he had to make, to which Sâlim replied: "Some of our subjects in 'Omân have misbehaved themselves towards us; they have rebelled and seized some of our fortresses, and have renounced their allegiance to us and contracted an alliance with the Wahhâbis, to whom they have committed their affairs, and to whom they have become subject. Praise be to God! we are not tired of fighting against them and the Wahhâbis; but inasmuch as in olden time, whenever the subjects of 'Omân rebelled against their sovereign, he was always supported by you,—for you are a great nation, and the keys of victory

and of blessings are in your hands,—therefore I have come to you seeking this blessing—that you will deign to send us some of your cavalry, we undertaking to supply them with money, provisions, and arms at our own cost." "How many horsemen do you require?" asked the Shâh. Sâlim said, "three thousand, with as many attendants as may be necessary." "Your request shall be granted to-morrow," replied the Shâh; who thereupon invested Sâlim with a splendid robe, and after conversing with him for a long time respecting the expedition, Sâlim requested leave to return to his companions. On his departure the Shâh ordered his principal Wazîrs and other officers to escort him, and after they had left him at the house where he sojourned, Sâlim sent Hâjj Mûsa to the Shâh, to the Wazîrs and officers, with rich presents for each. Then turning to his own people he bade them to transact any business they had on hand, and to be in readiness, as he hoped to start for 'Omân the following day. Next morning thousands of cavalry, with their Khâns and attendants, were sent for Sâlim's inspection; of these he selected three thousand and dismissed the remainder. On reaching Bunder-el-'Abbâs he embarked them in a number of large and small vessels, and when they arrived at Barkah they pitched their tents on the east and west of the fort.

When Muhammad-bin-Nâsir heard of the arrival of the Persians at Barkah, he went from Semâîl to Azka, and from thence to the el-'Obriyyîn and the Benu-Shakîl, collecting forces to withstand the new comers.

It was agreed between the Seyyids, the sons of Sultân, and the Imâm's [Ahmed] daughter, that Nakhl should be attacked before Semâîl. They accordingly started for that place with their army of Persians and Arabs, and were joined by Himyar-bin-Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân, el-Yaaruby, out of hatred to Mâlik-bin-Seif, who had killed his brother Muhenna-bin-Muhammad.[1] In order to carry out his views,

[1] See p. 270.

Himyar wrote privately to the people of Nakhl, telling them that the Seyyid Sâîd had called in the aid of the Persians chiefly on his behalf, and that his object was to expel Mâlik, in order to make over Nakhl to him. The Nakhl people believing this, were disinclined to take up arms, and quietly looked on while the Seyyid Sâîd's forces surrounded the place. The Seyyid's camp extended from Hadhain to es-Sarm, which is below the wall, and that of the Persians from Maslimât to the Musálla-el-'Eid.[1] At this time Mâlik had none of the tribes with him except some of the people of Semâîl. A gun having been brought from Barkah for the attack on Nakhl, the Seyyid Sâîd's men opened fire with it upon the fort from the Bâb-ezh-Zhufûr, and also from another gun which was posted near the Bâb-es-Sâfiyah. The el-Mââwal fought bravely on the defensive, and the Seyyid's Arab and Persian forces under the Seyyid Sâlim, who acted as commander-in-chief, were equally determined in their attack. In the mean time, Himyar wrote repeatedly to the people of Nakhl, most of whom were attached to him and only a few to Mâlik, advising them to take no part in the contest, reiterating the statement which he had made to them at the outset. By this time the Seyyid Sâîd's army had cut down nearly all the date-trees, and at length Mâlik, despairing of succour, perceiving also that the majority of the inhabitants were disloyal to him, and further that the shot and shell of the assailants had battered the fort, sued for peace, and after removing all the stores that he could surrendered it to Muhammad-bin-Sulcimân, el-'Adiwy, whom the Seyyid Sâîd, who was then at Barkah, directed to take charge of it. Mâlik had an interview with the Seyyid at Barkah and received his pardon.

'Azzân-bin-Kais now joined the Seyyid Sâîd with a large contingent, and was followed by Sâlim from Nakhl, with all his Arabs and Persians. Sâîd remained at Barkah while

[1] See note, p. 276.

these marched to Semâil, and were reinforced by the Seyyid Tâlib-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed]. On reaching Semâil the fort was surrendered to them unconditionally: the garrison at the time consisted of the heads of the el-Jibûr, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir having gone with a party of the el-'Obriyyîn and the Benu-Shakîl to muster the Benu-Riyâm to oppose the Persians. When Muhammad heard of the surrender of the forts of Nakhl and Semâil to the Seyyid Sûûd he started in quest of Mútlak-el-Mutairy, and learning at el-Bereimy that he had left three days before for Nejd, he went forward, and on overtaking him at ezh-Zhâfrah-el-Yâsiyyah remonstrated with him in these terms: "How is it that you have abandoned us, after having received the Amîr Sûûd's orders to support us? By Allâh! if you return to Nejd, I will follow you and complain to the Amîr that you fled from the Persians without striking a blow, and left the Muslims to their fate." Muhammad, moreover, gave large sums of money to Mútlak's Kâdhis, in order to secure their interest, and they accordingly said to Mútlak, "unless you return to aid Muhammad-bin-Nâsir we will accuse you to the Amîr Sûûd of cowardice, that you withheld succour from the Muslims and ran away from the Persians without fighting. You have no excuse for not returning with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to contend against the *Mushrikûn*;[1] for how often, by the will of God, have a few overcome numbers, and 'God is with the patient.'" These expostulations were not without effect upon Mútlak, who dreaded Sûûd's reproof. Thereupon Muhammad, taking two parcels containing one thousand dollars each from his saddle-bags, gave them to Mútlak, saying: "Here are the means to provide for your wants and the wants of your followers." Mútlak took the money and returned with Muhammad to raise levies from the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb and the ezh-Zhawâhir; he also collected many from Dhank and el-Ghabby, and on reaching Azka they were joined by the el-Jánabah and the ed-Durúwwâ.

[1] See note 1, p. 245.

Sâlim-bin-Sultân now decided to march against Azka, but his uncle Tâlib-bin-el-Imâm suggested that he should first dispatch Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaáruby, to persuade Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to surrender the fort before he marched with the Persians against the place. On Mâlik's arrival with the letter he found that Muhammad had a large body of Wahhâbis and *Mutawáhhabis*[1] with him, as well as the Arab followers of Seif-bin-Thâbit and the ed-Durúwwâ—in all a very considerable army, so he did not return with an answer to Sâlim. Tired of waiting, Sâlim moved with his army towards Azka, and on reaching the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâhah he was joined by 'Isa-bin-Sâlih, el-Hârithy, with a great many of the el-Harth, of the el-Habûs, and others. Sâlim had also written to the principal Nizâriyyah of Semâil, and they sent him a strong reinforcement.

Sâlim then proceeded on the march, his uncle Tâlib halting at the village of Máty, but owing to the overflowing of the Wâdi-Halfain, in consequence of heavy rain, they could not go forward to Azka. However, when the rain subsided and the Wâdi became dry, Sâlim advanced upon Azka and encountered Muhammad-bin-Nâsir near Saddy, where a battle was fought between the two armies, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir gaining the victory. A great many Persians and Arabs fell on that day.

When the garrison of the Hujrah of el-Yamn heard of the flight of the Seyyid Sâlim's Persians and Arabs they abandoned the Hujrah and fled in every direction.

Mútlak and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir then marched with their forces to Semail. On entering the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâhah they razed the towers and plundered all they could find in the Wâdi. When Mútlak was about to return to el-Bereimy he gave Muhammad Sémed-el-Kindy, of Nezwa, and Muhammed repaired its mosque and built an oil-press there. At this time the remainder of the Per-

[1] See note 2, p. 231.

sians were at Barkah, while Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and Mâlik-bin-Seif abode at Azka.

Then Tûrky and Faisal, the sons of Sûûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, came to el-Bereimy without their father's permission, bringing with them some men of el-Hasâ and el-Kasîm,[1] and were joined by Râshid-bin-Hamîd, en-Nâîmy, on their way through 'Ajmân.[2] Mútlak having given up the command to them, they were reinforced by the esh-Shawâmis and the Benu-Kaab; but of the Benu-Nâîm only one hundred came with Râshid-bin-Hamîd. They then assaulted the fort and afterwards encamped in the surrounding open country. During the night the el-Khadrâ surprised them, killing many of the followers of Tûrky and Faisal, who thereupon took to flight; but none of Râshid-bin-Hamîd's men fell, for when the el-Khadrâ attacked them they lighted fires, the flames of which prevented the assailants from reaching them. Moreover, most of Tûrky and Faisal's men who lost their lives that night were killed by their own comrades who did not recognize them, owing to the darkness.

When Mútlak heard of this check he collected a force from the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb, and the ezh-Zhawâhir, and wrote to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to join him immediately. The latter did so, taking with him the el-Jánabah, the ed-Durúwwâ, and the el-Hashm, also Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy. On reaching el-Hazm they were joined by Tûrky and Faisal, with a few followers, and then went to el-Habrâ, where they halted three days. From thence they descended upon Barkah, and Mâlik-bin-Seif and el-Marr-bin-Nâsir, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's brother, attacked the part conti-

[1] El-Kasîm, a province of Upper Nejd. Palgrave gives a long and interesting account of its inhabitants, productions, commerce, etc., in his *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. i. p. 16-256.

[2] The "Ejman" of our charts, is a small town situated on the southern bank of a backwater, on the western coast of the promontory of Ruûs-el-Jebel. The chief is independent, and commands about six hundred fighting men. The inhabitants are Wahhâbis.

gnous to the *Kárhat-el-'Eid*.[1] Thereupon Sâlim-bin-Sultân marched out against them with his Persians and killed Mâlik-bin-Seif, and el-Marr-bin-Nâsir, and 'Adiy-bin-Shuhail, el-'Azzâny, and others, and the contest raged between the two parties for several days. Then Mútlak and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and Sûûd's two sons marched towards Máskat and entered el-Mátrah by the 'Akabat-el-Marakh, where one hundred Belooches were posted, who took to flight at their approach. 'Azzân also and his men abandoned es-Sedd, and Mútlak and his companions encamped at Ríwa, where they were joined by a contingent from the Nizâriyyah of Semâil, mostly Seyyabiyyîn and Nadabiyyîn. Mútlak's followers then proceeded to plunder el-Mátrah and Arbak;[2] burnt the wall of the Luwâtiyah, and killed many of the inhabitants. They remained three days at es-Sedd, which they completely plundered, and then went to Hail-el-Ghâf, which they also ravaged. Next they marched to Siyâ, razed the Hujrah of the el-Jirâdinah, killing nearly all the garrison, and took from the trustee of Seif-bin-Hánzhal, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, the sum of forty thousand dollars which Seif had placed in his charge. They also razed the Hujrah of the Benu-Akhzam, and then took the road to Dághmar, but perceiving on reaching esh-Shâb that the mountains overlooking it were held by the Benu-Jâbir, the people of Taiwa, who were posted there, and had also placed four guns on the hill near esh-Shâb, they did not venture to attack them. Then they wrote to the sheikh 'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, es-Salty, who was at that time Amîr over all the Taiwa, to allow them to pass through to Sûr, and sent him a present of money. Having got his permission, they proceeded to er-Rámlah, of Taiwa, and ravaged the country to within a short

[1] The Prayer-Ground, like *Musálla-el-'Eid*; see note, p. 276.

[2] A small town, defended by two towers, on the western side of the harbour of el-Mátrah. Captain Brucks in his chart of "Muttra [el-Mátrah] and Muscat" calls it Arbug.

distance of the fort, killing as many as eighty of the Hadhr and Arabs of Taiwa, and carrying off much spoil. On reaching Sûr, the people there coming to terms with them, they seized what property they could, and then proceeded towards Jaâlân and encamped at Falj-el-Meshâyikh. (The commanders of their army, subordinate to Mútlak and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, were el-Habry-bin-Rashîd-bin-Hamîd, en-Nâimy, and Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, and Khâdim-bin-Muhammad, el-Hâshimy, and Muhammad-bin-Mâjid, er-Râsiby.) Then some of the Benu-Hásan fell upon a party of Mútlak's soldiers and captured their flag; on the other hand, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir directed his men to cut down the date-trees of those who had seized him in the fort of Barkah by the Seyyid Sâid's order.[1] Eventually, however, Mútlak came to terms with the Benu-Hásan, after mulcting them of a sum of money. Then Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, requested Mútlak-el-Mutairy to accompany him to el-Hadd. He accordingly went with him, taking all his force, and on their arrival they razed its castle, burnt all the boats of its inhabitants, and set fire to their houses. On payment of a sum of money they were let off without any further outrages. Then Sâlim-bin-'Aly, and the el-Hashm, and the Benu-Râsib returned to their respective homes, and Mútlak and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir marched with their followers to Azka, from whence, after being feasted three days, the former started for el-Bereimy.

In consequence of the part which Sâlim-bin-'Aly, et-Temâmy, had taken against the Benu-Hásan, there was a feud between the two tribes which resulted in a fight, wherein Sâlim-bin-'Aly and some of his people were killed; some of the Benu-Hásan also fell, and as neither side would give in the war between them continued.

About this time Sultân-bin-Sâkar, el-Háwaly, wrote to the Seyyid Sâid proposing a secret alliance with him, to

[1] See p. 295.

which the Seyyid consented; but when Hásan-bin-Ráhmah, Sultân's uncle, heard thereof, he reported the circumstance to Sûûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz; whereupon the latter summoned Sultân-bin-Sákar to his presence. On starting, he made over Dabâ and the tower at Fakkân to the Seyyid Sâûd, and on reaching Sûûd that chief had him bound for a few days and then released him, on receiving a solemn promise from him that he would cöoperate with any force he might send to ravage esh-Shâm and el-'Irâk.

Now, the piracies of Hásan-bin-Ráhmah had gone on increasing: he had killed many of the Seyyid Sâîd's subjects and also of the English, and had seized many vessels belonging to 'Omân and India. These outrages continuing, the English prepared many ships, full of men, stores, and arms, to attack him, and the Seyyid Sâîd joined them with a number of large and small vessels. They proceeded to Julfâr, which they invested. Now Hásan-bin-Ráhmah had built in its centre a strong stone fort, upon which the English began to fire both from sea and land. One night Hásan-bin-Ráhmah's people sallied out and reached the British camp, which was situated near the fort they were besieging, but the besiegers opened fire upon them from their guns and muskets, and obliged the assailants to retire.

On the following morning the English opened a fiercer fire upon the castle, and, succeeding in making a breach in it, they rushed in, drove away the garrison, who fled as far as el-Fahlain, and then plundered the houses, burnt the shipping, carried away a large booty from Julfâr, took Ibrahîm-[Ḥásan?]bin-Ráhmah and his principal men prisoners, and fired the country. Hásan-bin-Ráhmah died in the prison of the English.[1]

[1] Urged on by the Wahhâbis, the Kawâsim (Joasmees) under Hásan-bin-Ráhmah had extended their piracies to the coast of Western India. Determined to suppress these outrages, and also to relieve the Seyyid Sa'îd from the power of the Wahhâbis, the British Government ordered an expedition to proceed to the Persian Gulf. "Their first operations

Meanwhile, Mútlak's inroads upon Sohâr increased, as did also the outrages of Muhammad-bin-Ahmed, el-Tînjy, at Shinâs, the fort of which had fallen into his hands. He used to put to death from ten to twenty every day, making no distinction between those who obeyed and those who disobeyed him, slaughtering them like sheep, and seizing their property. The Seyyid Sâîd accordingly requested the aid of the English, who came with a considerable force on board of large ships, and the Seyyid joining them the combined forces surrounded the castle of Shinâs. (His brother Sâlim and 'Azzân-bin-Kais were with the Seyyid on the occasion.) When the English opened fire upon the fort, Muhammad-bin-Ahmed started for el-Bereimy to ask Mútlak-el-Mutairy to come to his assistance against the English and the Seyyid Sâîd. Mútlak's reply was: "You return at once and I will follow hard upon your footsteps." So Muhammad-bin-Ahmed returned towards Shinâs with a large body of Wahhâbis.

When he was two furlongs from Shinâs night came on, and he could not approach his fort, owing to the large number of soldiers that surrounded it. That same night he died suddenly, whereupon his followers returned to el-Bereimy.

were directed against Râs-ool-Khyma. The attack commenced by a bombardment during the 12th of November, 1809. On the following day, the Joasmees were vigorously attacked by sea and land: after a bloody but ineffectual resistance they were driven into the interior of the country. The town, with the vessels in port, amounting to upwards of fifty, with the English prize, the *Minerva*, were burnt." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 305 6. The only discrepancy between the English and native account of this expedition is in the name of the place attacked, the former calling it Râs-el-Khaimah, and the latter Julfâr. The name of Julfâr has disappeared from all our maps and charts. Relying on a passage from the late Colonel Taylor's "Brief Notes" (*Bombay Government Selections*, No, xxiv. p. 14), I have in a note to page 4 located it a little below Khásab, not far from Cape Musándim, on the western side of the promontory of Rûûs-el-Jebel; but from the above account I am inclined to believe that it is represented by the modern Râs-el-Khaimah.

The English having battered down one side of the fort, the Seyyid's men stormed it, and there was a great fight between them and the garrison; but the Seyyid was victorious, and all the garrison were put to the sword.[1]

When the English had re-embarked their guns and war-implements they said to the Seyyid: "Betake yourself to your ship, and send and tell Sâlim your brother, and 'Azzân, to leave the shore." (The English stated that from their ships they had seen dust in the air in small clouds.) The Seyyid accordingly ordered his brother Sâlim and also 'Azzân to return. The English had made the above remark in the afternoon, and towards evening Mútlak came to Shinâs with a large force, and there was a great battle between the two parties, Mútlak gaining the victory, and the Seyyid Sâlim and 'Azzân losing many men. Owing to the darkness and an accompanying dust-storm, Mútlak's soldiers could not distinguish the Seyyids, who providentially escaped and reached Sohâr the same night, mounted on strong and fleet horses. The Seyyid Sâlim remained there three days with 'Azzân and then went to el-Masnâah; but none of the Wahhâbis approached Sohâr, for they had all left with Mútlak for el-Bereimy, after the engagement.

As to Sultân-bin-Sâkar, after serving Sûûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Azîz for some time, he left him, and then went about from one place to another until he reached 'Abdu-'l-Habîb, at esh-

[1] The official account of this affair is as follows:—"The joint forces arrived at Shinâs on the 31st of December, 1810, which was summoned the day after. As this had no effect, it was bombarded. The situation of the fort, however, being too distant to be reduced by these means, the troops were landed. Shinâs was defended by the most determined and heroic bravery. After an obstinate and sanguinary resistance, the fort was surrendered and made over to the 'Omân troops, but was so much demolished that the Imâm [the Seyyid Sa'îd] did not think it prudent to keep possession of it." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 306 It is noteworthy that the official record is silent respecting the disaster which befell the Seyyid's army on land immediately after. Possibly the English ships had sailed before the arrival of the Wahhâbis.

Shehr,[1] who gladly received him. After remaining with him a few days he expressed a wish to return to his country; 'Abdu-'l-Habîb accordingly provided him with a boat and sent one hundred armed Nubians to escort him. When he arrived at Máskat the Seyyid Sâid treated him with great consideration, and from Máskat he started for Julfâr. The Seyyid, moreover, wrote to inform the English of his visit: that he had now become his and their friend, and had promised to refrain in future from all depredations by sea and land. Thereupon the English sent Sultân-bin-Sâkar much money, directed him to rebuild Julfâr, and enjoined him to adhere to his resolve of abandoning his malpractices. So he restored Julfâr to its former state.

When Mútlak-el-Mutairy heard of the alliance which had been contracted between the Seyyid Sâid and Sultân-bin-Sâkar, of the money which the English had sent to the latter, and that he had withdrawn from the Wahhâby confederacy, he collected a large force of the Benu-Yâs, the Benu-Nâîm, the ezh-Zhawâhir, the Benu-Kutb, the Benu-Kaâb and Kulaib, and the esh-Shawâmis and their allies. He also wrote to Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, to join him with their followers, as soon as they should hear that he had encamped near Sohâr. He accordingly set out and encamped at Sillân and at 'Auhy, where Hamîd and Muhammad met him with a large force. The combined army is said to have numbered forty thousand men.

'Azzân persuaded of his inability to cope with Mútlak under these circumstances, and perceiving, moreover, that his own people leaned in that direction, was obliged to come to terms with Mútlak, as was also his uncle Muhammad-bin-

[1] Probably the esh-Shehr on the south-east coast of Arabia, in lat. 14° 36′ 30″ N., long. 49° 27′ 35″ E. It was once a flourishing town, and the residence of the principal chief of the el-Kusaidy tribe; but since the chief removed into the interior it has fallen into decay, and is now a desolate group of houses and huts.

el-Imâm. Mútlak then marched to el-Masnâah and encamped there, and was visited by Ahmed, the son of the Imâm Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed], whom his father had sent as his deputy to Mútlak.[1] The sheikh Nâsir-bin-Jâ'id also felt himself compelled to have an interview with him. The Seyyid Sâîd hearing of all these occurrences embarked for el-Masnâah, without previously consulting Mútlak or asking him for a safe-conduct, and suddenly appeared in his tent, his officers apprising him that it was the Seyyid Sâîd who stood before him. Thereupon Mútlak dismissed his attendants, and taking the Seyyid by the hand drew him towards him, saying: "You are safe, as regards me and my people, and whatever request you have to prefer shall be granted; for, by Allâh! you are a munificent, brave, and chivalrous prince." The two conversed together for a long time, and when the Seyyid Sâîd was about to leave he said to Mútlak, "if a present should reach you from me, pray accept it, and cease from injuring my people, or the people of my uncle Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, or of my cousin 'Azzân-bin-Kais, or of my uncle Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm." "All that I grant you," was Mútlak's reply. On embarking on board his ship, the Seyyid Sâîd sent him forty thousand dollars, on the receipt of which Mútlak returned to el-Bereimy and dismissed his levies.[2] After remaining there a few days he started for Riyâdh, in Nejd, and Sûûd sent Ibn-'Azdakah to replace him in 'Omân. When the latter reached ezh-Zhâfrat-el-Yâsiyyah with his followers, they were attacked by the Benu-Yâs, who killed him and most of his escort.

[1] It is clear from this remark that the Imâm Sa'îd-bin-Ahmed was still alive at er-Rastâk.

[2] The Seyyid Sa'îd did not make this submission to Mútlak-el-Mutairy until after he had appealed in vain to the British authorities in India for assistance, urging that his cooperation with them in the late expedition against Râs-el-Khaimah and Shinâs had greatly embittered the animosity of the Wahhâbis towards him, and threatened to involve him in perpetual warfare with their Amir.

On hearing what had befallen Ibn-'Azdakah and his party, Sûûd said to Mútlak: "You are the only fit man for 'Omân; therefore proceed thither and punish all who shall dare to oppose me." When Mútlak reached el-Bereimy he found that most of the Arabs and Hadhr were opposed to him, chiefly owing to the large demands which had already been made upon them for wars and invasions; hence the wealthy among them pleaded poverty, and the brave feigned cowardice. However, he persevered in coaxing and plying them on their weak side until they yielded; none of the tribes of ezh-Zhâhirah kept aloof, except the Benu-Kelbân. Thereupon he began to raise levies from the others to act against the Benu-Kelbân, who on learning that he was collecting the Arabs of esh-Shâmal with that object forthwith abandoned their villages and fortified themselves in the tower of Makniyât, and on his attempting to coerce them they resisted, and would neither surrender nor join him. Thwarted by their obstinacy he went back to el-Bereimy for a few days, and having levied the Benu-Kaâb he marched with them to Dhank, where he mustered the Âl-'Azîz, whose Amîr at that time was Râshid-el-'Azîzy. He also levied the people of 'Obry, but he forbore telling any one what his intentions were. Owing to some disputes betwixt him and the Arabs of esh-Shamâl he did not muster them, but proceeded with the other levies as far as Manh, where he only remained two hours to bait his horses. From thence he marched to the territory of the el-Hajariyyîn, arriving there about dawn. He halted on the outskirts and dispersed his forces to ravage the district, only retaining with him at the halting-place Battâl-el-Mutairy, and Râshid-el-'Azîzy, and twelve horsemen. A tent was pitched for him and another for Battâl, the latter nearer to the territory of the el-Hajariyyîn than his. Mútlak had with him in his tent 'Abdallah-bin-Râshid, el-'Azîzy, and seventy of his officers, of whom a dozen were horsemen. Battâl had eighty men

mounted on camels, and was subsequently joined by ten of the cavalry who had been ravaging the country, on which duty all the remainder were still employed. The el-Hajariyyîn nearest the outskirts perceiving what a small force Mútlak had with him, and knowing how the rest were engaged, solemnly vowed that they would attack him, even if they fell in the attempt. They accordingly rushed on the tent of Battâl, who immediately rose up with his men; the contest lasted for an hour, the assailants being obliged to give way. They made a second attempt and were again driven back; but Battâl's arm having been broken by a musket-ball which was levelled at him, they succeeded on their third effort in capturing the tent, Battâl himself effecting his escape and joining Mútlak, to whom he showed his broken limb, as an apology for having retreated. Then the el-Hajariyyîn made two attacks upon Mútlak, but failing of success they began to muster reinforcements from the scattered villages, and again vowed solemnly that they would either prevail against him or die in the attempt.

I received the following account of the above transaction from 'Aly-bin-Râshid, el-'Azîzy, himself: "After Battâl had been wounded and had retreated with his party and joined Mútlak, the el-Hajariyyîn assaulted us twice, and were repulsed with the loss of twelve men on their side and none on ours. At their third onset they advanced jostling one another and reeling like drunken men. Mútlak had taken off his armour and we advised him to put it on again, as the assailants were approaching. He waited till they were close to the tent, then put on his armour and mounted his horse; his cavalry did the same and stood awaiting his orders. All he said was, 'Don't be in a hurry; let them come still nearer.' He had hardly uttered the words when one of the assailing musketeers from a distance shot him in the breast, and he fell from his horse to the ground. Thereupon we took to flight, leaving the el-Hajariyyîn plundering the

money and other property in the tent." Such is 'Aly-bin-Râshid's narrative of the occurrence. The retreating party were then joined by their comrades who were plundering the villages of the el-Hajariyyîn. Twelve Wahhâbis besides Mútlak were slain in this encounter; the el-Hajariyyîn lost eighteen men killed. The Wahhâbis fled during the early morning, and at dawn the following day they reached el-Ghabby. On their arrival they found that Muhammad-bin-Khasîf, el-Kutby, had assaulted the place, but had been killed, with three of his men. After remaining a few days at el-Bereimy, Battâl went to 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, whom he found at Riyâdh, and who on learning what had befallen Mútlak sent Ibn-Mazrûâ to supply his place.

Now, 'Azzân-bin-Kais had started on the Hijj, and on his way back fell ill at Mokha with orchitis. A doctor who was called in to prescribe for him declared that no treatment would be effectual unless he first underwent an operation to allow the collected matter to escape. He submitted to that, but died two days after the incision was made, and was buried at Mokha. Before his departure on the Hijj he had placed Sâlim-bin-Sa'îd, Âl-Bû-Sa'îdy, over Sohâr, directing him to obey the Seyyid Sa'îd-bin-Sultân, and in the event of his death during the journey to make over the fort to him.

When Ibn-Mazrûâ reached el-Bereimy he collected a large number of the Arabs of that place with the intention of marching against el-Bediyyah.[1] On hearing of this the Seyyid Sa'îd went to the esh-Sharkiyyah and raised levies from the Âl-Wahîbah, the el-Hajariyyîn, the people of el-Habûs, and

[1] Wellsted's "Bedf'ah," in the district of Ja'alân, which he describes as "a collection of seven hamlets, situated in as many oases, each containing from two to three hundred houses...One striking feature in the appearance of these towns is their low situation. They are erected in artificial hollows, which have been excavated to the depth of six or eight feet, and the soil thus removed is left in hillocks around their margins." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 91.

from all the tribes of the el-Yemeniyyah, and after collecting a large force marched to Nezwa. Finding on his arrival there that Ibn-Mazrûâ was at Behlâ—the governor of which at that time was Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaâruby,—he started thither. Ibn Mazrûâ's force at Behlâ consisted of the el-'Obriyyîn and the Benu-Shakîl, who had been mustered by Muhammad-bin-Suleimân when he heard that the Seyyid Sâîd was in esh-Sharkiyyah collecting an army, and when Ibn-Mazrûâ came to him he advised him not to go to el-Bediyyah, nor yet to any part of esh-Sharkiyyah, on that account. While they were conversing on this topic, a messenger, one of the ed-Durúwwâ, came to apprise them that the Seyyid Sâîd was encamped with a large force, not a horse's run from them. At this juncture a messenger arrived from Mâjid-bin-Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, the Wakîl, informing the Seyyid Sâîd of the death of 'Azzân-bin-Kais; whereupon he abandoned the war against Ibn-Mazrûâ and started for Sohâr, taking only the Âl-Wahîbah and some of the el-Hajariyyîn Arabs with him, dismissing the remainder. Now, the daughter of the Imâm Sâîd was in the house at Sîh-el-Harmel, which had been built and fortified by Muhammad-bin-Khalfân, and she wrote to the wife of Ahmed-bin-Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm—who was then at er-Rastâk—apprising her of the death of 'Azzân. The messenger left on a swift camel at sunrise and reached er-Rastâk towards sunset. When Kais's daughter read the letter she communicated its contents to her husband Ahmed, and they both started for Sohâr after sunset, Suleimân-el-'Adiwy and some intimate friends accompanying them. The Seyyid Sâîd reached Sohâr towards evening, whereas they did not arrive till towards dawn the following day, utterly ignorant then that he had anticipated them. On learning that he was there and that he had taken possession of the fort, they returned at once to er-Rastâk.[1] Sâlim-bin-Sâîd, imme-

[1] According to the foregoing narrative, the daughter of the reigning

diately on the Seyyid Sâîd's arrival, had made over the fort to him, whereupon the Seyyid placed Sohâr in charge of Sâîd-bin-Suleimân-bin-Sâîd, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, and after staying there a few days left for Máskat.

When the fort of Nakhl was given up to the Seyyid Sâîd he had permitted Himyar-bin-Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaâruby, to reside at that place, over which he then appointed Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-'Adiwy, Wâli, as we have already narrated.[1] Subsequently he had removed the latter and made his uncle, Tâlib-bin-el-Imâm, Wâli in his stead. Tâlib then ordered Himyar-bin-Muhammad to quit Nakhl, which he did, leaving it by night and going to et-Tau with some of his followers. Afterwards, Tâlib resigned the governorship and the Seyyid Sâîd appointed Khalfân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, el-Mâûly, to succeed him. This man treated the people most unjustly, ordering many of their houses to be razed, which induced them to unite and invite Himyar-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaâruby, to join them against him. As he delayed, they wrote to him a second time, stating that unless he agreed to their request they would leave the country. He accordingly took the matter up in earnest and proceeded to Nakhl with two hundred of the people of et-Tau, and there was a fierce struggle between them and the el-Mââwal. Whereupon Khalfân-bin-Seif, who was at that time at Maslimât, collected the el-Mââwal of the plain and the el-Hájar, and went with them to Nakhl, but having been wounded in the leg by a musket-ball he retired into the fort and encamped his men at el-Khârijiyyah. Now, Himyar had concealed some of his followers in a stockade near the Hujrat-el-Kurain, which was then held by the es-

Imâm Sa'îd, the Seyyid Sa'îd's cousin, wished to secure Sohâr for her brother Ahmed, who, it appears, was married to his second cousin, the daughter of Kais, 'Azzân's father; but the Seyyid Sa'îd was too sharp for them, and from that time forward claimed Sohâr as an integral part of his territories.

[1] See p. 315.

Sirîriyyîn, on behalf of Khalfân, and one of them having come to inform the latter that they were out of provisions and ammunition, he sent Khalfân-bin-Muhammad, el-Mâûly, with a party of men to the Hujrah with the required supplies. They succeeded in the task, after dislodging Himyar's followers from the stockade, but as Khalfân-bin-Muhammad and his party were returning to the fort, the slaves of Himyar fell upon them, killing Khalfân and two of his men. Subsequently, Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, came to the support of Himyar and the people of Nakhl, with one thousand men of 'Omân. He was also joined by the el-Hazm and many of the el-Yaârubah, and others.

When the Seyyid Sâîd saw Himyar's determination, and that the el-Mââwal were unable to expel him and his colleague Muhammad-bin-Nâsir from Nakhl, he sent Sâîd-bin-Hámed-bin-Khalfân to advise the latter not to persist in his present course, and to break off all connection with Himyar and the people of Nakhl, promising that if he obeyed he would give him as much money as he desired and any fortified post he chose. Muhammad accepted the proposal and returned to 'Omân with his followers, leaving Himyar with a small force; nevertheless, the latter was bent on prosecuting the war. Thereupon the Seyyid Sâîd summoned Najîm-bin-'Abdallah, es-Seyyâby, from Nakhl, and on his arrival the Seyyid began raising levies from the el-Harth, the el-Hajariyyîn, the Benu-Hásan, the cōast Arabs, the Benu-Kharûs, and from some of the Nizâriyyah of Semaîl, and then marched with them, ordering a party of the Benu-Hinâh to go in advance and to seize the Másjid near the market before his arrival. After seizing the Másjid, some of the Benu-Hinâh attacked the House of Refuge, but losing their commander, who was shot by a musket-ball, they joined their comrades who were in the Másjid.

On the Seyyid's arrival a part of his force attacked the tower 'Âkûm and took it, Himyar retiring to el-Hamâm.

Thereupon the Seyyid, having come to terms with the people of el-Jamîmy, went with his brother Sâlim and encamped at Sabârat-Hâbashy, the remainder of his army, which numbered seven thousand men, encamping from the Másjid of Bayâk [?] to el-Khârijiyyah. Then the Seyyid ordered the force to move against Himyar, and when they got near er-Râha-el-'Âliyah they were met by Himyar's followers, who gave them battle and put them to flight, killing Asad, the Nubian, one of the Seyyid's servants, the commander of the el-Hadhârim,[1] and several others. Thereupon the Seyyid Sâîd sent some of the chiefs of the Benu-Hásan with Najîm-es-Seyyâby to invite Himyar to a conference, promising him immunity, and also permission to reside in the town. On his arrival the Seyyid ordered him to be confined in the fort, much to the disgust of the Benu-Hásan chiefs, who on seeing how exasperated the Seyyid was against him joined him in the prison and remained with him. Eventually, the Seyyid released him and took him to Barkah, and from thence to Máskat, and after detaining him there for a few days gave him permission to reside at et-Tau, but not at Nakhl. Nevertheless, six months after he went thither, and posted himself in el-Hamâm; whereupon the Seyyid again levied the el-Harth, the el-Hajariyyîn, the Arabs of esh-Sharkiyyah, of el-Yemeniyyah, as well as those of the coast, also the Benu-Kharûs and some of the Nizâriyyah of Semaîl, the el-Hawâsanah, and the el-Haddân, and marched with them to Nakhl, where he was joined by some of the el-Máâwal, the people of el-Hájar, and of the coast. He then ordered the el-Máâwal to climb the mountain of esh-Shaibah, and to walk along its ridge by night until they reached a spot overlooking el-Hamâm, when they were to attack Himyar's followers, who occupied the Wâdi below, with musketry. The el-Hawâsanah he directed in like manner to ascend the mountain overlooking the spring of el-

[1] *El-Hadhârim*, plural of *Hádhramy*, a native of Hadhramaut.

Hamâm, to conceal themselves on its summit till sunrise, and on hearing the report of the musketry of the el-Mââwal to join them in the attack upon Himyar's position. The el-Mââwal numbered seven hundred and the el-Hawâsanah three hundred men.

At sunrise the Seyyid Sâîd marched with his men towards el-Hamâm, and encamped near the garden of Shâmis, while Suwailim and his party went forward, and on reaching el-Janât his standard-bearer was shot by one of the musketeers posted on the surrounding heights and expired. Thereupon Suwailim returned to the Seyyid Sâîd; but in the mean time the musketry-fire was kept up between the parties on the opposite mountains, until at length the el-Mââwal and the el-Hawâsanah were put to flight, the former with the loss of two chiefs, namely, Hâmed-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily, and Nâsir-bin-Khalf, esh-Sharyâby, the proprietor of the Hujrah of el-Wurûd, and twelve men; and the latter, together with the el-Haddân, with the loss of thirty men. This repulse led the Seyyid and his followers to return to el-Jamîmy, where he put up in the mosque and then dispatched the Benu-Kelbân to invite Himyar to an interview, they undertaking to escort and protect him. Himyar came attended only by his slave Suâyyid, nicknamed es-Sâfan; whereupon the Seyyid dismissed all the tribes and then started for Barkah with his suite, taking Himyar and his slave and the men of the Benu-Kelbân with him, leaving Suleimân-bin-Himyar at el-Hamâm, and Suwailim-bin-Sâlimîn Wâli over Nakhl. The Seyyid and his party had only been two days at Barkah when Himyar escaped to et-Tâu.

The manner in which he effected his escape was as follows:—'Aly-bin-Tâlib-bin-Muhenna, the Wâli of Nezwa, came by night to the house where he was lodged, woke him from sleep, and said to him, "Himyar, I owe you a debt on account of your brother Muhenna-bin-Muhammad, and I am come to discharge it." Himyar asking him what he referred

to, he proceeded to say, "When I repaired to the Seyyid, on the death of his father, I found him fortified in the Eastern fort—for the war between him and his uncle Kais-bin-el-Imâm was raging fiercely at that time—and your brother was stationed upon the Island, at Máskat, engaged on the Seyyid's side against his uncle. Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, er-Riyâmy, with seven hundred of his men, was with Muhenna at the time.[1] Now there was a blood-feud between me and Nâsir, for I had killed his two brothers, Himyar and Hudhûd. When Muhenna therefore heard of my having come to the Seyyid, he enjoined me to seek safety in flight, as a party was on the look-out, seeking to kill me. Being utterly at a loss how I could evade the Benu-Riyâm who held all the outlets, your brother prepared a boat for me belonging to the Benu-Jâbir, the people of Taiwa, in which I embarked for Sûr, and from thence I proceeded to Nezwa. Therefore I owe my escape from the hands of my enemies to your brother Muhenna, and that is the debt which I am come to pay; for I know that the Seyyid Sâid has determined to put you to death." On hearing this, Himyar started the same night for et-Tau. The following morning the Seyyid having sent a messenger to summon him to the fort, the inmates of the house informed him that Himyar and his slave had set out during the night, and that they did not know whither he had gone. Thereupon the Seyyid remarked to the Benu-Kelbân: "I fancy he has gone to et-Tau, suspecting some evil at my hands; but go and fetch him back and assure him of his safety with me." They did so, and on his arrival the Seyyid asked him who had excited his apprehensions, so as to induce him to run away. In reply, he repeated all that 'Aly-bin-Tâlib had told him. Then the Seyyid ordered 'Aly-bin-Tâlib to be imprisoned in the fort at Barkah, but released him three days after. (The author begs to state that the foregoing narrative was

[1] See pp. 265-6.

communicated to him personally by 'Aly-bin-Tâlib, after Himyar's overthrow.) The Seyyid Sâid then went to Máskat, taking the Benu-Kelbân with him. He detained Himyar there a few days, and then permitted him to go to et-Tau.

I have been told that the heads of the el-Mâawal were much vexed with the Seyyid Sâid for having allowed Himyar to go to et-Tau, complaining that he had killed some of their people in the recent affair of the mountain, and been guilty of similar outrages prior to that occasion; they urged, moreover, that there would be no end to his malpractices, until he was dead. Having succeeded by these representations in exciting the Seyyid Sâid's suspicions, the latter informed them that he would send for Nebhân-bin-Seif and be guided by his counsels. (Nebhân at the time was the Seyyid's Wâli over Bunder-el-'Abbâs and Minau; Suwailim-bin-Sâlimîn was his Wâli over Nakhl.) When Nebhân reached the Seyyid at Barkah, he confirmed everything which the el-Mâawal had stated respecting Himyar, which exasperated the Seyyid still more against that personage, and he accordingly summoned him from et-Tau. When Himyar was about to start, many of the el-Yaarubah and others dissuaded him from the journey, but he would not listen to them. He asked his son Suleimân to accompany him, but he refused; so he only took with him his slave Suayyid, known as es-Sáfan, and Seif-bin-Mâlik-bin-Seif, el-Yaaruby, who was still quite a lad. On reaching the fort they were seized and bound, but the slave es-Sáfan was put to death at once, while Himyar and Seif were cast into prison. Then the Seyyid wrote to Suwailim to forward to him any of the disaffected among the el-Yaarubah, and he accordingly seized Himyar-bin-Muhammad-bin-Himyar, el-Yaaruby, and Mâjid-bin-Seif, and sent them to Barkah, from whence the Seyyid sent them to Máskat, where Himyar and Seif-bin-Mâlik were confined in the Eastern fort, and Mâjid-bin-Seif and Himyar-bin-Muhammad-bin-Himyar in the Eastern battery.

They all died in prison, with the exception of Seif-bin-Mâlik, who was liberated and allowed to go to et-Tau.

About this time the Seyyid Sâîd, at the instigation of Muhammad-bin-Seif, collected a large force of Arabs and Hadhr and proceeded with them against el-Bahrein, but the people of the island repulsed them. Among those who fell in this expedition was Hâmed-bin-Sultân, the Seyyid Sâîd's brother; and of his officers the following: the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Mâjid, el-Hârithy, and Nebhân-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd, ez-Zâmily, and Muhammad-bin-Sâlim, el-'Abûdy, es-Semaîly, and Suleimân-bin-Ahmed, el-Harâsy, and 'Aly-bin-Habîb, es-Salty, el-Halmy.[1]

On his return to Máskat, the Seyyid-Sâîd ordered the Benu-Muhállal—whose chief at that time was Muhammad-bin-Seif—to rebuild the castle of el-Janât. When it was completed, Suleimân-bin-Himyar-bin-Muhammad, el-Yaáruby, with some of the men of et-Tau, attacked and seized it, on which occasion Hamîd-edh-Dhalâ, and the slave of 'Abir-en-Nâîmy, and six others were killed on the side of the el-Muhállal. Muhammad-bin-Seif also, having been burnt by gunpowder during the assault, surrendered to Suleimân, who allowed him to go to Maslimât, where he died.

Thereupon the war waxed fiercer between the el-Máâwal and Suleimân, the latter receiving aid in men from Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaáruby, the Wâli of Behla, and also from the people of el-Hazm.

[1] According to the Bombay Government records this attack on el-Bahrein was made during the summer of 1816. The Seyyid Sa'îd's object is stated to have been the reduction of the Benu-Uttûb and the el-Kawâsim to his allegiance. The opportunity was well chosen, owing to the reverses which had befallen the Wahhâbis, in 1813, at the hands of Muhammad 'Aly Pâsha, of Egypt, and the additional confusion into which their affairs had been thrown the year after by the death of their Amîr, Su'ûd, and the accession of his son, 'Abdallah. The utter failure of the expedition is attributed to the treachery of the Seyyid Sa'îd's allies.

Perceiving that Suleimân-bin-Himyar was thus making head, the Seyyid Sâîd mustered the people of esh-Sharkiyyah, and 'Isa-bin-Sâlih joined him with many of the el-Harth. The el-Hajariyyîn also brought a number of their men, and his uncle the Seyyid Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm sent him many of the people of es-Suwaik and of el-Khadhrâ, under the command of Suleimân-bin-Sâîd-bin-Yahya-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad, ed-Dârmaky. The Seyyid Sâîd also wrote toMuhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-'Adiwy, who came with a contingent from er-Rastâk; all these levies made up a very large force.

On reaching Habrâ, the el-Mââwal met him, and from thence he proceeded to Nakhl and put up in the principal mosque, his force extending nearly as far as Hadhain, of Nakhl. Now, Suleimân-bin-Himyar had ordered the Benu-'l-Hádhramy to seize the summit of Jebel-esh-Shaibah and the top of the mountain overlooking el-Fawwârah, but they played him false. Then the Seyyid and his followers attacked el-Hamâm, where Suleimân was posted with two hundred men only, so the latter was obliged to give way and retired by the Wâdi, coming to a halt at Sijâ, losing six men in his retreat. From thence he went to Behlâ and joined Muhammad-bin-Suleimân. Thereupon the Seyyid ordered the castle at el-Janât to be razed, and afterwards to be rebuilt, leaving it to be held by the Benu-Ruwâhah on his behalf. Eventually, he sent the sheikh Nâsir-bin-Jâ'id-bin-Khamîs, el-Kharûsy, to invite Suleimân-bin-Himyar to come to Máskat, assuring him of immunity. When Suleimân came he treated him with great consideration.

About this time Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry, marched with a large army to es-Sudairah, Seif-bin-Thâbit, el-Janîby, having told him that the Âl-Wahîbah had derided him and were spreading jokes about him far and wide. On reaching es-Sudairah, however, the Âl-Wahîbah made peace with him, so he left for esh-Sharkiyyah and halted at Khadhrâ-ed-

Dufâfaah, the people of which appeased him with a large sum of money. Before Hamîd's arrival at Khadhrâ the Seyyid had dispatched Hilâl-bin-Hámed-bin-el-Imâm-Sâîd, with eighty horsemen, to assist the people against him, but Hilâl hearing on the way that matters had been made up between the two parties returned to Barkah, and reported what had occurred to the Seyyid. On Hamîd-bin-Nâsir's return to el-'Ainein he dismissed his force and died a few days after.

The people of Nakhl having complained against Suwailim, the Seyyid superseded him by sending Sâîd-bin-Seif-bin-Sâîd to take his place.

Then the Seyyid, on hearing that Battâl-el-Mutairy had come to el-Bereimy with a large cavalry force, ordered Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to attack him. Muhammad accordingly surrounded him, whereupon Battâl came to terms with the Seyyid through Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and Suwailim-bin-Sâlim, and agreed to raze the fort. When that was done, he went to the Seyyid Sâîd, who promoted him and did him great honour.

Next, the Seyyid Sâîd having heard that Muhammad-bin-'Aly had induced many of the inhabitants of Jaalân to adopt his creed,[1] and that the people of esh-Sharkiyyah had submitted to him,—moreover, that all the Benu-Hásan of Fálj-el-Mashâyikh had become converts to his doctrines, and that his followers among the people of el-Ashkharah[2] had plundered many English ships which were wrecked at el-Ashkharah,—he applied to the English to aid him in an expedition against Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his confederates. They did so without delay, and came in large and small

[1] This chief appears to have seceded from the tenets of the Ibâdhiyah and to have adopted those of the Wahhâbis.

[2] The name of a large village on the coast below Râs-el-Hadd, containing about two hundred houses and one thousand inhabitants, most of whom belong to the Benu-Abi-'Aly tribe.

vessels and encamped at Sûr. The Seyyid joined them there and accompanied them to Jaâlân. On the way he raised levies from the el-Hashm, the Benu-Jâbir, the people of Taîwa, and was subsequently joined by Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and Nâjîm-es-Seyyâby and their respective followers, and the Seyyid encamped with most of the force at Falj-el-Mashâyikh. Then the English, together with the Seyyid's soldiers, marched against the Benu-Temâm, and on approaching Mahállet-es-Saudah the forces of Muhammad-bin-'Aly rushed upon them, breaking the ranks of the English, and putting many of them to the sword. The Seyyid's people also fled, and the Seyyid himself was wounded in the hand by a musket-ball, and none stood by him except Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and Battâl-el-Mutairy and their followers. Many of the English and the Seyyid's troops were killed on that day; the principal among the latter were, 'Aly-bin-Tâlib-bin-Muhenna, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, and the son of the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih, el-Harâsy, and Sâîd-bin-Seif, ez-Zâmily, and Nâsir-bin-Seif-bin-Muhammad, el-Mâûly, and Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, er-Ruwâhy, and others. Only the el-Hajarriyyîn stood up to fight with the Benu-Abi-'Aly, the et-Temâmiyyîn, and they were all slain. The Al-Wahîbah kept their ranks, and none of the people of Muhammad-bin-'Aly approached them, neither did they move against their opponents. So the Seyyid and those who were with him returned to Falj-el-Mashâyikh. This affair took place on the tenth of Muhárram, A.H. one thousand, two hundred ———[1]

Towards evening the remaining English officers said to the Seyyid Sâîd: "Do not allow any of your people to approach our camp until the morning, for we shall not be able to distinguish them from the followers of Muhammad-bin-'Aly, and shall consider every Arab who comes near us at

[1] The date is incomplete in the original. This first expedition took place towards the end of A.D. 1820, of A.H. 1236.

night as an enemy, and deal with him accordingly, giving no quarter." When a part of the night had passed away, shots were heard and loud shouts from the quarter of the Benu-Hâsan, who attempted to surprise the English, while the latter kept up a sharp fire, fearing an onset from Muhammad-bin-'Aly, and as a precaution against Arab treachery. Thereupon many of the Seyyid Sâîd's people fled, and none remained near his tent but Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, and his followers. Nasr-bin-Sâîd-bin-el-Imâm and his men also went away without the Seyyid Sâîd's knowledge.

Towards daylight it was reported to the Seyyid that Nâsir and his men had fled during the night. Then he, perceiving that the edge of the courage of the English had been blunted, and that their numbers had been greatly reduced, ordered a retreat, and he and the English accordingly returned to Máskat by way of el-'Akk.[1] At el-Bediy-

[1] The following is the official account of this unfortunate expedition: —"On the 8th of November, 1820, the combined forces arrived within three miles of Balad Beni Boo Ali, the residence of the hostile tribe, and a demand was forthwith made for the surrender of their fortifications and arms, together with the persons who had murdered the messenger at Al Ushkara...In answer to this summons, the Beni Boo Ali stated that they were ready to comply with the conditions proposed, except the one stipulating for the surrender of their arms. This modification, however, was not acceded to, and the heavy guns and stores being left in the entrenched camp, the combined forces, consisting of four guns, three hundred and eighty sepoys, and two thousand men belonging to the Imaum [the Seyyid Sa'id] moved the next morning towards the enemy's town....On arriving within sight of the town, the light infantry of the 1st battalion, 2nd regiment, which had headed the column in extended order, opened fire and began to fall back, and soon after the enemy appeared in motion on the top of some elevated ground, with the apparent design of turning the right flank. The officer commanding immediately ordered the troops to form column of sections to the right, so as to present a new front, parallel to the enemy's attack, and to charge bayonets Some hesitation on the part of the sepoys is asserted to have been displayed at this moment in obeying this last order, and, as the only course left, they were directed to fire, which

yah he was told by the people that Nâsir and his followers had passed by them at a gallop, without stopping to inform them of what had occurred between the Seyyid and Muhammad-bin-'Aly. On reaching Máskat, the Seyyid Sâid sent the English who had accompanied him from Jaâlân to join their companions on board the ships, to whom they related what had befallen them. Thereupon they all started for Bombay.

When they reported all that had transpired to him whom their King had invested with supreme power there, he forthwith ordered many ships to be prepared, sent many foot soldiers and cavalry on board, with abundance of war material, and appointed a chief over the whole, with detailed instructions, and also special injunctions to the other officers of their King's service. The Seyyid Sâid was written to and requested to meet them at Sûr, which he did, on their

was done; but immediately after, on the enemy being within twenty yards of the line, they are alleged by the commanding officer to have turned about, and to have thrown themselves on the Imaum's troops in the rear. These soon gave way, and the whole took to flight; being pursued by the enemy in the direction of the entrenched camp at Beni Boo Hussain, within which the remnants of the force were collected. Nearly the whole of the British detachment actually engaged in the action was cut up, together with all their officers, with the exception of two, one of whom afterwards died of his wounds. The Imaum was shot through the hand in endeavouring to save an artilleryman, and seems to have displayed great courage and coolness throughout the affair. An attack of the enemy during the night upon the position at Beni Boo Hussain was repulsed, but the commanding officer, finding it could not be maintained, directed the remainder of the detachment to retreat upon Máskat, where they arrived on the 17th of November, 1820." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 189-90.

It is noteworthy that on this occasion Battâl-el-Mutairy, the Wahhâby commander, fought on the side of the Seyyid Sa'îd. The probability is that he was now acting on his own account, for at this period the power of the Wahhâbis had been crushed by Ibrahîm Pâsha, who the year before had reduced ed-Dir'iyyah, their capital, to ruins, and had taken their Amir, 'Abdallah-bin Su'ûd, prisoner to Egypt, from whence he was sent to Constantinople, where he was beheaded.

arrival at that place. He was much depressed at the time owing to the illness of his brother Sâlim, who was suffering from an attack of paralysis. He encamped with his followers on one side of the English, who by that time had landed all their stores and warlike implements, and had picketed their horses near their tents, taking the greatest precautions in all their movements. Two days after the Seyyid's arrival, however, they were attacked at night by about one thousand of the confederates of Muhammad-bin-'Aly, under the command of his brother Khâdim-bin-'Aly, all mounted on swift dromedaries. They penetrated as far as the tent-ropes of the English encampment, and succeeded in killing several of their men, after which they retired, and reached their own quarters on the following morning.

Just as the Seyyid was about to march to Jaalân with the English, he received intelligence of the death of his brother Sâlim-bin-Sultân, which greatly distressed him.[1] He accordingly remained three days longer at Sûr to mourn for him. (On this occasion he confirmed his uncle Tâlib in his position. Tâlib at that time held the fort of er-Rastâk, which he had taken from Ahmed, the son of the Imâm Sâid, after his father's death,[2] in this manner: Tâlib had built a high house

[1] By the death of his elder brother Sâlim, the Seyyid Sa'id was the only surviving son of the Seyyid Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed, his other son Hámed having been killed in the expedition to el-Bahrein; see p. 336.

[2] As the Imâm Sa'id-bin-Ahmed was living in 1811 (see note p. 323 and p. 325), he must have died between that time and 1821, the date of this second expedition against the Benu-Abi-'Aly. It appears from the foregoing account that, on his death, his eldest son Ahmed (erroneously called Hámed at p. 241) succeeded to the government of er-Rastâk, but was treacherously dispossessed by his uncle Tâlib, the sixth son of the Imâm Ahmed, the first of the Âl-Bû-Sa'id dynasty.

Although the Imâmate had become vacant by the death of the Imâm Sa'id, no attempt appears to have been made to appoint a successor to that dignity. His nephew Sa'id-bin-Sultân, who had been regent and virtually the sovereign of 'Omân, in succession to his father Sultân, since 1804, still continued to be designated "Seyyid."

in Kasra, of er-Rastâk, and placed a number of slaves there whom he had purchased. One day, when Ahmed-bin-Sâid had come to visit him, Tâlib ordered his slaves to seize and bind him, and then sent the following message to his brother Nasr: "Unless you quit the fort and castle, I will cut down your date-trees and those of your brother Ahmed." Nasr accordingly surrendered the fort and castle to Tâlib, who thereupon released Ahmed. Tâlib ruled well and gained the affections of the people.) The combined forces then marched towards Jaâlân and halted at el-Jindîn, in Falj-el-Mashâyikh. There the English said to the Seyyid: "You remain here in your encampment while we advance against the Benu-Abi-'Aly: we want no Arabs to go with us, all we require is a guide to shew us the way." The Seyyid accordingly furnished them with two guides. When they approached the town of the Benu-Abi-'Aly the English commander ordered the cavalry to attack it on the western, while he went with the rest of the troops towards the eastern side, where he drew them up in columns, placing the Hindûs [sepoys] in front, and then directed them to advance. The Benu-Abi-'Aly perceiving this charged the Hindûs, broke their ranks, and put many of them to the sword. On approaching the next column, however, guns were opened upon them, the shot of which killed Hindûs as well as the Benu-Abi-'Aly, only a few of the latter escaping. The cavalry then attacked the place on the western side and entered it, as did the infantry on the eastern side. Then they blew up the forts with gunpowder, set fire to the houses, and took all they found therein prisoners, to the number of three hundred men, among whom were Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his brother Khâdim-bin-'Aly; most of the women fled to the women of the Abu-Hâsan. Thus the English destroyed the town of the Benu-Abi-'Aly and left it desolate. Afterwards they returned with their sepoys to the district of the Benu-Hâsan, remained there one day, and

started on the following morning for Sûr, from whence they embarked for Bombay, and the Seyyid Sâîd went back to Máskat, taking with him eighty prisoners of the Benu-Abi-'Aly. These he confined in the eastern battery, where they died of starvation. Khâdim died of his wounds on the road from Sûr; as to his brother Muhammad-bin-'Aly and those who had been taken away by the English in their ships, when they reached India they were unbound and well cared for, the wounded received the best professional treatment, and all lived in great comfort at Bombay.[1]

This year, A.H. 1236 [A.D. 1820-1] a plague[2] broke out in 'Omân and proved fatal to a great many. This plague differed from that which occurs at Constantinople, at Damascus, Baghdâd, and el-Bâsrah. It first attacks a man's abdomen, and then matter is ejected from the mouth and the anus until he dies. Some who are seized die at once; others after two or three days; and only a few survive. God preserve us from so dire a disease! Great numbers in 'Omân fell victims to it; it prevailed also in India, in Sind, in Mekrân, and in the countries of the English and French. It also spread over Persia, and el-Kuwait, and el-Bahrein, and ezh-Zhâhirah, and the district of et-Tawwâm, and carried off, God the Creator alone knows how many.

[1] This expedition was under the command of Major-General Lionel Smith. "The division arrived before the capital of the Beni Boo Ali tribe on the 2nd of March, 1821, and after repulsing a very sharp attack of the enemy on the right brigade (consisting of four hundred of H.M.'s 65th regiment, and three hundred of the 1st battalion, 7th regiment, N.I., under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Warren), took possession of the whole fortified position the same evening. The sepoys on this occasion suffered severely, but the enemy lost upwards of five hundred killed and wounded, while nearly all the remainder, together with their two chiefs, were taken prisoners. After blowing up the works and defences, the forces returned to Soor, and re-embarked for India, taking a number of prisoners with them. On this occasion his Highness the Imaum [the Seyyid Sa'id] cut down the date-groves, and turned the watercourses of Balad Beni Boo Ali." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 190-1.

[2] The Asiatic cholera.

Then the English permitted Muhammad-bin-'Aly and his people to return to their homes, and the Governor of Bombay gave him much money to enable him to rebuild his town, and sent him in an English ship to Máskat, and wrote to the Seyyid Sâîd to forgive them and to help them on their way to Jaâlân. To all which the Seyyid agreed, and they accordingly returned to Jaâlân and restored their place to its former state.[1]

Then the people of Nakhl, on hearing that the sheikh Seif-bin-Nebhân, ez-Zâmily, had declined the governorship of that place, came to the Seyyid Sâîd to complain against the conduct of Sâîd-bin-Seif, ez-Zâmily; so he appointed Nâsir-bin-Khalf, ez-Zâmily, to succeed the latter, and appointed the sheikh Seif-bin-Nebhân over el-Bunder [el-'Abbâs] and Minau, upon the death of his father Nebhân, and of Khalfân-bin-Seif.

About this time Saâd-bin-Mútlak[2] came to 'Omân as Amîr over el-Bereimy on the part of the sons of Sûûd.[3] On

[1] "In 1823, the Court of Directors sent out instructions to the Bombay Government to use its influence with his Highness the Imaum [the Seyyid Sa'id] to procure the restoration of the remnants of the Benu Boo Ali tribes to their native seats. This was done, and, after some hesitation and correspondence, his Highness permitted their return to their own residence. The next year Mahomed bin Ali, having represented to the Resident in the Persian Gulf the distressed situation in which his tribe was reduced by the total destruction of their houses and watercourses, the sum of 2,500 [another official account says 25,000] German crowns was advanced by the Government to enable them to make the necessary repairs." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 191.

[2] Incorrectly styled "Syud bin Mootluk" in the *Bombay Government Selections*. The first word is a proper name and not the title "Seyyid," which in the *Selections* is usually written "Syud."

[3] At p. 318 (date, about A.D. 1810), Tûrky and Faisal are the names given to the "sons of Su'ûd," the son of 'Abdu-'l-'Aziz (p. 297), and the same individuals are apparently indicated here, about sixteen years later. Mr. Palgrave, on the other hand, makes Tûrky the grandson of Su'ûd, and the son of 'Abdallah, who was Amir when ed-Dir'iyyah was destroyed by Ibrahîm Pâsha in 1818. His list of the succession is as follows:—

reaching el-Bereimy he was well received by the Arabs and Hadhr, and the people of ezh-Zhâhirah recognized him. He then levied a large force from el-Bereimy, reinforcing it with contingents from among the Benu-Nâîm and Kutb, and marched with them to Behlâ—Muhammad-bin-Suleimân, el-Yaâruby, assisting him with horsemen and foot. He kept his object secret until the feast of the Hijj, when he attacked the el-Hajariyyîn, killed several of them, took a large booty, and then returned towards el-Bereimy. He did not halt to rest his animals until he reached Azka, where he remained two days and then went on to el-Bereimy, the fort of which he rebuilt, and when Sinân-bin-Suleimân, el-'Alawy, went to see him, he killed him. Then he wrote to the Seyyid Sâîd apologizing for having attacked the el-Hajariyyîn. He had done so, he said, to avenge the death of his father Mútlak, who had met his death at their hands.[1] This excuse was accepted by the Seyyid.

1. Su'ûd I., the founder of the dynasty.
2. 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, his son and successor.
3. Su'ûd II., the disciple and patron of the great Wahhâby.
4. 'Abdu 'l-'Azîz, his son, who was assassinated about A.D. 1803.
5. 'Abdallah, a younger son, beheaded at Constantinople.
6. Tûrky, son of 'Abdallah, who reestablished the Wahhâby power in Nejd, and was assassinated [A.D. 1834].
7. Faisal, son of Tûrky. *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 39-64

According to this History, the *Wahhâby* succession ran thus :—

1. Su'ûd I. (Palgrave's Su'ûd II.)
2. 'Abdu-'l-'Azîz, his son and successor.
3. Su'ûd II., son of preceding, who died A.D. 1814.
5. 'Abdallah, his son, who was beheaded at Constantinople, certainly succeeded his father, although his name does not occur in these annals.

6, 7. Tûrky and Faisal, two other sons of Su'ûd, appear to have ruled conjointly until the assassination of the former in 1834. What became of his brother is not stated. We know from other sources that Tûrky was succeeded by a son named Faisal, who was in his dotage when Palgrave visited Riyâdh in 1862, and that the government was virtually in the hands of his son 'Abdallah.

It will be noticed that the Su'ûd II. of this list is entirely omitted by Mr. Palgrave.

[1] See p. 327.

Subsoquently, the Seyyid levied a large force from Jaâlân and other districts, and proceeded with it to el-Bahrein, accompanied by the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry. On quitting Persia the new plague attacked his force, and Muhammad-bin-Nâsir advised him to postpone the expedition. But the Seyyid determined to proceed, and on reaching the island he planted his standard and encamped with his force. His directions to the latter were: "Do not attack the Benu-'Utbah: let us first have recourse to stratagem." This order was disobeyed by 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim, ezh-Zhâhiry, who marched with his own followers against them. On hearing the shouts from the contending parties the Seyyid set off with his men, and in the encounter which ensued the Benu-'Utbah were put to flight and many of them killed. But when the Seyyid's force saw 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim and his party returning, inferring that they had been worsted by the Benu-'Utbah, they forthwith dispersed, and were pursued by the Benu-'Utbah, who played great havoc among the fugitives. After losing many of his men the Seyyid returned to Máskat.[1]

[1] The English official account of this expedition is as follows:— "About November, 1828, his Highness arrived off Bahrein with his fleet; and having landed a party of men took possession of the fort outside without any opposition, and had fixed a day for the whole of his forces proceeding against the town of Munamah, when he was surprised to hear that Shaikh Tahnoon [the el-Kawâsimy Chief of Abu-Zhâby, one of his allies,] had landed without his orders. Hastily collecting a few of his immediate followers and Nubian slaves, his Highness hurried on shore, to endeavour to avert the consequence of this imprudent proceeding. He was, however, too late: a small body of the Uttoobee horse had been previously concealed in some date-groves on the flank, which, issuing out while the Imaum's [the Seyyid Sa'id's] troops were eagerly bearing forward to engage, charged in the rear, and at the same time the Uttoobee infantry making a general advance, the assailants were thrown into great confusion, and at last fled, completely routed, to their boats, leaving a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners behind them....Discouraged by this defeat, and the ravages committed among his followers by the cholera morbus, his Highness affected to consider that the hand of Providence was against him, and after an ineffectual attempt to conclude a peace with the Shaikh of

Then he collected a large force and proceeded to Mombâsah, which he attacked with a fleet of large ships and small boats, first opening fire upon the battery of Kalbrâs, which was returned by the guns of the battery. After he had disembarked and pitched his tent, 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim, ezh-Zhâhiry, and Hamâd-bin-Ahmed, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, rushed to the assault with their people, followed by the entire force; but the assailants having been repulsed, the Seyyid went back to Zanzibar and from thence embarked for Máskat, where he remained some time. He then went on a second expedition against Mombâsah, taking a large force with him. On this occasion the Benu-Mazrûâ capitulated, on condition that if they surrendered the fort to him they should be at liberty to reside at the place. The Seyyid having agreed to these terms returned to Zanzibar, after placing a garrison of Belooches in the fort. Suleimân-bin-Himyar-bin-Muhammad, el-Yaâruby, who had accompanied the expedition against Mombâsah, now received the Seyyid's permission to retire. He accordingly returned to his home at el-Abyad, where he died a few days after.

On the Seyyid's return to Máskat, the Benu-Mazrûâ infringed the treaty of peace by besieging the fort, which the Belooches eventually surrendered to them. Thereupon he levied a large force, and on reaching Mombâsah invested the place, and sent a party to attack the fort which commands the road leading to the country of the Wanîkah, which they captured. When those who garrisoned the castle heard

Bahrein, he sailed back with his fleet to Muskat, on the 20th of November. Various reasons were assigned for his Highness having abandoned an enterprise, the preparations of which had cost him so much labour and treasure; but it was generally thought that he either suspected some of his immediate adherents of treachery, or that the unexpected intelligence of a dangerous and spreading rebellion having broken out in his possessions in the African coast had induced him to forego any further attempt upon Bahrein, and hasten back to Muskat." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 196-7.

that the fort had been seized, they despaired of holding out against the Seyyid Sâîd, who had previously captured the Jazîrat-el-Khadrâ, [Pemba], and cut off all their supplies from that island. They accordingly surrendered, whereupon the Seyyid went back to Zanzibar, taking some of their men with him. He remained at Zanzibar a long time, and then returned to 'Omân, bringing with him the captives of the Benu-Mazrûâ, whom he sent to Hormûz to be imprisoned, where they subsequently died.[1]

Then the Seyyid made Muhammad, the son of his brother Sâlim-bin-Sultân, Wâli over Sohâr and Máskat. At this time certain suspicions were raised in the Seyyid's mind

[1] Mombâsah was captured from the Portuguese by the Imâm Seif-bin-Sultân, of the el-Ya'arubah dynasty, about A.D. 1698, (see p. 92), and appears to have been left in charge of the el-Mazrûa', an 'Omâny tribe, who had been previously settled there. In process of time these Arabs threw off their allegiance to the 'Omâny sovereign, and asserted their independence In 1823, Suleimân-bin-'Aly, their presiding chief, fearing that the Seyyid Sa'îd intended to attack his territories, placed the island and fort of Mombâsah under British protection, and in the early part of the following year Captain Owen of the British frigate *Leven* concluded a convention with him, by which the port of Mombâsah and its dependencies, including the island of Pemba, and the coast comprised between Melinda and the river Pangani, were placed under the protectorate of Great Britain. The Seyyid Sa'îd having sent in a strong remonstrance against this invasion of his sovereign rights, Captain Owen's proceedings were disallowed by the Indian authorities, which left the Seyyid at liberty to deal as he pleased with his refractory subjects at Mombâsah. According to our author's narrative he undertook three expeditions against that place before it was finally subjected. Judging from the contemporary annals of the Bombay Government, he started on the first in December 1829, and returned to Máskat from Zanzibar, "where all his plans for the reduction of Mombassa had totally failed, probably in consequence of the hurried manner in which the disturbances in his Arabian territories had called him away," on the 8th of May, 1830. (On this occasion the Seyyid appears to have visited Zanzibar for the first time.) The second expedition seems to have taken place early in 1832, the Seyyid returning to Máskat towards the end of the same year. Of the third expedition the Government records supply no notice whatever. See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 193, 200, 201, 203.

respecting Hilâl-bin-Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm,[1] but he managed to dissemble the alienation which they excited. One day, however, when Hilâl came to Máskat on a visit to him, as well as on other business, the Seyyid privately instructed Muhammad-bin-Sâlim to seize him, which he did while in his house; whereupon the Seyyid ordered him to be imprisoned in the Western fort.

Then the Seyyid started for Zanzibar, leaving Muhammad-bin-Sâlim as his deputy over all 'Omân, who, on his part, appointed Suleimân-bin-Sâlih, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, Wâli at Sohâr. Now, Hamûd-bin-'Azzân[2] had always professed loyalty and attachment both to the Seyyid Sâîd and to Muhammad-bin-Sâlim; nevertheless, he was all the time doing what he could to get possession of the fort of Sohâr. On making over that place and its dependencies to Suleimân, Muhammad-bin-Sâlim had given him particular instructions to be on his guard, and to attend strictly to his duties. Suleimân, however, neglected the people as well as the fortifications, absenting himself from Sohâr and going about from one place to another; but no one took the trouble to bring his conduct to the notice of Muhammad-bin-Sâlim. On the other hand, the Sohâr people, who were greatly attached to Hamûd-bin-'Azzân, were constantly urging him to lose no time in coming to them. They had even made ladders to enable him to scale the fort, and repeated in their letters that the garrison was very weak, that the guards were never at their posts, and that Suleimân-bin-Sâlih was always moving about from one place to another. After a good deal of importunity, and after assuring himself of

[1] Hilâl was the son of Muhammad, the seventh and youngest of the Imâm Ahmed's sons; see p. 188.

[2] Hamûd was the son of 'Azzân-bin-Kais, the Imâm Ahmed's third son, (p. 188), who had transferred the government of Sohâr to his cousin the Seyyid Sa'îd on his departure for the pilgrimage, to be retained by him in the event of his death; see p. 328.

the truth of those statements, he left el-Kusair by night with a few followers, and scaled the fort by the ladders which the people of Sohâr had prepared for that purpose. He found only a few men in the fort, and those he drove out of it. On the following morning the inhabitants came to make their public submission to him. He then went to Láwa and seized the fort there, which was surrendered unconditionally; afterwards he proceeded to Shinâs, and got possession of its fort in the same manner; and then to el-Khabûrah, where he met with the same success. At this time the Seyyid Tâlib-bin-el-Imâm [Ahmed] was at er-Rastâk, and the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry, at el-Hufry. Tâlib, on hearing what had occurred, went to communicate the intelligence to the sheikh Muhammad, but the latter had been apprised of it before. Thereupon they agreed to proceed to Máskat together, and to act as the daughter of the Imâm [Ahmed] might direct. On their arrival, the Imâm's daughter said: "It is useless to summon Hamûd to come to us with his followers, for he is now more determined than ever. The tribes have submitted to him, his power is increased, and we may expect some evil at his hands from day to day. Now, this town of Máskat is the great treasure of 'Omân, and we must have it defended by loyal men who will not turn cowards when their support is needed. The sword does not make brave men falter, but brave men are not made out of cowards." The Seyyid Tâlib then remarked to Muhammad, "I leave you to reply;" whereupon the latter said, "Know, then, that the two lives of 'Omân, I mean the el-Yemeniyyah and the Nizâriyyah, have become like two serpents: if they are brought together they will certainly do mischief, and our security depends on keeping them apart. Therefore we must choose one of the two." Both the listeners concurred in this opinion, and expressed their desire to leave the choice to the speaker, assured that he only sought their welfare; they merely urged the import-

ance of immediate action and the danger of delay. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir then went on to say: "the el-Yemeniyyah will neither listen to me nor obey me; but as to the Nizâriyyah—I say it without boasting—they will follow where I lead." They replied: "Bring them to us at once, for we are determined to abide by your counsels." He left them on Friday for Semâîl and returned a week afterwards, accompanied by one thousand five hundred men levied at that place and elsewhere."

Now, Hamûd-bin-'Azzân had contemplated an attack on Máskat, and had collected a large force with that object, towards the attainment of which he was constantly writing to the eastern and western tribes to secure their support. But when he heard that Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had stationed himself at Máskat with a force consisting principally of the Nizâriyyah, he apprehended that the Arabs and Hadhr of ezh-Zhâhirah and et-Tawwâm would lean towards the Nizâriyyah, consequently he abandoned his design against Máskat and remained at Sohâr.

When the Benu-Nâîm heard that Muhammad-bin-Nâsir was in league with Muhammad-bin-Sâlim and the daughter of the Imâm, they attacked and captured the tower at esh-Shukairy, and occupied Hamûd by making incursions into the territory of Sohâr.

The Seyyid Sâîd, who was at that time at Zanzibar, on hearing of these proceedings on the part of Hamûd hastened to Máskat. On his arrival he released Hilâl-bin-Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm, who thereupon went to es-Suwaik, and he was very grateful to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir for his valuable services, and appointed him over the fort at Semâîl. Then he embarked for Sohâr, taking about thirty ships with him, and dispatched Hamâd-bin-Ahmed to invite Hamûd to a conference, giving him an assurance of safety; but Hamûd declined the invitation and refused to see Hamâd. Then the Seyyid sent his nephew Muhammad-bin-Sâlim on a

similar errand, and he had an interview with Hamûd near Sohâr, which resulted in a reconciliation on the following terms:—Hamûd gave up all claim to independent authority over the subjects of the Seyyid Sâid, and engaged to do nothing without his orders. Accordingly, when the Seyyid left for Máskat, Hamûd began writing to the Seyyid's subjects, enjoining them not to rebel against him. The Seyyid Sâid left him to act as he pleased, and felt no further anxiety about him.

Before setting out for Zanzibar the Seyyid appointed his son Hilâl-bin-Sâid[1] as Wâli over Máskat, directing him not to take any important step without the sanction of Muhammad-bin-Sâlim. He also appointed Sûûd-bin-'Aly-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm[2] as Wâli over Barkah. After he had reached Zanzibar, the Seyyids Hilâl and Muhammad-bin-Sâlim went to Barkah on a visit to Sûûd, having full confidence in him; but when they entered the fort Sûûd ordered them to be seized, and put to death one of their retinue, namely, Khalfân-bin-Muhaisin, the Maula of the el-Jibûr, whom he accused of having been one of the Seyyid Sâid's accomplices in the murder of his uncle Bedr-bin-Seif.[3] On hearing of this proceeding, the Seyyidah, the daughter of the Imâm, was in great dread of Sûûd's coming to Máskat, so she wrote to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to join her without delay. He obeyed, and brought with him a large force of the Nizâriyyah of the Wâdi-Semâîl, and others, and stationed them in all the fortifications, with the exception of the two forts, the two batteries, and the Island.

Now, before Sûûd seized Hilâl and Muhammad-bin-Sâlim war had broken out between the inhabitants of Nakhl and

[1] Hilâl was the Seyyid Sa'id's second son; the name of his eldest son was Khâlid. Both died before their father.

[2] The great-grandson of Ahmed, the first Imâm of the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd dynasty, and the grandson of Seif, Ahmed's fourth son, who died on the east coast of Africa; see pp. 188, 205.

[3] See pp. 290-1.

Nâsir-bin-Khalf, ez-Zâmily, the Wâli of the fort there, and the el-Mâåwal had marched against Nakhl. On reaching the market-place they were met by the defenders, and after a sharp fight with swords and musketry the el-Mâåwal were driven off, with the loss of Sâlim-bin-'Abdallah, ez-Zâmily, and five others. Nâsir-bin-Khalf kept himself shut up in the fort.

Then Sůůd proceeded to el-Masnåah, taking with him the Seyyid Muhammad-bin-Sâlim as a prisoner, and encamped with his force among the hillocks on the eastern side. The two Seyyids, Hámed and Sirhân, the sons of Sâlim-bin-Sultân,[1] were at that time in the fort, which was garrisoned by slaves under the command of Miftâh-Rashîd. Miftâh thereupon sent his two masters to Máskat, and showed such a bold front to Sůůd that the latter returned to Barkah without effecting his object.

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard of these proceedings on the part of Sůůd he was greatly surprised; in the mean time, the daughter of the Imâm sent to the latter begging him to release his two captives, but he refused to do so, except for a certain sum of money. When she sent him the amount demanded, the prisoners were set at liberty and returned to Máskat. Then the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir went to Semâîl and from thence to Nakhl, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the inhabitants and Nâsir-bin-Khalf.

On the arrival of the Seyyid Sâîd at Máskat he summoned Sůůd to his presence, but he refused to come, unless accompanied by Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, el-Jabry. Muhammad accordingly went with him, and a reconciliation took place between him and the Seyyid, on condition that he was to restore the fort at Barkah to the Seyyid, who was to give him instead that of er-Rastâk, (for before this time the fort there had devolved to the Seyyid Sâîd by the death of

[1] Brothers of Muhammad-bin-Sâlim, the Seyyid Sa'îd's nephew.

Tâlib.) Sûûd having consented to these terms, the fort at Barkah was made over to the Seyyid through Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and that at er-Rastâk was given to Sûûd. On this occasion the Seyyid gave the fort of Bádbad to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir.

Before returning to Zanzibar the Seyyid appointed his son Thuwainy-bin-Sâîd[1] Wâli over Máskat, and made Hamâd-bin-Ahmed Wâli over Nakhl; but, in the mean time, Hamâd accompanied him on his voyage, and he sent him to attack Siwy,[2] while he himself went on to Zanzibar. Hamâd was successful at Sîwy, the people there agreeing to all the Seyyid's demands; so, leaving some of his men in the place, he went to Zanzibar, from whence, by the Seyyid's orders, he returned to 'Omân. From Máskat he went to take up his appointment at Nakhl, and administered its affairs so well that he gained the praise and goodwill of the inhabitants.

The people of Sîwy having broken their engagements, the Seyyid wrote to Hamâd to undertake an expedition against them, sending him a large sum of money for that purpose. Hamâd was unsuccessful on this occasion, for the people resisted him and he was obliged to flee to Zanzibar, after losing many of his followers.

When Sûûd heard of Hamâd's defeat he was greatly delighted. He went out to hunt one evening, leaving Hamûd-bin-Bedr-bin-Seif-bin-el-Imâm[3] as his deputy in the fort. On his return he entered the Másjid of el-Mansûr, at er-Rastâk, in order to take a nap, when Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ah-

[1] Thuwainy was the Seyyid Sa'îd's third son, and the eldest of his male children at the time of his death, A.D. 1856.

[2] Colonel Rigby, who was for several years British Agent at Zanzibar, says that Siwy is situated near Brâwa, on the east coast of Africa, but I cannot find the name in any of our maps or charts.

[3] Another of the Imâm Ahmed's great-grandsons, through his fourth son, Seif. Seif had two sons, Bedr and 'Aly: Hamûd was the son of the former and Su'ûd of the latter.

med-bin-Sâîd[1] fell upon him and killed him, his companions fleeing to er-Rastâk. This took place A.H. 1248 [A.D. 1832.]

When Hamûd-bin-'Azzân heard that Sultân had killed Sâûd, and that the fort [of er-Rastâk] had afterwards fallen into the hands of Hamûd-bin-Bedr-bin-Seif,—perceiving, moreover, that the Seyyids, the sons of Sâîd, delayed going to er-Rastâk, he proceeded thither with a large force, and so terrified Hamûd that the latter surrendered the fort to him unconditionally.

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard of these proceedings he returned forthwith to Máskat, and ordered Hamâd-bin-Ahmed and Suleimân-bin-Sâîd-bin-Yáhya-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Muhammad-bin-'Abdallah, ed Dárnaky, and Sawailim-bin-Sâlimîn, to proceed against er-Rastâk. Suleimân accordingly occupied the fort of the el-Mazârîâ, with their consent, and Suwailim-bin-Sâlimîn encamped with the cavalry around it, while Hamâd-bin-Ahmed and his followers from Nakhl took up a position at some distance from them. Hamûd, who was at the time at er-Rastâk, being apprised of these movements, had raised large levies from Sohâr and its dependencies, and joined to them a great many Arabs and Hadhr. Suwailim and Suleimân getting wind of this took to flight, but Hamâd and his force remained encamped in the open outskirts of er-Rastâk, and on learning that Hamûd had reached el-Ghashb he marched out to meet him, but was defeated with the loss of some of his men, among whom was Suleimân-bin-Khalfân-bin-Mâlik, el-Yaâruby. Thereupon Hamûd entered the fort, taking Hamâd with him under arrest, but he pardoned him. Then Ghaith, el-Yaâruby, came to request an assurance of immunity for himself, but he had him put to death. He then set Hamâd at liberty, and caused the fort of the Benu-Mazruâ to be razed, dismantled it of its guns, and added them to the armament of the great fort.

[1] Also great-grandson to the Imâm Ahmed, through his second son, the Imâm Sa'id. Sa'id begat Ahmed, and Ahmed begat Sultân.

The Seyyid Sâîd, who was at Máskat, was very much exasperated against Hamûd, and wrote to the Âl-Wahîbah, the el Hajariyyîn, and the el-Harth, as also to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to join him at el-Masnaâh, with their arms, while he himself proceeded thither by sea with a number of ships. On their arrival he disembarked and pitched his tents near the fort, and distributed large sums of money among the levies. Hearing that Hamûd was moving towards him he ordered the Âl-Wahîbah, who were commanded by Nâsir-bin-'Aly-bin-Mátar, el-Wahîby, and the el-Hajariyyîn, and the el-Harth to march against him; but the two latter, who were not wholly subservient to him, said: "We have come at your summons to effect a reconciliation between you and your cousin Hamûd; but we will not draw our swords either against the children or the grandchildren of the Imâm Ahmed-bin-Sâîd." The Seyyid Sâîd was so furious at this reply that he directed the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to proceed to ezh-Zhâhirah and levy the Nizâriyyah there; also to et-Tawwâm and levy its Nizâriyyah, as well as the Arabs, and Hadhr, and march down with them to Sohâr, "where, God willing," said he, "you will find me with my ships on your arrival. We will then attack its walls, and let God decide betwixt me and Hamûd." Thereupon the Seyyid returned to Máskat, where he loaded his ships with soldiers, arms, provisions, and money, while Muhammad went to Semâîl, and from thence to ezh-Zhâhirah, by way of el-'Akk and Azka. On reaching el-'Aincin he solicited the aid of the sheikh Râshid-bin-Hamîd, el-Ghâfiry, who forthwith mustered the Belooches, the Benu-Shakîl, the el-Miyâyahah, the Benu-Kelbân, the el-'Obriyyîn, the Benu-Yaâkûb, and others. These, on reaching el-Bereimy, were joined by the Benu-Kaâb, and the Benu Nâîm and Kutb, and their allies. Eighty sheikhs of the Arabs and Hadhr responded to the call, and their combined forces numbered several thousands.

When the Seyyid Sâîd, seated in his ship, descried this

immense concourse descending upon Sohâr he began to dread their getting the ascendancy there, and preferred effecting a reconciliation with Hamûd. He accordingly dispatched a messenger to request him to send a deputy with that object, and peace was made between them on this condition: neither party was to encroach upon the other. Thereupon he directed Muhammad-bin-Nâsir to bring the sheikhs of the Nizâriyyah who had come with him to his vessel, and when they came he distributed thousands of dollars among them, besides robes of honour and other presents, and having informed them that he had come to terms with Hamûd he dismissed them all, and they started for their several homes.

Then there arose a dispute between the sheikh Muhammad-bin-Nâsir and the sheikh Sirhân-bin-Suleimân, el-Jâbiry, on account of the latter having succeeded in effecting an alliance with the Benu-Ruwâhah and the el-Harth; and the sheikh Râshid-bin-Sâîd-bin-Muhammad, el-Jîlâny, el-Jâbiry, and his allies among the Benu-Jâbir and the el-Hádhramy sided in this matter with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who wrote to the Benu-Ruwâhah calling upon them to withdraw from the compact which they had formed with Sirhân. As they refused to do so, he attacked them, entering their town of Wabâl, cutting down its date-trees, and killing three of their people, losing one man on his side, a chief of the Benu-'l-Hádhramy, and then retiring. Thereupon Sirhân wrote requesting those who bore arms among them to join him, and he posted them in a building belonging to the people of Hail. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir having besieged them there, they offered to capitulate, on condition that they should be allowed to take their arms with them, the el-Jánabah acting as mediators between the two parties. Muhammad-bin-Nâsir having agreed to the proffered terms they evacuated the place and returned home. Subsequently, Sirhân himself had an interview with him, and they were

reconciled; but shortly after Sirhân broke his engagement and summoned the Benu-Ruwâhah and the el-Harth to join him. They did so, and went down to Sîjâ, where they had an engagement with the Benu-Jâbir and the el-Hádhramy, who took part with Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, both sides using muskets; Sâîd-bin-Nâsir-bin-Muhammad, er-Ruwâhy, and Muhammad, the Beloochee, falling on the side of the Benu-Ruwâhah, and a Maula of his Mawâla on the side of Muhammad's partisans. Then the sheikh 'Isa-bin-Sâlih went down to Semâîl with his followers, but the inhabitants of el-'Alâyah prevented him from proceeding to lower Semâîl, dreading Muhammad-bin-Nâsir's vengeance, whereupon 'Isa returned to el-'Idd. (Now Muhammad-bin-Nâsir had only with him a small force of the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl, and the fort of el-'Idd at that time was under his authority, and he had placed it in command of Hâshil and a few of the Mawâla of the el-Jibûr.) When the people of es-Safâ and el-Hâjir heard the report of guns from el-'Idd they went to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, who ordered them to go there. On reaching it they engaged 'Isa-bin-Sâlih's force, killing two of his men and losing three themselves. Thereupon the sheikh 'Isa returned to the Wâdi of the Benu-Ruwâhah, where he remained a couple of days, and then went back to esh-Sharkiyyah. Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir wrote letters summoning the Nizâriyyah, and he was joined by the el-Jánabah and the el-Masâkarah, and some of the Benu-Kutb. Then the Nizâriyyah of Semâîl and its dependencies mustered, and he was further reinforced by some men of Nakhl and three hundred of the Benu-Jâbir, the people of et-Tau: in all, a very large force was assembled with him at Sîjâ. Taking these with him he demolished the house of Sirhân-bin-Suleimân and cut down his date-trees; from thence he marched against the Benu-Ruwâhah and encamped with his force near Wabâl. When he was about to attack the Benu-Ruwâhah, Mâtar-bin-Mâtar, el-Muhâll, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, came

from the Seyyid Sâîd in order to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties. Muhammad was unwilling to act contrary to the Seyyid's wishes; so Mâtar went to the Benu-Ruwâhah and brought their chiefs to Muhammad-bin-Nâsir, and, peace having been made between them, all returned to their respective abodes.

Before the Seyyid Sâîd embarked for Zanzibar a ship belonging to the English Government came to Máskat, he having sent them full details of Hamûd's proceedings. Thereupon the commander went with his ship to Sohâr and brought Hamûd to the Seyyid, and peace was concluded between them, Hamûd giving a written promise that he would not stir up strife against the Seyyid Sâîd or his children, and would cease from all hostilities against Hilâl-bin-Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm and his people. This matter being settled, the Seyyid embarked for Zanzibar with a large force, under the command of Hamâd-bin-Ahmed, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, and 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim. On reaching Mombâsah he dispatched those two commanders to attack Sîwy, while he proceeded to Zanzibar. The attack upon Sîwy failed, for the people engaged the assailants and drove them off, with the loss of Hamâd and 'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim, ezh-Zhâhiry, and a great many of their followers, who were killed on the occasion.[1]

Then Muhammad-bin-Nâsir made preparations to attack er-Rastâk and to seize it on behalf of the Seyyid Sâîd, in consequence of Hamûd-bin-'Azzân's intrigues. It appears that the latter had recommenced writing to the Seyyid's subjects, urging them to throw off his authority, and had moreover attacked es-Suwaik and plundered the market

[1] This expedition took place in 1844. "The Seyyid Sa'îd's troops were defeated with severe loss, and compelled to retire: many of them were slain, and among the number Humeed bin Ahmed, who went in command of the expedition; also Nazzir bin Ali, late Envoy to England." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 215, 217.

there. Muhammad, determined to arrest these proceedings, summoned the principal Nizâriyyah, and wrote to those at a distance, fixing a time when they should join him against Hamûd and 'Isa-bin-Sâlih; but he died at Azka before the appointed time arrived.

Hamûd, however, was fully bent on breaking the treaty with the Seyyid Sâid: he even went to Bombay to request the English Government not to interfere in the dispute betwixt him and the Seyyid.[1] The only reply he received was: "Bring us a letter from the Seyyid stating that the treaty betwixt you has been cancelled by him." Despairing of any encouragement in that quarter, he returned to Sohâr and assumed a life of strict piety and asceticism, making over the fort to the learned sheikh Sâîd-bin-Khalfân-bin-Ahmed-bin-Sâlih, el-Khalîly, and the sheikh Hâmed, the Amîr of the Âl-Sâad. Shortly after, however, he renounced these assumptions and removed the two sheikhs above-named from the fort, appointing his son Seif-bin-Hamûd in their stead, and placing the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Khalfân over the fort of er-Rastâk.

Thereupon this sheikh Sâîd and the sheikh Hâmed, es-Sâady, together with the heads of the Âl-Sâad, proposed to set up an Imâm of their own, who was to be invested with supreme authority. They offered the dignity to Hamûd, who at first agreed to accept it, but afterwards declined; whereupon the Benu-Sâad dispersed to their several homes, Hamûd going to Sohâr, where he remained a short time. On his return to er-Rastâk he removed the sheikh Sâîd-bin-Khalfân from the fort, and placed it in the hands of the Benu-Hinâh. He then paid Sohâr another visit, and from thence went to el-Kusairah.

[1] If the foregoing narrative is consecutive, this visit of Hamûd-bin-'Azzân to Bombay must have occurred subsequently to 1844: the Government Records, however, only mention his having visited Bombay in 1841.

Seif-bin-Hamûd, having by this time succeeded in gaining the affections of the people of Sohâr, began to be ambitious. He discharged the garrison left in the fort by his father, and placed men of his own in their stead; set his father's authority at defiance; refused to admit any into Sohâr whom he knew to be on his father's side; would not remit to his father any of the revenue of the place; acted as if he were entirely independent; and cultivated the alliance of the Seyyid Thuwainy-bin-Sâîd. His father's exasperation was so great that he suborned some of his servants and officers to put him out of the way. They accordingly murdered him in his bed, and his father forbade all public mourning for his death.[1] By this means Hamûd again came into possession of the fort of Sohâr, and of all the other forts which had been held by his son.

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard of the murder and of Hamûd's proceedings generally, in violation of the treaty which he had made with him through the intervention of the English, he wrote a statement of the case and submitted it to the English authorities. They replied: "He has no longer any claim upon us, for we are convinced that he has broken his engagements; do with him whatever you please." So he directed his son Thuwainy to move against him, and Thuwainy eventually seized him—after a series of efforts too long to be narrated—on the shore near Shinâs, brought him to Máskat, and confined him in the Eastern fort, where he died.[2] He was buried in the grave opposite

[1] "The father, ever jealous of the son, resolved to destroy him, and hired the confidential servant of his master to carry into execution his base and treacherous purpose. Syud Syf was assassinated in his bed, and the murderer resumed his position." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxvi, p. 228.

[2] "The Syud Soweynee appeared off Shinas in his frigate, the *Fyz Allum*....On arrival, his Excellency expressed a desire to hold an interview with Syud Humood bin Azan, for the purpose of renewing his friendly relations with that chief, and restoring to their original footing

the western grove, on the acclivity of the central Wâdi, near the town of Máskat; whereupon his brother Kais-bin-'Azzân became possessed of all the forts which had been under his charge.

Now Kais suspected Kahtân-bin-Seif-bin-'Aly of having been one of the number of those who had instigated the Seyyid Thuwainy to seize his brother Hamûd, grounding his suspicions on Kahtân's frequent interviews with Thuwainy previous to his brother's capture. Kais kept his suspicions to himself; nevertheless, Kahtân was in great dread of him, living secluded among his relatives of the Benu-Rîs, at Fázah. It was decreed, however, that he should go to Sohâr, where he was seized, imprisoned, and slaughtered like a lamb.[1]

When the Seyyid Thuwainy heard of this outrage he was greatly incensed against Kais, and collected a large force to attack him. Kais did the same, and the two armies encamped on the borders of el-Khadhrâ, not far from one another. At this juncture some peacemakers intervened and succeeded in persuading Kais to return to Sohâr and Thuwainy to Máskat; so there was no fighting between them.

Then Kais-bin-'Azzân entered in a correspondence with

the terms of the treaty concluded between Syud Saeed and himself.... After receiving a visit from Syud Hamood bin Azan, it was proposed that they should proceed inland on a pleasure excursion....Then Soweynee determined to make his guest a captive; and at Shinas he caused him to be seized, bound, and conveyed to the frigate in chains....On his return to Muskat he threw his prisoner into a dungeon, and the treatment which he received at his hands was of a very severe character. He was loaded with chains, and confined in a place of heat unbearable; no liberty, no comforts, no freedom from restraint was accorded him: health gave way, and nature quickly sank under such cruel usage." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv, pp. 228-230.

1 "When the news of his brother's death reached Syud Ghes, his fiery temper became inflamed with exceeding rage: he burned for revenge, and eagerly sought for a victim whereon to vent his fury. He sought not in vain: the brave and courageous Shaikh Kahtan bin Syf was caught intriguing, cast into prison, and doomed to perish." *Idem*, p. 230.

Sultân-bin-Sâkar, and secured his cöoperation against Thuwainy. Sultân accordingly collected a strong force and proceeded with it to Shinâs, which he besieged for many days. (The fort there at that time was in the possession of the Seyyid Sâîd and his son Thuwainy.) In this matter, the Âl-Kharibân [?] of the Benu-Nâîm sided with Kais, while the Al-Abi-Shâmis sided with the Seyyid Sâîd and his son Thuwainy. The Wahhâbis, however, kept aloof and took no part in the quarrel; for they used to receive the Sohâr *Kânûn* from Kais, and the Máskat *Kânûn* from the Seyyid Sâîd, and from Thuwainy whenever his father was absent at Zanzibar.[1]

[1] This is the first distinct intimation given by the author of an annual *Kânûn*, or Tribute, (in the shape of *Zakât*, or Obligatory Alms for religious purposes,) having been paid to the Wahhâbis by Máskat and Sohâr. It seems highly probable that some arrangement to that effect was made as early as 1811, when 'Omân was invaded by Mútlak-el-Mutairy, acting under instructions from Su'ûd-bin-'Abdu-'l-'Aziz, the Wahhâby Amir of Nejd, and after the Seyyid Sa'îd had appealed in vain for assistance to the British authorities in India, who "recommended him to grant the terms of pacification solicited by the Wahabees, if consistent with the honour and security of the State of Muscat." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 182. On referring to pp. 324-5 of this History, the reader will see how 'Azzân-bin-Kais, of Sohâr, on that occasion, "came to terms with Mútlak," and that the Seyyid Sa'îd sent him a "present" of forty thousand dollars in order to secure the country generally from the inroads of the Wahhâbis. It is very likely that the payment of this tribute was suspended in 1813, when the Wahhâbis received a severe check from the Egyptian army. This reverse was followed the year after by the death of their Amîr, Su'ûd, and in 1819 their power was wholly overthrown by Ibrahîm Pâsha, of Egypt, who sent their Amîr, 'Abdâllah-bin-Su'ûd, a captive to Constantinople, where he was executed. Tûrky and Faisal, the sons of Su'ûd, had partially reestablished Wahhâby supremacy in Nejd, about A.D. 1828-9, when Sa'ad-bin-Mútlak, their general, came into 'Omân to avenge his father's death (p. 345); and according to the Bombay Government records it was in 1833 that the Seyyid Sa'îd, "finding the integrity of his dominions seriously menaced, considered it his best policy to form a closer connection with the Wahhâby chief, and agreed to pay him a tribute of five thousand German crowns per annum." This History, however,

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard of what Kais had done to Kahtân, and how Sultân-bin-Sákar had taken his part, and the position which Sultân had consequently assumed at Shinâs, he remarked to some of his intimates: "Sultân-bin-Sákar has sided with Kais on account of Kahtân, who took Dabâ and Fakkân from him without my authority; and when Sultân-bin-Sákar wrote to complain to me I told him that I was too far away to interfere, and left him to settle the dispute as he pleased. On receipt of my letter he proceeded to Dabâ and Fakkân, and retook both those places. I am convinced that it was his annoyance on this score which induced him to coalesce with Kais." When the Seyyid Sâîd reached Máskat he was very indignant at some proceedings on the part of the sheikh Seif-bin-Nebhân, who, on being apprised thereof, came in person to Máskat, where he died a few days after. On the Seyyid's arrival he had dispatched letters summoning all the tribes of 'Omân, and when they came he showered attentions upon their chiefs, small and great, and selected the two tribes, the el-Yemeniyyah and the en-Nizâriyyah, to accompany him in his projected attack on Sohâr. Accordingly, large numbers of them from Jaalân, and Sûr, and ezh-Zhâhirah joined him. Moreover, before setting out for Sohâr he wrote to Sultân-bin-Sákar, el-Háwaly, el-Kâsimy, requesting him to forego his alliance

makes no mention of that transaction. Tûrky-bin-Su'ûd was murdered in 1834, and was succeeded by his son Faisal, who was taken prisoner in 1838 by Muhammad 'Aly Pâsha, of Egypt, and did not succeed in reestablishing himself as the legitimate head of the Wahhâbis until 1843, during which interval the payment of the tribute from 'Omân was probably suspended. In 1845, however, it would appear that the Wahhâbis again invaded 'Omân, when the Seyyid Thuwainy "agreed to renew, in his father's name, the annual tribute of five thousand German crowns, and to pay an additional sum of two thousand crowns on this occasion." (*Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahhâbis*, p. 11). I presume that this is the *Kânûn* referred to in the text, which from that time up to about 1850 had been regularly paid by Máskat; the amount of tribute paid by the chief of Sohâr is not stated.

with Kais. Sultân was at that time residing at Shinâs, and on receiving the letter went to Sohâr, where he found Kais by no means disinclined to fight. Thereupon Sultân left him, and returned and encamped with his force at Shinâs.

The levies of the Seyyid Sâîd having greatly increased, his principal advisers urged him to proceed forthwith against Sohâr and its fortified dependencies. He accordingly embarked with all his forces for el-Khabûrah, the el-Jánabah of Sûr and 'Omân acting in concert with him, as did also the sheikh Râshid-bin-Hamîd-bin-Nâsir, el-Ghâfiry. The fort of el-Khabûrah having surrendered at discretion, the Seyyid announced his intention of building a strong fort and establishing an open market at Sáham. This announcement had the effect of restraining the opposition of his adversaries and of strengthening the attachment of those who were loyal to him. After spending a few days at el-Khabûrah he returned to Máskat, and from thence started by sea for Sohâr, where Sultân-bin-Sákar had an interview with him and promised to forego his alliance with Kais. Thereupon he invited Kais to a personal conference, but the latter refused to come, so the Seyyid went back to Máskat.

At Máskat the Seyyid Sâîd received a visit from Maktûm, el-Yâsy, who came to him accompanied by many of his tribe, the Benu-Yâs, and the Seyyid directed him to attack Shinâs. (There had been some correspondence between Maktûm and the Seyyid Thuwainy prior to this visit of the former.) Maktûm accordingly went to Shinâs and took the fort for the Seyyid, after a short war; and the two Seyyids, Muhammad-bin-Sâlim and Thuwainy-bin-Sâîd, who had followed Maktûm, finding on their arrival that he had been successful, thanked him heartily for his services, and the Seyyid Thuwainy took over the fort from him.

Kais began now to be convinced that it was useless to continue the contest, for the people showed no disposition to support him. He accordingly proposed a reconciliation

with the two Seyyids, and surrendered the fort of Láwa to the Seyyid Thuwainy, as an earnest of his sincerity. Muhammad-bin-Sâlim then brought him to Máskat, and a treaty of peace was concluded betwixt him and the Seyyid Sâîd on these terms:—he was to give up the fort at Sohâr, and was to receive in its stead the fort of er-Rastâk, and to abstain in future from all acts of disloyalty. The fort of Sohâr was therefore delivered up to the Seyyid Thuwainy, and thus an end was put to the war betwixt him and Kais.[1] After the Seyyid Sâîd's departure for Zanzibar, Kais broke off coming to Máskat; nevertheless, the Seyyid Thuwainy did not interfere with him in any way. The Seyyid Sâîd had not been long at Zanzibar before the Persians attacked and seized Minau and Bunder-el-'Abbâs and their dependencies.

In the mean time, es-Sudairy had come to el-Bereimy, commissioned by the sons of Sûûd, and the Arabs of esh-Shamâl and the Hadhr of ezh-Zhâhirah had submitted to him. Thereupon the Seyyid Thuwainy sent Hilâl-bin-Muhammad-bin-el-Imâm and Nâsir-bin-'Aly-bin-Tâlib, Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, to confer with him. Es-Sudairy made the most extra-

[1] These occurrences are generally corroborated by the following official record:—"Syud Ghes [Kais] was called upon to restore the forts which he had lately seized, with the assistance of his ally Shaikh Sultan bin Suggar, on the Batinah coast. He refused, and hostilities were at once commenced....The campaign opened in September 1851, and began auspiciously enough for the cause of his Highness. Kasbecah fell without a struggle; Khaboorah was taken after a bombardment of two days' duration; and other preparations were in course, when his Highness effected a meeting with Sultan bin Suggur, and induced him to abandon the cause of the Sohar chief. Deserted by the Joasmees, opposed by the combined forces of Syud Saeed and the Shaikh of Debaye, Syud Ghes stood but little chance of success. He turned, however, to bay, with much display of fierceness, and strove to meet his opponents single-handed. They proved too strong for him: Shinas fell an easy prey to the allied armies, and Syud Ghes was compelled to surrender. Sohâr was handed over to his Highness; Rastag and Hebee [?] remained in the possession of Syud Ghes, who also received from the Muskat Government a pension of two hundred dollars per mensem." *Bombay Government Selections*, p. 231.

vagant demands upon the Seyyid Thuwainy, but eventually he agreed to accept the amount of *Kânûn* which the Seyyid Sâîd had formerly paid to the sons of Sûûd.[1] When the delegates left him he marched with a part of his force to Behlâ, which was then under the sheikh Râshid-bin-Hamîd, el-Ghâfiry, and remained with him some time, summoning Seif-bin-Suleimân, er-Riyâmy, to join him there. Seif refusing to obey, an outbreak was imminent, but some of the el-Jánabah intervened, and es-Sudairy was appeased by a sum of money which Seif forwarded to him through the el-Jánabah. Es-Sudairy then went to Nezwa, where he put up for a few days with the Wâli, Seif-bin-'Amr-bin-Khalfân, and then returned to el-Bereimy.

When the Seyyid Sâîd heard at Zanzibar of the seizure of his forts in Persia by the Persians, of the disturbed state of 'Omân owing to the visit of es-Sudairy, and his demands

[1] That is, five thousand crowns per annum; see note, p. 365. But according to the following official summary of the events connected with this new invasion of the Wahhâbis, in 1852, the amount was raised to twelve thousand crowns:—"The return of the Imaum [the Seyyid Sa'id] to his African possessions was the signal for fresh disturbances, and at this juncture the Wahabee Chief once more advanced towards Oman. He came avowedly as the arbiter and redresser of wrongs which the Chief of Sohar and the tribes on the Batina coast had suffered at the hands of the Imaum [the Seyyid Sa'id]. On his arrival at Brymee the Wahabee Chief made demands for the immediate cession of Sohar, and the payment of so large an amount of tribute, that it was clear he intended to enter on hostilities against Muscat. The active intervention of the Resident at this period, and the moral support afforded to the Government of Muscat by the appearance of a war vessel on the Arabian coast, induced the Wahabee Chief to enter into negotiations, which ended in a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Syud Thoweynee and Abdoola bin Fysul, whereby the Muscat Government agreed to pay to the Wahabee Ameer an annual tribute of twelve thousand crowns, besides arrears to the extent of six thousand [or sixty thousand] crowns, and the usual supply of provisions and stores. The Wahabee likewise pledged himself to assist Thoweynee in every hour of difficulty, and the boundaries of the dominions of either remained as heretofore.'" *Précis regarding Muscat and its Relations with the Wahabee Power*, pp. 12, 13.

upon his son Thuwainy, how es-Sudairy had gone as far as Nezwa, and had assumed a dangerous ascendancy over his subjects, he came forthwith to Máskat, where he was visited by the sheikh Seif-bin-'Aly, ezh-Zhâhiry, through whom he came to terms with es-Sudairy. But the Seyyid was greatly exasperated against Seif-bin-Nebhân-bin-Sâîd, el-Mâûly, for some proceedings on his part which had given rise to much disloyalty; consequently, when Seif visited him at Máskat he showed him no attention or courtesy. Seif was kept in a state of anxiety for a short time, and then died at Máskat.

The Persians, having established themselves in the Seyyid's fortified posts in Persia, became very overbearing after [the expulsion of] the sheikh Seif-bin-Nebhân, committing great outrages upon the Seyyid's subjects and allies. He accordingly collected a large force, consisting chiefly of the el-Yemeniyyah and Nizâriyyah of esh-Sharkiyyah and Jaalân; and, of the Hadhr of 'Omân, the el-'Awâmir and the people of Nezwa and Manh, and others. These he dispatched under his son, the Seyyid Thuwainy, who succeeded in recapturing Bunder-el-'Abbâs, Minau, Semîl, and other places from the Persians. Shortly after, however, the Persians again attacked Bunder-el-'Abbâs and Minau, and although the Seyyid Thuwainy fought bravely, the Persians were the victors and succeeded in capturing many of his people, whom they took to Shirâz and treated with great indignity, exposing them to public ridicule. Then the Seyyid Thuwainy, having embarked the remainder of his men on board his ships, blockaded the Persians, cutting off their supplies from India, and greatly depressing the merchants, whose trade was stopped thereby. Thereupon the Persians made overtures for peace, and the Seyyid Sâîd dispatched Muhammad-bin-Sâlim to them, and he returned to Máskat with some of their officials. A treaty of peace was then concluded on these conditions: the Persians were to restore to the Seyyid Sâîd all the posts which he had pre-

viously held, and to give up all the property which they had seized from the late sheikh Seif-bin-Nebhân. The war was thus brought to an end by the Seyyid Sâîd getting back from the Persians all the posts for his son, Thuwainy-bin-Sâîd.[1] Then when the commotions in 'Omân had been quieted, and those places in Persia and elsewhere which were under the government of the Seyyid Sâîd were tranquillized, the Seyyid himself hastened to Zanzibar; but the decree of fate overtook him, as we have already narrated, in the sea of the Seychelles.[2] His life and actions were the theme of many poems.

Here ends, by the aid of God, the glorious biography of the Âl-Bû-Sâîd, to which is prefixed the lives of the Sovereigns of 'Omân, the work of the unique among the eloquent, the prëeminent among orators, the pious, devout and irreproachable Hamîd-bin-Muhammad-bin-Razîk-bin-Bakhît, of the progeny of Sâîd-bin-Ghassân by descent, an 'Ibâdhy by religion, and a native of the town of Nakhl. It was finished on Wednesday, the 24th of Rabîa-el-Âkhir, A.H. 1274, [12th December, 1857], for the glorious, the excellent, the benevolent, the pious, the gentle Hâmed-bin-Sâlim-bin-Sultân-bin-el-Imâm-Ahmed-bin-Sâîd, el-Âl-Bû-Sâîdy, el-'Omâny, el-Ibâdhy. In conclusion, the author says: I beseech all my pious and generous brethren, if they should detect in the said biography, or in me, any defect or error, that they will cover the blot with the straightforward hand of sincerity, and not probe it as a surgeon does a wound; for the only narrative which is above criticism is that related in the words of him

[1] The misunderstanding between the Persians and the Seyyid Sa'îd's officials at Bunder-el-'Abbâs arose in 1855. Hostilities were carried on between the two parties with varying success, but the Seyyid Sa'îd was eventually obliged to accept the terms proposed by the government of the Shâh. Some further details of this affair will be found towards the end of the Introduction.

[2] See p. 259.

on whom we invoke the benediction of God, whom we pray to build up the Muslims by removing all dissensions from among them. My trust is in God alone, who knows all things, the Sovereign of men, for He it is who vouchsafes peace and ensures peace.

Completed by me, the unworthy servant, Sulcimân-bin-Sâîd-bin-Mubârak-bin-'Abdallah-bin-Sâlim, of the progeny of Khâtim by descent, and a Mahbûby by creed and profession, a native of Nezwa of Omân, who worships God only, and invokes benediction upon the best of God's creatures, the elect Prophet Muhammad, and upon all his Family and Companions.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

(A)

ON THE TITLE OF "IMÂM."

THE word "Imâm" comes from an Arabic root signifying to aim at, to follow after, most of the derivatives of which partake, more or less, of that idea. Thus *Imâm* means, primarily, an exemplar, or one whose example ought to be imitated.[1] It is applied in that sense, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, to Muhammad, as being the leader and head of the Muslims in civil and religious matters, and also to the Khalîfahs, or legitimate *Successors*, as his representatives in both capacities. It is also given—in its religious import only—to the heads of the four orthodox sects, namely, the el-Hánafy, esh-Shâfa'iy, el-Mâliky, and el-Hánbaly; and, in a more restricted sense still, to the ordinary functionary of a mosque who leads in the daily prayers of the congregation—an office usually conferred on individuals of reputed piety, who are removable by the *Nâzirs*, or wardens, and who, with their employment and salary, lose the title also.

The term is used in the Kurân to indicate the Book, or Scriptures, or record of a people; also, to designate a teacher of religion. Hence, most probably, its adoption by the Muslims in the latter sense. "When the Lord tried Abraham with certain words, which he fulfilled, He said, I have made thee an Imâm to the people." Again, referring to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, "We have made them Imâms that they may direct others at our command." And, again, "We delivered to Moses the Book, therefore be not in doubt of his reception thereof, and we ordained it to be a guide unto the children of Israel. And we appointed

[1] *Antistes*, Pocock's Latin rendering of *Imâm*, is a very near approach to the Arabic etymology of the word.

some of them to be Imâms to direct the people according to our command."[1]

It is not clear whether Muhammad himself adopted or received the title; but he never omitted performing the ordinary functions of an Imâm until his last illness, when, finding himself unable to leave his house, which communicated with the mosque, he directed that Abu-Bekr should be sent for to lead the prayers of the people. It is certain, however, that the title was assumed by his immediate *Successors*, who regarded the duty associated with it of leading in public worship as their special prerogative, and as involving their supremacy "in all matters of religion and of the world." It is recorded of the Khalîfah el-Maimûn (A. H. 198-218=A.D. 813-833), that on entering the mosque at Baghdâd one day, and finding a private individual conducting the prayers, he regarded the act as one of high treason.

"The Muhammadans," writes D'Herbelot, "are not agreed among themselves respecting the Imâmate, that is, the dignity of Imâm. Some regard it to be of divine right and restricted to a single family, like the Aaronic pontificate; others, whilst admitting it to be of divine right, nevertheless, do not believe it to be so limited to one family that it may not pass over to another. Moreover, according to these latter, the Imâm must not only be exempt from great sins, such as infidelity, but also from lesser sins; he may be deposed, if he fall into such, and his dignity transferred to another."[2] To these may be added the opinions of the sects called *en-Nujdât*, who held it to be "unnecessary that the people should have an Imâm at all; but it behoves them to settle all questions equitably amongst themselves, and if they are unable to do so without the cöoperation of an Imâm, then they are at liberty to appoint one."[3]

The first serious dispute respecting the Imâmate originated with the twelve thousand men who revolted from the Khalîfah 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, after

[1] *Sûrat-el Bâkarah*, (ii.) 118. *Sûrat-el-Anbiyâ*, (v.) 73. *Sûrat-es-Sâjdah*, (xxiii.) 23, 24. "A model of religion" is Sale's paraphrase for the word Imâm, occurring in the original of these passages.

[2] *Bibliothèque Orientale*, sub voce *Imam*.

[3] Pocock, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, pp. 267-8.

they had fought under him at the battle of Siffîn, (A.H. 37=A.D. 657), taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalîfate, which Mo'âwiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it. These recusants were styled *Khawârij*,[1] and their alleged heresy on the subject comprised well-nigh all the heterodox opinions just enumerated. "They affirmed that a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Kuraish, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications. They also held, that if the Imâm turned aside from the truth he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imâm at all in the world."[2] *Khawarij* has since become a generic designation for a number of sects, which, though differing among themselves on other points, agree in the main with these notions touching the Imâmate.

Opposed to the Khawârij are the *Shia'ahs*, or Separatists, a term specially applied to the adherents of 'Aly, whom the former repudiated. "They maintain him to be the lawful Khalîfah and Imâm, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach that the office of Imâm is not a common thing depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the Prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people."[3] In accordance with these doctrines the Shîa'ahs claim the right of succession to the Imâmate for 'Aly and his male descendants. Some recognize seven, and others twelve, as alone being entitled to that dignity. The last, who is surnamed *el-Mahdy*, or the Guide, they believe to be still alive, and that he will re-appear with the prophet Elijah at the second coming of Christ.

[1] Literally, Outsiders, as being beyond the pale; like St. Paul's τους ἔξω, 1 Cor. v. 13.

[2] *Preliminary Discourse* to Sale's *Kurân*, p 231.

[3] *Id.*, pp. 232-3.

The original Khawârij were defeated by 'Aly, and cut off, as some writers affirm, even to a man; others say that nine escaped, of whom two fled into Kermân, two into Sejistân, two into Mesopotamia, one to Tell-Maurûn, and the remaining two into 'Omân, where they propagated their heresy. This took place about A.H. 38=A.D. 658. During the reign of the Khalîfah Marwân, the last of the Omeyyah dynasty, (A.H. 127-132=A.D. 744-749), the head of the sect in 'Omân was one 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, et-Temîmy, whose followers are still called, after him, *Ibâdhiyah*, and our author expressly states (p. 7) that his doctrines were secretly countenanced by the native governor appointed by Abu-'l-'Abbâs, es-Saffâh, Marwân's successor in the Khalîfate; moreover, that the sect became so powerful shortly after that they took the government into their own hands, and elected Julánda-bin-Mas'ûd, who was "the first of the rightful Imâms of 'Omân."

It is evident from these data that the Imâmate of 'Omân owes its origin to the peculiar religious tenets of the Khawârij, as adopted by the Ibâdhiyah. They disallowed the claims of the Baghdâd Khalîfahs, as well in civil as religious matters, and set up one of their own, whom they invested with corresponding powers in both capacities. They acted upon the same principles by uniformly electing Imâms for their personal merits or popularity, irrespective of family descent, for the space of nearly nine hundred years, reckoning from Julánda to the accession of Nâsir-bin-Murshid, of the el-Ya'arubah, A.D. 1624; and if the nominees during that period were mainly confined to the el-Azd, it was because that was the predominant tribe, and possessed greater influence in the elections. After the supremacy had fallen into the hands of the el-Ya'arubah, and throughout the century during which they held it, these principles underwent a modification. Like their predecessors—and not unlike what took place in the kingdoms of the Western and Eastern Franks—the 'Omânis started from the same point: the Imâm was elected, but with a strong preference to the ruling family over strangers, and with a strong preference to the son, not necessarily the eldest, of the last Imâm over other members of his family.[1]

[1] A similar change had taken place in the order of the succession to

This deviation from their first principles is remarkably illustrated by the case of Seif-bin-Sultân, the sixth of the el-Ya'arubah Imâms, (pp. 99-101). He was elected in preference to an elder brother, but, being still under age, his cousin Ya'arub-bin-Bel'arab was appointed regent to carry on the administration; nevertheless, "he did not lay claim to the Imâmate, for that belonged of right to his cousin,"—an opinion utterly at variance with the rule which had previously prevailed in 'Omân regarding the succession.

The el-Ya'arubah were succeeded by Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd, the first of a new dynasty, which still bears rule in the country. Very little is said of Ahmed's pedigree: he was of the el-Azd tribe, and appears to have been engaged in mercantile pursuits before his appointment to the governorship of Sohâr by Seif-bin-Sultân, of the el-Ya'arubah. His patriotism and bravery in expelling the Persians secured for him the suffrages of the people, and he was elected Imâm. During his administration his sons obtained the title of *Seyyid*, or Lord, and his daughters that of *Seyyidah*, or Lady, which their descendants have retained ever since. The title, so applied, was an innovation; it tended, moreover, to distinguish the ruling family, and to give them a corporate dignity and prëeminence over all other native chiefs and grandees. The "House of the Seyyids," like the reigning "Houses" of Europe, has become a recognized dynasty, having the first claim to the succession; but the gradual increase in the number of rival and aspiring Seyyids has been one fertile source of the intestine feuds which have arrested the prosperity of the country for the last century.

On the death of Ahmed, leaving seven sons and three daughters, the chiefs of 'Omân wished to elect Hilâl, "as being the eldest and the wisest," but he was incapacited, owing to a cataract in the eye, which obliged him to go to Guzerat for surgical advice, where he died. Sa'îd-bin-Ahmed, the second son, was consequently raised to the Imâmate, but his rule becoming un-

the Khalîfate within half a century after the death of Muhammad. Up to the reign of Mo'âwiyah, the first of the Benu-Omeyyah dynasty, the Khalîfahs were professedly elected by the body of the faithful, but Mo'âwiyah succeeded in making it hereditary in his own family.

popular several violent efforts were made to force him to abdicate in favour of his next brother, Kais. All these attempts, however, were frustrated by the Imâm's eldest son, Hámed, who, by a course of the most consummate fraud and treachery, first succeeded in making himself master of Máskat, and then persuaded his father into resigning the administration to him. Hámed was opposed during his regency by his uncle Seif, Ahmed's fourth son, until the death of the latter; afterwards, and more or less until he succumbed to an attack of small-pox, by Sultân, Ahmed's fifth son. Thereupon the Imâm Sa'îd, who had been living in retirement at er-Rastâk, reasserted his authority by appointing his younger son Ahmed to the governorship of Máskat, and his nephew 'Aly, the son of his eldest brother who died in Guzerat, to Barkah. That arrangement, however, was speedily upset by Sultân, who by perfidy and violence ejected his nephews, and forthwith assumed the regency, with the concurrence of the majority of the people, but in opposition to the wishes of his brother, the Imâm. On the death of Sultân, who was killed by pirates in the Persian Gulf, his two sons, Sâlim and Sa'îd, agreed to rule conjointly, although the former, chiefly through the influence of their grandmother, consented that his younger brother should be nominally the regent. Sa'îd, who was already in possession of Máskat, lost no time in summoning such of the chiefs as were likely to espouse his cause, and having received, or purchased, their promised allegiance, he did not scruple to set his uncle the Imâm's authority at defiance, and by a bold *coup d'état* forestalled all competitors to the regency. This occurred about A.D. 1804.

It is noteworthy that since Sa'îd, the son of the Imâm Ahmed, the first of the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd dynasty, the rulers of 'Omân have never taken the title of "Imâm," and are uniformly designated "Seyyids."[1] Up to the death of Sa'îd this fact is easily to be ac-

[1] On this subject Mr. Palgrave remarks, "that the title of 'Imām of Mascat' is unused in 'Omān itself, and belongs to European, not to Arab nomenclature. Thoweynee [the Seyyid Sa'îd's son] is not an Imām in the proper and Mahometan sense of the term, and Mascat is not his capital. The word 'Imām' does indeed in a general way denote any one who takes the precedence, especially in war or prayer, sometimes also in

counted for, inasmuch as the recognition of two contemporaneous Imâms would have been as inconsistent with the politico-religious system of the Ibâdhiyah as the recognition of two co-existent Popes by the Church of Rome. Hence, while Sa'id lived undeposed, those who either with or without his sanction attained to the supreme authority in civil and political matters were debarred from assuming that dignity. Canonically, those who invaded any of the prerogatives of the Imâmate were usurpers; but the law having become powerless against the will of the people, or even against a rival backed by a predominant party, there resulted a compromise which left the Imâm in undisturbed possession of the title, together with its religious prê-

science and literature. In Nejed, Feysul is sometimes, but very rarely, denominated Imam by his subjects, and I have heard the same word applied twice or thrice to his heir 'Abd-Allah. But even in Nejed, 'Sultan' is in far more common use; while in 'Omân Thoweynee invariably enjoys that distinguished title. Hence his correct address is 'Sultâno-'Aaman,' *i. e.* 'Sultan of 'Oman.' For official capital he has his choice between Bahilah, Sohar, and Nezwah; the latter is the most usual." *Travels in Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii p. 285.

There are several erroneous statements in the foregoing extract. In the first place, this History suffices to prove that *Imâm* was a title used by the 'Omânis "in the proper and Mahometan sense of the word;" not, indeed, *Imâm of Máskat*, but Imâm of 'Omân. Thuwainy, it is true, like his father before him and his grandfather Sultân, was not Imâm, as I have just stated above; but neither was he nor any of his predecessors styled *Sultân*, for although the name is common enough in the country it has never been used *as a title* by the ruling sovereigns. Formerly they were *Imâms*, now they are simply *Seyyids*, whatever foreigners may elect to call them. As the English first entered into political relations with 'Omân during the regency of Sultân-bin-Ahmed,—Sultân is here a proper name,—whose representative appears to have dubbed him Imâm, taking it for granted that the regent was acting with the authority of his brother the Imâm Sa'id, it became a custom with our officials to designate his successors by the same title. Again, Sohâr was never the capital, by which I mean the official residence, of the reigning sovereigns. Nezwa was so for a long and Behlâ for a short period in former ages, but for a century and a half subsequently, the recognized capital was er-Rastâk, and it continued to hold that position till about A.D. 1779, when the Seyyid Hâmed was appointed regent and established himself at Máskat, his father the Imâm Sa'id continuing to reside at er-Rastâk until he died, between A.D. 1811–1821.

eminence, and tacitly confirmed in the civil administration the candidate who, by any means, fair or foul, succeeded in seizing and retaining it. The upshot, in fact, may be described as a separation between Church and State, although in this case the State retained most of the *prerogatives*, religious as well as civil, which had formerly been exercised by the Church.

But as the Imâm Sa'îd died during the regency of his nephew the Seyyid Sa'îd, (between 1811-1821), the question arises why the latter did not subsequently lay claim to the title, and why it has been in abeyance ever since. The people at Máskat and Zanzibar, whom I consulted on this point, seemed unable to account for it; the following are my own conjectures on the subject:—The claim must have been submitted to a fresh adjudication; for although, like his father, the Seyyid Sa'îd, after seizing the regency, obtained a number of votes sufficient, in his own estimation, to authorize his retention of that office, the Ibâdhiyah theory required that the people of 'Omân generally should have a voice in conferring the Imâmate. But with all the Seyyid's popularity on the coast and his fame abroad, it is by no means unlikely that a majority of the more fanatical inland tribes—several of which had become deeply imbued with Wahhâbeeism—would have voted against his promotion to that dignity. Another drawback was, that his frequent absence at Zanzibar, where he mainly resided after the death of his uncle, prevented him from discharging one of the principal functions of Imâm—that of leading in the public prayers of the 'Omânis. Moreover, political considerations led him to prefer Máskat to er-Rastâk as a place of residence, whenever he visited the mother-country; but the mosque at er-Rastâk had been the cathedral of the Imâms for ages, and perhaps it had come to be regarded as indispensable that their successors should be installed and should officiate there. The Seyyid Sa'îd's well known liberal sentiments on matters of religion and indifference to its precepts have been alleged as one reason why the title of Imâm was not conferred upon him; but, judging from the biography of his predecessors, theological attainments and personal piety were not regarded

practically as necessary qualifications for the office.[1] Possibly, also, the derangement in the popular belief of the 'Omânis, caused by the attempts first made by the Wahhâbis during the reign of Sultân, the Seyyid Sa'îd's father and predecessor, to proselyte them to their creed, had some influence in shaking the foundation of their politico-religious system, and led to the abandonment of the antagonistic attitude involved in their retention of an Imâmate. Thus much is certain, that whether from conviction or prudential considerations—most probably the latter—the Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân have made great concessions in matters of religion to the fanaticism of their powerful and dangerous neighbours, the Wahhâbis. Lastly, in addition to these considerations, it should be borne in mind that, according to the peculiar doctrines of the Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be an Imâmate.

Passing on from this review of the order of succession and the changes which it has undergone,—merely observing, by the way, that no new feature has been introduced into it since the death of the Seyyid Sa'îd-bin-Sultân,—I shall proceed to inquire

[1] "In order to attain the title of Imâm," writes Wellsted, "it is necessary at the period of his election that he should possess sufficient theological attainments to preach before the assembled chiefs, by whom he is chosen, and their followers; and also that he should not embark on board ships. The latter,—as in the case of Saaf, [Seif-bin-Sultân], who took possession of the ports on the African coast and their dependencies, is, after installation, overlooked; but the former they consider so indispensably binding that Sayyid Sa'id, who either does not possess the necessary attainments or fancies so, has dispensed with the ceremony altogether, and, in consequence, receives from his subjects the title of Sayyid, or prince, only." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 9.

The remarks to which this quotation is appended as a foot-note serve to rectify Wellsted's statements on the same subject; he is, moreover, mistaken in supposing preaching to be one of the Imâm's functions. With regard to the assertion that going to sea, either before or after installation, was a disqualification for the office, all I can say is that the 'Omânis whom I consulted never broached such an idea; that it is inconsistent with their predilections as a maritime people; that not the least trace of it appears in this History; and, further, that it is incorrect in fact, since several of the Imâms visited the coasts of 'Omân by sea, as well before as after their installation, and some of the el-Ya'arubah, and notably Ahmed-bin-Sa'id of the Âl-Bú-Sa'id dynasty, unquestionably navigated the Persian Gulf after their installation.

into the special prerogatives and functions of the Imâms of 'Omân, prefacing the inquiry with a few words touching the mode of election.

Election, as we have seen, was a fundamental principle with the Ibâdhiyah, but it was not carried out by a *plébiscitum*. The people undoubtedly had a voice in it, but it was through their chiefs, who assembled in solemn conclave under the presidency of one of their number, whose personal character or abilities in general estimation raised him to that prëeminence, to discuss the merits of competing candidates. The elections usually took place at the capital for the time being, and the resident Kâdhi and grandees exercised a predominant influence in the council. What particular chiefs were privileged to join in the debates and to vote does not appear, except that, as a rule, most or all of them belonged to 'Omân proper; but the occasion usually drew a large concourse of people to the metropolis, who awaited in the vicinity of the chamber the result of its deliberations. The candidate duly elected received first the recognition of the electors, after which the president went forth and proclaimed him Imâm in the presence of the assembled crowds, who thereupon tendered him their allegiance, probably by acclamation, no specific form being mentioned in connection with the ceremony.

The foregoing account of an election to the Imâmate is compiled mainly from a detailed description of the election and installation of Râshid-bin-el-Walid to that office, (see p. 31,) about A.D. 940. The details are omitted in the narrative of all the subsequent elections recorded, which in course of time appear to have been conducted with much less ceremony, especially after the range of eligibility to the Imâmate had been contracted from that of the nation at large to the members of one family, as in the case of the el-Ya'arubah and the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd dynasties. The people collectively, however, did not always approve of the Council's nominee, and the dissentients, when powerful enough, refused to recognize his authority, and not unfrequently set up an Imâm of their own. Many of the intestine feuds of 'Omân arose out of a conflict of opinion among the tribes regarding the legitimacy of the elections.

The first duty of the newly-elected Imâm was to lead in the

public prayers of the mosque. This was done on Friday, the Muslims' day of solemn assembly, and repeated every succeeding Friday during his Imâmate. If several days intervened between his election and Friday, he proceeded at once to exercise the other prerogatives of sovereignty. He either confirmed in their appointments the district-collectors, governors of towns and commandants of the forts throughout the country, or replaced them by nominees of his own.[1] The Collectors received on his behalf the *Sadakât* and *Zakât*, (see notes, pp. 31, 28, 124), and other proceeds to which his twofold office entitled him. These latter consisted of charitable bequests and pious endowments, derelict property, property to which there was no legal heir, and the rental from land or houses which had fallen to the State from those sources, and which together formed the *Beit-el-Mâl*, or Treasury, (see note, p. 46). This was at the Imâm's absolute disposal, theoretically for carrying on "holy wars" and for the defence of Islâm, which included the maintenance of the forts, garrisons, and shipping; also for building mosques and the support of the poor. He also received the custom-dues at the different ports of the province,[2] which are levied on imports only, —an income of comparatively recent growth, for it was not until after the expulsion of the Portuguese, about A.D. 1651, that the 'Omânis exercised any jurisdiction over the coast. It is useless to speculate how this additional revenue would have been disposed of under the old system, which has gone into desuetude, and now the receipts from all sources are practically amalgamated, and the gross amount applied, at the will of the sovereign, to the general purposes of the administration, including the civil list and the support of the ruling family, most of the members of which, however, have towns or districts assigned to them in appanage, besides having private resources of their own.[3]

[1] The forts, fortresses, and castles are regarded as public property: they are subject to the authority and are garrisoned and maintained by the Imâm. The *Hujrahs* (see note, p. 20) belong to the tribe or people where they are located. Over these the Imâm has no control.

[2] The rulers of 'Omân of late years have generally farmed these dues. They are mostly bought by Banians.

[3] This custom, which dates from the period when eligibility to the

In this respect the position of the later rulers of 'Omân is far more independent than it was in former times, when some of them at least appear to have received, or to have been satisfied with, a very limited allowance for personal expenditure from the Beit-el-Mâl, barely sufficient to provide them with the necessaries of life, (see pp. 76, 77).

As regards the administration of justice, all ordinary suits were left to the Kâdhi, or Judge, who decided them according to the institutes of the Korân; more important cases were submitted to a council, under the presidency of the Kâdhi, but their decision was subject to be annulled or modified by that of the Imâm, "who took the precedence over all the nobles in the administration of the affairs of 'Omân," (p. 49), and whose decree was final. These processes, however, were confined to the principal towns, for the Imâm's authority was, and that of the ruling Seyyid still is, barely nominal in other parts of the province and among the tribes, each tribe acting ordinarily as a civil community, the smaller being in a great measure under the influence of the greater. Theoretically, the chiefs are responsible to the Imâm for the good government of their respective districts; practically, they are independent of him, and settle all matters of dispute among themselves according to their own tribal laws and customs, the Imâm seldom interfering with them, unless for acts of rebellion and for refusing to supply their quota of men, in cases of emergency, for the defence of the State or in support of his authority.

Apart from his strictly religious functions which, as we have seen, were mainly confined to leading in the prayers of the mosque once a week, and to the superintendence of pious enterprises and endowments, the Imâm in his capacity of Prince held much the same position as the sovereign in the old feudal system of Europe; the chief represents the barons, and the people, released from taxation, hold possession of the soil on the same tenure as the ancient vassal, namely, military service.

Imâmate and regency became practically restricted to the members of the ruling family, has had the most pernicious effect on the welfare of the principality. Seyyids who have had such appanages assigned to them have, as a rule, assumed sovereign rights and set the central authority at defiance.

APPENDIX.

(B.)

THE IBÂDHIYAH.

To avoid needless repetition, I refer the reader to Appendix A for an account of the *Khawârij*, of which sect the *Ibâdhiyah* are an offshoot. The derivation of the name from 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, el-Temîmy,[1] who lived during the reign of the Khalîfah Marwân, A.H. 127-132 = A.D. 744-749, is affirmed by the following authorities:—

Under the heading of *'Omân*, Zakârya bin-Muhammad-bin-Mahmûd, generally quoted as "el-Kazwiny," writes:—"The Khawârij Ibâdhiyah prevail in that country up to our time, [13th century?], and the members of no other sect are to be found there, except such as are foreigners. They are the followers of 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, who appeared in the time of Marwân-bin-Muhammad, the last of the Benu-Omeyyah." *Kosmographie*, vol. i. p. 37. Ed. Ferd. Wusterfeld. Gottingen, 1847.

The *Tâj-el-'Arûs* of the Seyyid Murtádha', a compilation from the best Arabic lexicons, A.D. 1753-1767, explains the term as designating "a sect of the Khawârij, whose founder was 'Abdal-

[1] The Benu-Temîm, one of the most considerable tribes of Arabia, ascribe their origin to Temîm—born about A.D. 120—the son of Murr, a descendant of Múdhar through Tâbikhah, and therefore of the race of 'Adnân and Ma'add. They were dispersed over the north-east of Nejd, from the Syrian desert to the borders of el-Yamâmah. Their territory comprised the vast desert called *Dahnâ*, and extended on the south between the confines of el-Yamâmah and el-Bahrein. Several important tribes claim to be the issue of Temîm, among which is the Benu-Mukâis, subdivided into the Benu-Minsâr and the Benu-Sarîh. From the latter sprang 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, the chief of the heretical Muslims styled *Ibâdhiyah*, and also 'Abdallah-bin-Suffâr, the head of the *es-Sufriyyah* sect. See Caussin de Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. ii. pp. 411-2.

lah-bin-Ibâdh, et-Temîmy. They arose during the Khalîfate of Marwân, the last of the Benu-Omeyyah."

Ibn-Batûta, who visited 'Omân, A.D. 1328, associates them with the Khawârij by attributing to them the opinions of Ibn-Múljam, the murderer of 'Aly :[1] -"The inhabitants are schismatics of the Ibâdhiyah sect. They fall in with the opinions of the base Ibn-Múljam, and say that he is the saint who shall put an end to error. They allow the Califats of Abu Bekr and Omar, but deny those of Othman and Ali. Their wives are most base, yet without denying this, they express nothing like jealousy on the subject." Lee's Translation, p. 62.

The Khawârij origin of the Ibâdhiyah and the derivation of their distinctive title from 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh are clearly set forth in these quotations.

Before entering into further details respecting the peculiar doctrines of these sectaries, I shall adduce three or four extracts from the writings of the very few European authors who have noticed them :—

The judicious Niebuhr, whose narrative is a marvel of research, considering that it was written upwards of a century ago, says : "The inhabitants of 'Omân profess to belong to a sect called *Abâdi* or *Bojasi*, long well known to Arabian authors, but not hitherto mentioned, to my knowledge, by any European traveller. The Sunnites as well as the Shiites call them *Chauaredsji*, but this is a soubriquet, as odious in 'Omân as the name of *Rafedi* to the Persians, and that of *Ketzer* (Heretics) to the Germans. Abulfaragc speaks of these *Chauaredsji*, and I have no doubt they are the same that Sale and others style *Kharejites*. Their principles, some of which I have quoted in my *Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 18, 19, agree very much with those to whom others have given the name of *Kharejites*, namely, they do not

[1] The assassination of the Khalîfah 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, and the motives which actuated it, had such an important bearing on the subsequent developments of Islâm, that an exhaustive paper on the subject, compiled from original sources—some of them but little known in Europe—and transmitted to me from Cairo by Mr. Frederick Ayrton, will, I am sure, be duly appreciated. It is given in Appendix C.

prefer the descendants either of Muhammad or 'Aly over those of other Arabs of ancient family." *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. pp. 66, 67.

The late Lieutenant J. R. Wellsted, of the Indian Navy, regards them in like manner as "belonging to the sect of the Khuwarijites, (called also *Biazi*,) a class of Mohammedans found also in other parts of the East." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 322. Wellsted's knowledge even of colloquial Arabic was very superficial, but he succeeded in obtaining a written statement of the peculiar doctrines of the Ibâdhiyah from one of their sheikhs in Omân.[1] It is much to be regretted that he was not able to make better use of the document: the specific information which it probably supplied is, for the most, so abridged and mixed up in his narrative with generalities from extraneous and familiar sources, that it is difficult to discriminate between them. It is quite clear, moreover, that neither Wellsted nor Niebuhr had any definite idea of the peculiar doctrines of the Ibâdhiyah Khawârij.

Mr. Francis Warden, Member of Council at Bombay, in his *Brief Notes relative to the Province of 'Omân*, gives the following extraordinary account of the sect:—"Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, led a force into Oman from Yemen, and, having established intercourse with the Nejd tribes, returned. This introduction of the Yemends [Yemenis] into the province formed a new sect, and in time a new religion, as they embraced that schism which is known under the name of Khurej, or Seceders, but who call themselves Beazoo, or the Pures; whilst the Ool-Yesdee [el-Azd] and other tribes have remained strict Soonites." *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 42, 43. Barring the identification of the Ibâdhiyah with the Khawârij, all these statements are flagrantly erroneous. It is only fair to state on behalf of the writer that they were drawn up as far back as 1819.

Mr. William Gifford Palgrave, whose recent work on Arabia justly entitles him to prëeminence among Eastern travellers, gives a widely different derivation alike to the name and to the

[1] I met Wellsted at Alexandria in 1836 and spent twenty-one days' quarantine with him at Malta; he was then on his way to England to publish his narrative. He showed me the MS. referred to and wished me to translate it. Unfortunately, I was unable to do so at the time.

tenets of the Ibâdhiyah, associating the former with that assumed by the followers of el-Mukánna', and the latter with those of the Karâmitah. The distinguished author shall speak for himself:—

"One event alone, a memorable epoch in the history of Islam, one storm that lashed them all into fury, rippled the still surface of 'Omān and diversified its annals. The inhabitants of Djebel-Akhdar and the Bātinah were not wholly estranged from the neighbouring regions of Hasa, and the outbreak of the Batinceyah or secret sects so widely diffused through the latter province, had its origin mainly in 'Omān, a land long before schooled by the teaching of the Kataree and his fellows. Hence, when the Carmathian movement convulsed Arabia, 'Omān was not wholly exempt from the vicissitudes which deluged the Peninsula with blood, and her mountains supplied a large contingent to the troops of the Djenābee and Aboo-Tāhir. When the Carmathians were in their turn subdued, 'Omān had all to fear from the vengeance of the victorious party, a vengeance that they only escaped through the strength of their territorial position. An expedition was directed against them by one of the Abbaside caliphs (which, I could not learn), and laid waste the villages of Katar and the province of Sharjah up to Djebel-'Okdah, beyond which the invaders were unable to penetrate.

"These new hostilities on the part of Islam suggested to the sectarian 'Omānees the expediency of new measures, and above all of a distinctive badge which might serve as a rallying signal in war and danger. To this end, like the kindred tribe of the Druses in the far-off west, the men of 'Omān assumed the white turban for their especial token, and from it acquired the name of 'Abādeeyah' or 'Biadeeyah,' that is, 'White Boys'—to give the word a corresponding Irish translation—in contradistinction to the green of the Fatimites and the black of the Abbasides. The title of Biadeeyah, first peculiar to the Carmathians alone, soon became common to the entire population of 'Omān, and has remained theirs up to the present day." Again: "With the relics of Sabæan practice, and a groundwork of Carmathian free-thinking, the Biadeeyah, like the Druses, Ismaileeyah, Anseyreeyah, and other similar sects, mix certain modifications derived from Mahometan law, and sufficient for a disguise when necessary, or at least for a species of apology in presence of Muslims." And, again: "The Biadeeyah, a compound of Sabæans, Batineeyah, and Carmathians, inheritors of Mokannaa' and Aboo-Tahir, will at times pass themselves off on a stranger for tolerably orthodox Mahometans."[1]

With all due respect for so distinguished an orientalist as Mr. Palgrave, I am constrained to point out that several of the state-

[1] *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262, 265.

ments contained in the foregoing extracts are based on misconception. It is tolerably clear, in the first place, that he identifies the Ibâdhiyah with the Karâmitah. That is an error; the former, as we have seen from the native authorities quoted at the commencement of this article, had a common origin with the Khawârij, who rose up in the reign of 'Aly, A.H. 35-40=A.D 655-660, and became a distinct sect in 'Omân, under the leadership of 'Abdallah bin-Ibâdh, et-Temîmy, during the Khalifate of Marwân, A.H. 127-132= A.D. 744-749. The Karâmitah, on the other hand, were unknown until upwards of a century later.[1]

The respective creeds of the Karamitah and the Khawârij differed *in toto*: the latter were regarded as heretical chiefly for denying the doctrine of the Succession to the Imâmate as held by their opponents the Sunnis and the Shîa'ahs, and for their peculiar notions about sin; the Karâmitah (see note, p. 27) virtually abrogated the precepts of the Kurân by turning them into allegory. "The real object of this sect," writes Baron de Sacy, 'was to lead men to atheism and immorality, and to teach them to contemn even those first eternal principles of order and of justice which are engraven on the heart of man by the author of his being, and, still more, every idea of a revelation or of a Divine authority."[2] Further, the Isma'ilyyah and the el-Bâtiniyyah, with whom Mr. Palgrave also associates the Ibâdhiyah, had nothing in common with the latter sect: they were, in fact, Karâmitah, under different names. The learned author just quoted says: "*Karmates* is not the primitive name of the sect so styled. The real name of these sectaries is *Ismaelis* or *Ismaeliens*. They had already existed for some time when they were called *Karmates*, a name under which they became subsequently famous. Perhaps the designation should only be regarded as indicating a particular branch of the Ismaëlis."[3] In like manner, the term

[1] "Cependant la secte des Schis se répandait de plus en plus, jusqu'à ce que l'on vit naître celle des Karmates dont l'auteur fut Hamdan, fils d'Aschath, surnommé *Karmat*. Il commença à être question des Karmates en l'an [A.H.] 264; ce fut dans le territoire de Basra que parût ce personage, et sa secte se répandit d'abord dans l'Irak." De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, vol. i. p. xx.

[2] *Idem*, p. xxxiv.

[3] *Idem*, vol. i. p. lxiii-iv. In his subsequent pages the author gives an account of the Isma îl whom he considers as the originator of the sect.

el-Bâtiniyyah was common to the Ismâ'îliyyah and the Karâmitah, designating them as having embraced the *'Ilm-el-Batin*, that is, the *Science of the Interior Sense*, as De Sacy renders the title.[1]

Further, Mr. Palgrave was led to believe that the 'Omânis so far sympathized with the Karâmitah of el-Bahrein under their original leaders Abu-Sa'îd, el-Janâby, and his son Abu-Tâhir, that they supplied large contingents to aid them in carrying on war against the Muslims. So far from this being the case, we have the testimony of Nowairy (see note, p. 27) to the effect that the expedition sent into 'Omân by the Karâmitah under Abu-Sa'îd was nearly exterminated by the people of the country; and the curse invoked by the Ibâdhiyah author of this History on Abu-Sa'îd himself, and the religious horror with which he recounts some of the more prominent doctrines of the Karâmitah, (p. 28), are sufficient to prove that the principles of the two sects were utterly antagonistic.

Again, in enumerating the Ibâdhiyah among the "inheritors of Mokannaa'," Mr. Palgrave has fallen into an equally serious mistake. El Mukánna' was the title given to a famous impostor named Hâkim-bin-Hâshim, a native of Merû in Khorassân, who had been under-secretary to Abu-Muslim, the governor of that province. He subsequently turned soldier, and passed over into Ma-wara-'n-Náhar, where he gave himself out to be a prophet. Having made many proselytes and seized several fortified places, he rebelled against the Abbaside Khalîfah el-Mehdy (A.H. 158-169=A.D. 775-785,) who dispatched an army against him. Rather than yield, he first poisoned all the members of his own family who were with him in the beleaguered castle and burnt their bodies, and then committed suicide by throwing himself into the flames, A.H. 162 or 163. He used to wear a veil to hide his face from his followers, and also a mask of gold with the same object,

[1] Sale confirms what is here stated, quoting the best authorities on the subject:—"The Bâtenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians, were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the East. The word signifies Esoterics, or People of inward or hidden light or knowledge." *Preliminary Discourse to the Kurân*, p. 247.

which obtained for him the cognomen of *el-Mukánna'*, sometimes that of *el-Burkâ'y*, or the Veiled. His doctrine, according to D'Herbelot, was, that "after God had commanded the angels to worship the first man, Adam,[1] He assumed a human form and figure; that after Adam's death, He appeared in the form of several of the prophets and other personages elected by Him to that end, until He took that of Abu-Muslim, the prince of Khorassân, [el-Mukánna''s former superior,] who believed in *et-Tanâsukhiyyah*, or Metempsychosis; and that after the death of that prince the Divinity passed from him and descended into his person."[1]

These peculiar tenets, I need scarcely say, are utterly repugnant to those professed by the Ibâdhiyah, and there is not the least evidence to prove that they ever found their way in 'Omân. Mr. Palgrave was most probably led astray by the resemblance between the two names, *el-Mubayyidhûn* or *el-Mubayyidhah* and el-Ibâdhiyah: the former means the Whites, the title given to the followers of el-Mukánna', who adopted white garments to distinguish themselves from the *Musawwidah*, or Blacks, who obeyed the Abbaside Khalîfahs, whose chosen colour was black; the latter, as I have already shown, is derived from the leader of the sect in 'Omân, 'Abdallah-bin-Ibâdh, who flourished thirty years at least before el-Mukánna'. It is open to question, moreover, whether the word *Ibâdh* proceeds from the same root (*bâdha*, to surpass in whiteness), as Mubayyidhûn; it more probably comes from *ábadha* or *ábidha*, to tie or strengthen the leg of a camel. *Ibâdh*, a derivative noun from that root, means a nerve, or a certain vein in the hind leg of a horse. If any further proof were required to rebut the notion of the Ibâdhiyah being "Whites," or "White Boys," it is forthcoming in the fact that the Ibâdhiyah of 'Omân do not affect white garments.

I shall now proceed to give some further account of the peculiar religious tenets of the Ibâdhiyah from an original source, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Frederick Ayrton. The following extract is the more valuable as being the only in-

[1] Kurân, *Sûrat-el-A'arâf* (vii.) 10.

[2] *Bibliothique Orientale*, sub voce *Hakem*.

formation on the subject which my friend, aided by well-read native scholars, succeeded in finding after a careful search through the writings of many of the best Arabian authors. It is taken from page 47 of the *Kitâb-el-Milal wa'n-Nihal* (Religions and Sects) by Muhammad-ibn-'Abdu-'l-Kerîm, esh Shahristâny, who died A.H. 548=A.D. 1153. Translated into Turkish by Nûh-ibn-Mustáfa Effendi, er-Rûmy, el-Misry, el-Hánafy, deceased A.H. 1070=A.D. 1659, and printed at the Búlâk press, at Cairo, A.H. 1263=A.D. 1846.

"The Ibâdhiyah derive their name from 'Abdallah-ibn-Ibâdh. They state as their opinions:—'Our opponents, the *Ahlu-'l-Kiblah* [*i. e.* Muslims] are unbelievers, but not polytheists; marriages with them are lawful; and in time of war the taking of their property as booty is lawful, but not in the absence of war.' They also say: 'the country of our opponents, the people of Islâm, is the country of *es-Salâm* [peace] to us, except the place in which are troops of their [the Muslim's] Sultân, which is then not the abode of *es-Salâm* [peace] but of violence.' They admit the evidence of their opponents [the Muslims] against their people. They hold that the sinner of a great sin[1] may be an attester of the Unity of God, but not a [true] believer, inasmuch as acts enter into faith. They also affirm that power precedes the act; that the act of a man is created of God; that all the world will perish as will perish the people under the obligation of obedience [to God]; that he who commits the great sin of denying God's grace is an unbeliever, but that, in denying the denomination of his sect, he is not an unbeliever. They are silent as to the state of infidelity of the children of infidels, and as to a hypocrite being [necessarily] a polytheist or not; also, as to the validity of the mission of an Apostle[2] without signs and miracles; also, as to its being compulsory to follow what has been revealed to him or not. They account 'Aly (may God be gracious to him!) and most of the Companions [of Muhammad] as in infidelity. They are divided into four sects:—

"1. *El-Hafsiyyah*, derived from Abu-Hafs-bin-el-Mukdâm, who

[1] "Great sins, such as murder, fornication, theft, wine-drinking, repudiation of parents, usury, perjury, violence, sodomy, bestiality, seducing married women into adultery, falsely accusing the *'Ulamâ* [learned], slander, forgery, and robbing orphans of their property. Some *'Ulamâ* say that obstinacy in a little sin makes it a great sin, and if such great sin partakes of the turpitude of any of the foregoing, then it is a great sin; if not, it is a little sin."

[2] "An Apostle is a male of the human race whom God has inspired with a law which he is to practise and to make known to mankind."

say that between faith and polytheism is a middle course, which is the knowledge of God, (may He be magnified and glorified!) and therefore that whoever knows God, and denies every other than Him, and yet commits one of the greater sins, is an infidel, though not a polytheist.

"2. *El-Yezîdiyyah*, derived from Yezîd-bin-Anîsah, [the latter a female name,] who are deeper in infidelity and heresy than the [original] Ibâdhiyah. These say that God, (may He be glorified!) will send a Prophet[1] from a foreign country with a Book, and that Book is written in heaven, and will descend upon him [the Prophet] at a single time [*i. e.* not in chapters,] and that he will discard the law of Muhammad, (may God grant him mercy and salvation!) and incline to the religion of the Sabæans[2] mentioned in the Kurân.

"3. *El-Hârithiyyah* derived from el-Hâreth, el-Ibâdhy. They are at variance with the original Ibâdhiyah on predestination, that is to say, in that the deeds of men are created of God, and that power to do precedes the doing.

"4. These are they who hold by an obedience which God has not ordained, that is to say, they affirm that should a man do what is commanded of him, and not intend it to [the honour of] God, yet that this is [true] obedience. Hence, according to them, Intention is not a condition of true piety. But this doctrine is opposed to the Book [the Kurân,] the *Sunnah*[3] [the authorized Traditions], and the consent of the Imâms, for God said of old in His word, 'And they were commanded no other than to worship God, exhibiting towards Him the true *Dîn*,[4] [religion]. Some commentators understand the word *Dîn* to mean Intention. Moreover, the Prophet says that 'works depend on intention;'[5] and the four Imâms[6] concur in this, that the merit of works depends on the intention. Intention signifies design, that is, the design to do a thing. Now the works which depend [for their merit] on Intention, are the obligatory acts, such as prayer,

[1] "A Prophet is one whom God has inspired with a law which he himself is bound to observe, and if, in addition thereto, he is commanded to make it known to mankind, he is a Prophet and also an Apostle."

[2] Palgrave mentions several peculiarities among the 'Omânis, especially in their nomenclature for some of the principal stars and planets, and also their repeated inquiries about the pyramids of Egypt, which he regards as relics of the old Sabæan religion. *Cent. and East. Arabia*, vol. ii. 258, 263.

[3] The *Sunnah* is a sort of supplement to the Kurân, consisting of the traditions, sayings, and actions of Muhammad.

[4] Kurân, *Sûrat-el-Bâyyinah*, (xcviii.), 4.

[5] This quotation and several others in this paragraph are probably from the *Sunnah*; they are not in the Kurân.

[6] Of the four orthodox sects, namely, el Hánafy, esh-Shâfa'iy, el-Mâliky, and el-Hánbaly.

alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage; indifferent actions, such as rising and sitting, eating and drinking, do not require Intention; nevertheless, the 'Ulamâ say that if one intends eating and sleeping as aids to devotion, then such acts partake of meritorious intention; for there is no straitness in the goodness of God. The four Imâms also agree that the act which does not partake of [such] intention, being merely a means to another, such as ablution is to prayer, that then it has no value, but is vain and vicious. And in proof that the worthiness of works depends on the intention, we have his [Muhammad's] words, 'works depend on intention,'[1] and 'To every one shall be meted out as he intended,'[1] that is to say, the merit of works consists in the intention with which they are wrought. And again, 'the intention of the believer is better than his act.'[1] Therefore, the work wrought without intention is vain and corrupt, and without any merit: it has no standing-ground, not being based on intention. The Muslim who believes with a pure intention shall attain to immortality in heaven; the unbeliever, with his evil intention, shall be immortal in fire."

The doctrines of the Ibâdhiyah, as far as they are to be gathered from the Arabian authorities adduced in the foregoing dissertation, differ from those of the orthodox Muslims on three cardinal points. 1st. On the Imâmate, respecting which they deny the right of succession to be inherent in any particular family or class, holding, on the contrary, that it depends on the election of the people, and that there is no absolute necessity for any Imâm at all. (Their denial of the Imâmate to 'Othmân and 'Aly and to their Successors in the Khalîfate comes under this head.) 2ndly. Predestination and Free will. Although the Sunnites differ greatly among themselves on these dogmas, the opinion more generally entertained among them is, that man has power and will to choose good and evil, and can moreover know that he shall be rewarded if he do well, and be punished if he do ill; but that he depends, notwithstanding, on God's power, and willeth, if God will, but not otherwise. The Ibâdhiyah, on the other hand, are charged with holding predestination in such a sense as to make God the author of evil as well as good. 3rdly. On the merit and demerit of human actions. According to the Muslim author last quoted, the Ibâdhiyah are opposed to the orthodox in maintaining that a good intention is not necessary to

[1] See note 5, p. 393.

render an act meritorious; that a man may deny the sect to which he belongs without incurring the guilt of infidelity; but that the commission of one of the greater sins places him beyond the pale of salvation.[1]

If any additional argument were needed to prove the antiquity of the Ibâdhiyah as a sect, these doctrines of theirs amply supply the deficiency. Severally and in their ramifications they belong to the infancy of Islâm,—the age of the Khawârij, the Kádariyyah, the Mu'atázalah, the Sefâtiyyah, and a long list of other Separatists, who arose within two centuries after the death of Muhammad,[2] when Greek and Persian philosophy had already begun to darken the comparatively simple teaching of the Kurân. Similar differences have agitated and divided the Church of Christ from a very early period, and do so still; and the reader can hardly fail to have recognized, in these points of divergence among Muslims, a strong likeness to the opposite views which Christian theologians entertain on apostolical succession, predestination and election, justification and reprobation, faith and works, mortal and venial sins, the merit of congruity and condignity, and other cognate dogmas. And, as in Christendom, the great majority of each sect is led by a name rather than by an intelligent appreciation of the peculiar tenets taught by its leaders; in like manner, it is very much to be questioned whether the generality of Muslim sectarians at the present day, the Ibâdhiyah included, have any adequate conception of the differences which separate them from one another and from the great

[1] The peculiar views of his sect on the heinousness of sin were evidently present to the Ibâdhiyah author of the document obtained by Lieut. Wellsted when he wrote the following passage, which is given entire in Wellsted's narrative:—"We conclude such [all other Muslim sects] to be devoted to ruin; enemies of God, infidels, whose portion hereafter shall be in Gehenna for ever. They deny the eternity of future punishments, [to Muslims who have fallen into infidelity]; they diminish the enormity of sin; we enhance it. Surely, the portion of the wicked will be for ever, for God is great." *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 328.

[2] The reader will find them enumerated in Sale's Introduction to the Kurân, pp. 201-236. Also in Pocock's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, pp. 212-268.

body of the Faithful, an obstinate attachment to the memory of their founders, and one or two shibboleths of party, standing them in the stead of the most rigid orthodoxy.

With regard to religious ordinances and ceremonial, the Ibâdhiyah do not appear to differ in any important respect from the orthodox, except perhaps that their observance of them is characterized by a greater simplicity. Mr. Palgrave says that "their 'Mezārs,' or buildings set apart for religious veneration, supply the deficiency of 'Mesjids,' or regular mosques, but they very rarely assemble for any stated form of worship; their prayers are uttered in a low and inaudible voice, accompanied by inflections and prostrations different from those employed in Mahometan devotion.[1]" I am satisfied that this is a mistaken judgment, based upon a very limited acquaintance with the habits of the people generally, and derived from the author's experience of Máskat alone, a seaport where a large proportion of the population consists of foreigners, and, like seaports in other parts of the world, not much given to religion.[2] The reader will have remarked how frequently mention is incidentally made in this History of the Friday services; of the observance of the stated times of prayer, with their accompanying ablutions and postures; of the duty of alms-giving, the Hijj, and the devout reading of the Kurân. Mosques (*Jâma'*) exist in most of the principal towns, and *Másjids* (Oratories or Places of Worship) in localities of lesser note. The word *Mazâr* (literally, a Place of Visitation) occurs only two or three times throughout this narrative, and is properly applied to the building over a tomb; but not the least hint is given that these shrines are used for a purpose different to that which prevails in other Muslim countries, where they are occasionally visited either with the view of paying honour to the deceased, or for the sake of urging some special petition through their intercession; certainly, they are not used in 'Omân as places for congregational worship.

[1] *Central and Eastern Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 262-3.

[2] In another place Mr. Palgrave says of Máskat: "Religion is here of all kinds and denominations; but the golden calf counts, I think, more sincere worshippers at Mascat than any other divinity soever." *Ibid.*, p. 366.

Mr. Palgrave animadverts on Niebuhr's statement that "the Ibâdhiyah do not smoke and do not drink coffee, much less strong liquors, and distinguished personages do not dress more richly than those of a lower rank, except that they wear a turban more or less costly." The critic surmises that the author mistook some Wahhâby strangers at Máskat for the people of the country. My impression is that Niebuhr drew his conclusions from the habits of the court—if that term may be applied to the regent at the time and to the Seyyids of his family. Whether from religious scruples or through a prudential deference to the dreaded Wahhâbis I cannot say, but I know from familiar personal experience with the late Seyyid Thuwainy, the Seyyid Mâjid at Zanzibar, and several of their brothers and near relatives, that none of them smoked or drank coffee. Coffee, indeed, is regarded as a lawful beverage by the Ibâdhiyah, and is therefore in universal use among the people. It is notorious, moreover, that many of that sect at Máskat and in other parts of the country indulge in wine and spirituous liquors, but they do so, as do many Turks and other Muslims, in direct violation of the laws which they profess to regard as sacred. It is also true that tobacco is largely used at most of the seaports of 'Omân, but it is remarkable that Wellsted never once mentions it in his lists of the products of the country, or as being used by the inhabitants of the interior, although he gives several detailed accounts of their convivialities, and mentions particularly that in the Jebel-Akhdar "large quantities of wine are made, of which the inhabitants at their meals partake most freely and openly; and at all the principal towns where sugar is manufactured, they distil from its refuse an indifferent rum, which in the country finds a ready sale."[1] I am therefore inclined to question the correctness of Mr. Palgrave's remark that "tobacco is a staple article of the country, both for use and exportation," or that its use is so universal among the people as his words seem to imply. I do not imagine that smoking is forbidden by the tenets of the Ibâdhiyah, but my impression is that the gradual prevalence of Wahhâby austerity and influence over a large portion of the in-

[1] *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 344.

terior, especially the district of ezh-Zhâhirah, has led to its being regarded in the light of a questionable indulgence even by their Ibâdhiyah neighbours.

In point of morals, I am persuaded that the Ibâdhiyah are on a par with Muslims generally. If they are less moral, as some writers seem to hold, it cannot fairly be attributed to their peculiar tenets, which, if anything, inculcate greater severity of conduct under more awful sanctions. The reproach about the indifference of husbands and wives to the conjugal tie, which Ibn-Batûta charged them with four centuries ago, has been repeated in modern times, but Ibn-Batûta as an orthodox Muslim was hardly an impartial judge of the heretical Khawârij, and scarcely any European has had any experience of the country beyond the sea-coast, with the exception of Wellsted, whose free-spoken narrative contains nothing which can lead the reader to believe that the inhabitants, male and female, were conspicuous for laxity of conduct either in social intercourse among themselves or towards strangers.

On the whole, the Ibâdhiyah, as regards faith and practice, seem to me to hold a position towards Islâm orthodoxy not unlike that of the Nonconformist Calvinistic bodies in this country towards the community of the Established Church. In their religious toleration of all other sects, which, as Wellsted justly remarks, "forms one of the most prominent features of the government," they are—to use an Arabic phrase—a conspicuous example to those who possess discernment.

APPENDIX.

(C.)

An account of the murder of the Khalîfah 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, collected from the Arabic authors cited.

"It is related that three of the *Khawârij*[1] assembled together, namely, 'Abd-er-Rahmân-ibn-Múljam, el-Murâdy,[2] 'Omar-ibn-Bekr, et-Temîmy,[3] and el-Bárak-ibn-'Abdallah, et-Temîmy, called also el-Hajjâj. They were talking of their brethren, the seceders, slain at Nahruwân,[4] and said, if we were to kill the chiefs of the

[1] See Appendix A., pp. 374-5.

[2] I can find no account of the tribe Murâd.

[3] In the *Sabâik-edz-Dzâhab, fi Ma'arifat-Kabâil-el-'Arab*, by the Sheikh Abi-'l-Faur-Muhammad-Amîn, el-Baghdâdy, well-known as es-Sawaidy, (Baghdâd, A.H. 1280, lithog.), the Benu-Temîm are stated to be a tribe descended from Tâbikhah, whose name was 'Amr, who was descended from Khindif, the descendant of Mudhr, of the 'Adnaniyyah. Temîm, in Arabic, signifies strong. The Benu-Temîm dwelt in Nejd and in the parts between el-Básrah and el-Kûfah. They were afterwards dispersed among the towns.

[4] *Nahruwân*, so vocalized by Abulféda. It is not easy to fix the site of the town or particular district of this name near which 'Aly discomfited his opponents, the *Khawârij*, A.H. 38=A.D. 658-9. In some maps there is a Nahruwân placed twelve miles east of the Tigris, about the same number of miles before it joins the Euphrates at el-Kûrnah. D'Herbelot also mentions a Nahruwân between Baghdâd and Vasseth (Wâsit), four leagues east of the Tigris,—Wâsit itself being so-called from its position, midway between el-Kûfah and el-Básrah. But in the map of Arabia, compiled by Walker, 1849, "Wasat" is placed in 46° 8′ E., 32° 1′ N., on the Shatt-el-Hai, (*Háyyah*, from its crookedness), which flows from the Tigris considerably below Baghdâd into the Euphrates, a position which leaves Wâsit only a little to the north of a straight line drawn from el-Kufâh (Mash-had-'Aly) to el-Básrah, though to reach this Wâsit from el-Kûfah the Euphrates would have to be crossed, and the same again to reach el-Básrah from Wâsit. This Nahruwân, however, cannot be the

heresy we should give repose to [illegible] people." (From the *History* by Ibn-el-Wardy, vol. i, p. 133, Cairo, A.H. 1285). According to Zubair-ibn-Bakkâr, the survivors of the Khawârij agreed together to kill 'Aly, Mo'âwiyah, and 'Omar-bin-el-'Âs.[1] According to Muhammad-ibn-Sa'ad, three men of the Khawârij, namely, 'Abd-allah-er-Rahmân-ibn-Múljam, el-Murâdy, who was descended from Himyar, but accounted of the Benu-Murâd, and affiliated to the Benu-Jábalah, (descended) from Kindah,[2] el-Bárak-ibn-'Abd-allah, et-Temîmy, and 'Omar-ibn-Bekr, et-Temîmy, having conferred together, met at Mekkah, and agreed together, and bound themselves to kill these three, namely, 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib, (may God ennoble his countenance!) Mo'âwiyah, and 'Omar-ibn-el-'Âs, and thereby rid the people of them. That thereupon Múljam said, 'I am with you for 'Aly;' el-Bárak, 'I am for you as regards Mo'âwiyah;' and 'Omar-ibn-Bekr, 'I will satisfy you as respects 'Omar-ibn-el-'Âs.' Moreover, they settled and covenanted that

one in question, connected with the history of 'Aly, because it was only built by el-Hajjâj, the governor of 'Irâk, for 'Abd-el-Málik, fifth Khalîfah of the Benu-Omeyyah, A.H. 83 or 84 *i.e.* 45 or 46 years after the battle of Nahruwân, which, as already mentioned, occurred A.H. 38. The *Kâmûs* merely says that there were three Nahruwâns, the Higher, Middle, and Lower, all situate between Baghdâd—which, by the way, was not built till the second Khâlifate of the Abbasides, A.H. 140—and Wâsit. The Nahruwân from which the battle took its name was possibly near the ancient Canal, so-called, to the east of the site of Baghdâd. Capt. Felix Jones, in his excellent memoir of this canal, in vol. xliii of the New Series of the Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government (Bombay, 1857) in the map of the canal which accompanies the memoir, places a large ruin, which he names "Sifweh," and supposes it to be "the Nahruwân of the Arab MSS."—a somewhat vague expression—ten miles east and six north of Baghdâd, close to the northern extremity of the old canal.

[1] 'Omar was the conqueror of Egypt, A.H. 20=A.D. 640, for 'Omar-ibn-el-Khattâb, the successor of Abu-Bekr, the successor of Muhammad. 'Omar's father may have been surnamed el-'Âs from having had a violent or difficult way of speaking.

[2] Kindah, called also Thaur. "Muáyyid, the lord of el-Hamâh, relates in his History that he was called Kindah because he denied his father; that is to say, the benefits which he had received from him. The town called Kindah, in Yemen, was named after him. Kindah was the son of 'Âmilah, who was of the descendants of Kahtân, descended from Sâba, descended from Yash-hub, the son of Ya'arub." *Kabâïl-el-'Arab*, quoted in note 3, p. 399.

not one of them should f
kill, but follow him until
him. The day agreed u
year 40.[1] Then each de
sided: 'Abd-er-Rahmân-
Kûfah, intending to kill 'A
for which purpose he bo
same time he used to go a
'Aly assisted him and gav
friends [of the Khawârij]
visited them and they vis
man of the Benu-Tim-er-
women, named Kitâm, th
'Âmir-bin-'Auf-bin-Tha'lab
Rabbâb, who was very be
God, etc.) had slain her fa
pleased Ibn-Múljam, and
plied, 'I have sworn not t
desire, and no other.' He
ask me nothing which I wil
thousand dinârs, a male an
of 'Aly-bin-Abi-Tâlib.' H
'Aly that I came to this t
your request.' In the Hist
he said: 'You have spoken truly, but what will the death of 'Aly profit you or me; for I know that if I kill him I shall not escape.' She replied, 'That you should kill him and escape is what I desire, for thereby my soul will be revived, and your life with me will be one of happiness.' (Hist. *Khamis*, by Husein-ibn-Muhammad, ed-Diarbékiry, Cairo, A.H. 1283, vol. ii, p. 280.) In another account she is stated to have said: 'If you are saved, you will have freed the people from his tyranny and will live with your people; if you perish, you will have departed to paradise and eternal happiness.' (*Hayât-el-Haiwân*, by ed-Damîry, vol. i, p. 58, Bulâk, A.H. 1284.) He replied: 'Be it for you as you have

[1] Thursday, the 24th of January, A.D., 661, by Gumpach's *Tables*. London, 1856.

stipulated.' Ibn-Múljam afterwards met Shabîb-ibn-Bájarah, el-Ishja'y, and addressed him thus: 'O Shabîb! are you for honour in this world and in the next?' He asked, 'What do you mean?' Ibn-Múljam said, 'Will you assist me in killing 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib?' He replied, 'Would that your mother had miscarried with you! verily, verily, you have proposed an impossible thing; how can you accomplish it?' Ibn-Múljam replied: 'He is a man who has no guard, and goes to the mosque alone, without any one to protect him, and when he goes to prayers we will kill him. If we escape, we escape; and, if we kill him, we shall be blessed in the record of the act both in this world and in paradise in the next.' The other replied: 'Woe be unto you! verily, 'Aly was the first who embraced Islâm with the Prophet, (may God grant him salvation!); my heart is not disposed to slay him.' Ibn-Múljam rejoined: 'Woe be to you! for verily he has commanded men in matters relating to the religion of God, and slain our brethren, upright men, and we will kill him for those who have been killed, and [as the Kurân says], be not in doubt about thy religion'. This satisfied the other, and then they arose and took their swords; after which they went and sat down opposite the door by which 'Aly was accustomed to come out, just as Ibn-Nabbâh, the Crier of the mosque, entered and called to prayers. Aly walked [to the mosque] preceded by Ibn-Nabbâh, and followed by his son Hásan (may God, etc.) As he came out of the door he called out to the people, 'Oh, People! oh, People! the Prayers! the Prayers!' He was wont to do this daily, coming out with his stick to awaken the people, [who might be asleep in the day time around the mosque]. Then the two men came in front of him, and one who was present at the time of the murder states: 'I heard a speaker saying: Judgment is God's, O 'Aly, and not yours or your companions';' whereupon I saw two swords striking 'Aly; one was the sword of Shabîb, and it was that which fell on the lintel of the door.' According to the *Maurid-el-Latâfah*, the blow which Shabîb struck fell on the door and missed, but as to the sword of Ibn-Múljam it struck the fore-part of his head, as far as the crown, and cut into his brain. It is stated in the *Hayât-el-Haiwân* that when Ibn-Múljam

struck him, 'Aly exclaimed: '[illegible]abah, I am martyred.' Afterwards 'Aly [illegible] let the man escape you;' according to [illegible] escape you.' The people pressed upo[illegible] As to Shabîb, he fled by the gate K[illegible] as to Ibn-Mûljam, when the people tr[illegible]tened them with the sword, and they [illegible] when el-Mughairah-bin-el-Hârith-bin[illegible]talib met him with his blanket, which [illegible]ising him up, threw him to the ground [illegible] according to the *Dzakhâyir-el-'Ukby*, [illegible]im, for he was a very powerful man [illegible]*-el-Ghâbah*, when Ibn-Mûljam was sei[illegible]may God, etc.) who said, 'imprison hi[illegible]nd a soft bed; and if I live I am m[illegible] to pardon, or retaliation; and if I die [illegible]c-cuse him before the Lord of all creat[illegible]ings.' In the *Dzakhâyir-el-'Ukby*, Umm-Kulthûm, the daughter of 'Aly, is related to have said: 'Oh, enemy of God! and you have slain the Prin[illegible] Faithful?' He replied: 'I have only killed your father.' [illegible] joined: 'By Allâh! I verily hope that nothing serious ma[illegible] to the Prince of the Faithful.' He then said: 'Why, the[illegible] you cry?' adding, 'It took me a month to poison it, (meaning his sword), and if it has failed me, God has rejected it, and I will pound it to pieces.' 'Aly lived through the day of Friday and of Saturday, and died on the night of Sunday,[1] eleven nights before the expiration of Ramadhân, of the year 40 [A. H.]. In the *Mua'jam-el-Bóghawy*, according to Laith-bin-Sa'ad, 'Abder-Rahmân-ibn-Mûljam struck 'Aly (may God, etc.) during the morning prayers with a sword which he had poisoned, and he died the same day, and was buried at el-Kûfah during the night. According to the *Daur-el-Isldm*, he struck him with a *khdnjar*[2] on

[1] The night precedes the day with the Muhammedans as with the Jews, so that "the night of Sunday" in the text means from dusk on Saturday evening to daybreak of Sunday morning.

[2] A *khanjar* (from which our word *hanger*) is a short sword, more resembling a knife than a sword, and at the present day in use among the Arnâûts and Kûrds, and, more rarely the Arabs. The length of the blade

the top of the head, and he died two days after. According to the *Maurid-el-Latáfah*, the accounts vary as to whether he struck him at prayers or before he commenced them, and whether he appointed another person to finish the prayers or finished them himself. The majority state that Ja'adah-bin-Hubairâtah prayed with the people [acted as Imâm] in those particular prayers. It is related that when Ibn-Múljam struck him, 'Aly gave his two sons, el-Hásan and el-Husein, a long injunction, and at the conclusion of it said, 'Do not kill any person on my account except him who killed me, and see that, if I die from this blow, you strike him blow for blow; but do not mutilate him [to serve as an example], for verily I heard the Prophet of God say, (may God grant him grace and salvation!), beware of mutilating, even a mad dog.' This is on the authority of el-Fadhâily. According to Maula-el-Fadhl, when Ibn-Múljam killed 'Aly, the latter said to el-Hásan and el-Husein (may God approve of them!) 'Have you imprisoned the man?' They replied 'Yes;' then he said, 'If I die, kill him, but do not mutilate [or torture] him.' After 'Aly died, el-Husein and Muhammad-ibn-Hanafiyyah [a son of 'Aly by a wife of the el-Hanafiyyah tribe] set upon him in order to cut him to pieces, when el-Hásan forbade it. This is on the authority of ed-Dhah-hâk. According to the *Hayât-el-Haiwân*, el-Husein the son of 'Aly (may God, etc.,) killed 'Abd-er-Rahmân ibn-Múljam, and the people assembled and burnt his body. It is also related from 'Amr-dzy-Murr, [one of the Companions of the Prophet], who says, 'After 'Aly was struck, I went in to him, and his head was bound up. I said, O Prince of the Faithful, show me your wound. When he disclosed it, I said, It is a mere scratch, and nothing. He replied, Verily, I am about to be separated from you! I am about to be separated from you! Then Umm-Kalthûm wept from behind the curtain,[1] and he said to her, be quiet; if

varies from eighteen to thirty inches; the line of the cutting edge is slightly concave for about two-thirds of its length, and then becomes recurved, that is, slightly convex, to the point.

[1] The curtain which hangs before the door of the women's apartment. It is not uncommon for a woman, if the occasion requires it—perhaps sometimes when it does not—to talk from behind it. I once took down the evidence of a Turkish lady, high in rank, in that way.

you saw what I see, you would not weep. I said, what do you see, O Prince of the Faithful? He replied: Angels and the Prophets, and Muhammad (may God grant him grace and salvation!) saying: O 'Aly, whither you are going is better than where you are. This Umm-Kalthûm was the daughter of 'Aly-ibn-'Abi-Tâlib, and wife of 'Omar-ibn-el-Khattâb. When 'Aly had completed his injunctions [to his two sons and the persons present], he said: 'I invoke on you salvation and the mercy of God, and His blessings. He then only murmured to himself, 'There is no god but God, until God took him. May the mercy of God and His grace be on him!' According to the *Usd-el-Ghâbah*, after his death, el-Hásan and el-Husein and 'Abdallah-bin-Ja'afar washed and shrouded his body, and his son el-Hásan recited the prayer over him, and he was buried at dawn [of Sunday]. It is also stated that when 'Aly died (may God, etc.) and was buried, his son el-Hásan sent to Ibn-Múljam, and had him brought out of prison in order to be put to death; but the people collected together, bringing petroleum,[1] and fuel, and fire, and said: 'Shall we burn him?' 'Abdallah-bin-Ja'afar[2], and Husein-bin-'Aly, and Muhammad-bin-el-Hanifiyyah replied: 'Let us slake our hearts with him; so 'Abdallah-bin-Ja'afar cut off his hands and feet, but he neither moved nor spake. Then he passed across his eyes a red-hot nail, [in the manner of applying collyrium]; still he did not flinch. Then he was made ready to have his tongue cut out, at which he complained. It was then said to him, 'We have cut off your hands and feet, and seared your eyes, and you did not flinch; why do you now shrink from having your tongue cut out?' Ibn-Múljam replied: 'I have no dread but only of being in the world unable to repeat the name of God.' Upon which they cut out his tongue. They then placed him in a date-leaf bag and burnt him. There are differences about the place where 'Aly (may God, etc.) was buried; some say it was the palace of the Amîrs at el-Kûfah; others that it was in the open space before el-Kûfah; others,

[1] Petroleum. I have given this translation of *Naft*, which is also used for turpentine, because it is most likely that the *Naft* used was from the natural bituminous springs near Hillah, on the Euphrates.

[2] Ja'afar was a brother of 'Aly and 'Abdallah, therefore 'Aly's nephew.

again, that it was at Nájaf-el-Hîrah,[1] a place on the road to el-Hîrah. El-Khujandy[2] says, that the most probable account is that he was buried behind the mosque which the people still frequent. El-Wâkidy states that he was buried by night and that his grave was concealed; and the *Maurid-el-Latâfah* that his grave was concealed, lest the Khawârij should disinter him. Shuruik and others relate that his son el-Hásan removed it to Medînah. El-Mubarrid relates, after Muhammad-bin-Habîb, that the first person that was removed from one grave to another was 'Aly-ibn Abi Tâlib (may God, etc.). According to the Chronicle of Mughlatây, 'Aly-ibn-Abi-Tâlib was elected on the day that 'Othmân-bin-Affân [the third Khalîfah of the er-Râshidîn] died, and that he held the Khalîfate four years, nine months, and eight days; and that he died a martyr by the hand of 'Abd-er-Rahmân-bin-Múljam, on the 17th night of Ramadhân of the year 40, aged 63 years. (It is so recorded in the History of *el-Khamîs*, by Huscin-bin-Muhammad, ed-Diarbékiry, vol. ii, p. 281, Cairo, A.D. 1283.)

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Written at Cairo, 14th Muhárram, 1287=15*th April*, 1870.

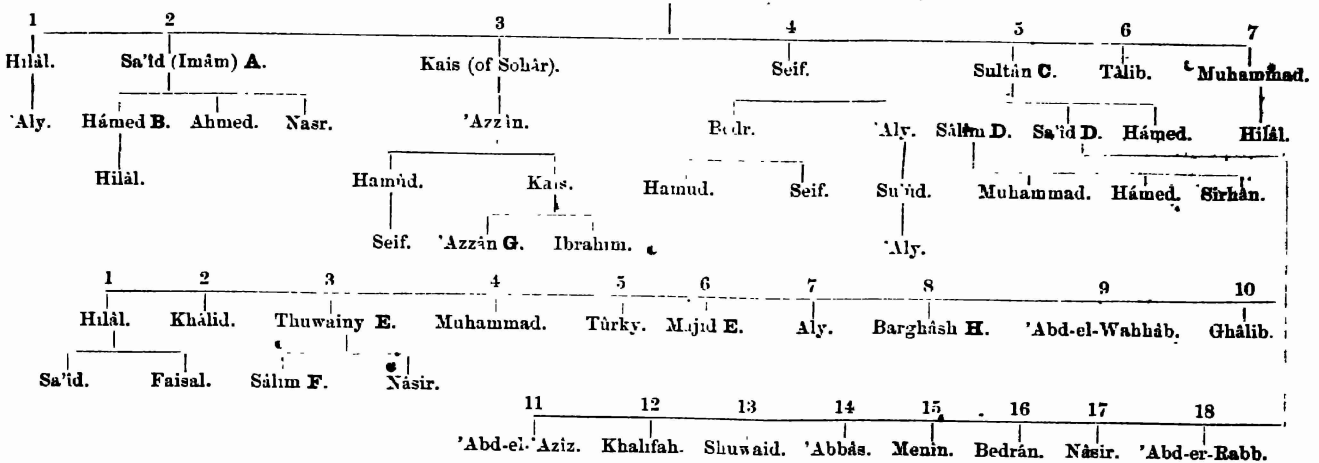
[1] I have not been able to fix the position of el-Kûfah satisfactorily. Dean Vincent, in his *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. i, p. 512, observes that, Másh-had-'Aly is a little to the east of the northern extremity of the Bahr-Nájaf, and el-Kûfah six miles to the east of the same spot. El-Hirah, D'Herbelot states to be two hours from el-Kûfah, and to have been ruined by the forces of the Khalîfah 'Omar ibn-el-Khattâb, in the 17th year of the Hijrah.

[2] Saif-ed-Dîn-ibn-el-Khujandy, the author of a book on the Lecture of the Kurân, died A H 767, so that el-Kûfah was then standing and inhabited, notwithstanding that it is said to have dated its decline from the time when Abu'-l-'Abbâs, the first of the Abbaside Khalîfahs, quitted it as his capital. Abu'-l-Abbâs died A.H. 136; el-Kûfah was built A.H. 17.

APPENDIX (D.) Dynasty of the Âl-Bû-Sa'îd of 'Omân.

*** This Table only professes to give the names of the principal personages who figure in the History of the Al-Bu Sa'id.

Ahmed-bin-Sa'îd,* (*Elected Imâm*, A.D. 1741.)



* Ahmed-bin-Sa'id's successors up to the present time are indicated consecutively by the letters of the alphabet attached to their names. His son and immediate successor, Said, (**A**) was the last of the dynasty who bore the title of "Imâm," the remainder were severally styled "Seyyid."

D. Sâlim and Sa'id ruled conjointly until the death of the former. Several of the Seyyid Sa'id's numerous offspring died during his lifetime, including his two eldest sons, Hilâl and Khalid.

E Thuwainy succeeded to the Arabian and Majid was confirmed ruler over the East African territories of the Principality.

G 'Azzân-bin Kais drove Sâlim-bin-Thuwainy out of 'Omân in 1866 and still (1870) rules in his stead.

H. Barghâsh succeeded to the sovereignty of the Zanzibar State on the death of his brother Majid, 7th October, 1870.

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Islands of el-Kais and el-Kishm, and the situation of Sîráf, in the Persian Gulf.

At p. iii of the Introduction I assumed that the island of el-Kishm was identical with el-Idrîsy's Kîsh or Kaish, but lighting subsequently upon the following note in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. cxv, I deemed the subject worthy of further investigation :—

"I have fallen into an error in the notes on Odoric (p. 52), and again at p. 100, in confounding the large island of *Kishm*, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, with the much smaller *Kais* or *Kish*, about a hundred miles further up, which last was the real terminus of Indian trade for several ages, and the seat of a principality, *Quisci* of Polo. At least two modern editors of Polo seem to have made the same mistake. Yet Marco, I see, shows the true approximate position of Quisci as two hundred miles further up the Gulf than Hormuz. Kish, in the map before me, (*Steiler's Hand Atlas*), is termed *Gaise* or *Keua*."

The passage in Polo referred to (the latter clause of which is omitted both by Ramusio and Marsden) I conceive to be the following, as given at p. 195 of Pasini's edition :—"Leaving the city of Calatu [Kalhât, on the coast below Máskat, see *ante*, p. 37], and proceeding three hundred miles, between north-west and north, the city of Cormos [Hormûz] is reached, and five hundred miles from Calatu, between north-west and west, Chisi is found." The position here assigned to Chisi is conclusive against its identification with el-Kishm, especially when we reflect that Polo having personally visited Hormûz, which is within sight of el-Kishm, it is not likely that he would have placed it two hundred miles farther off. At about one hundred and fifty miles, however, west-and-by-south from Hormûz, stands a small island still called *el-Kais* by the Arabs, though more familiarly known to

Europeans under the name of *Kenn*, and it is that which Yule identifies as the *Chisi* of Marco Polo.

But was Polo's *Chisi* an island? In his chapter on "Baldac," or Baghdâd, he gives us some further intimations of its position:

"Baldac is a large city, once the residence of the Caliph of all the Saracens of the world, just as Rome is the seat of the Pontiff of all Christians. Through the city flows a large river, by which one may go as far as the Indian Sea; and thereby merchants go and come with their goods. But you must know that the way down to the Indian Sea by the river from Baldac is eighteen days long. The merchants who go to India descend by that river to a city called Chisi, and from thence they enter into the Indian Sea. Upon that river, between Baldac and Chisi, there is a great city called Basra." (Pasini's edition, p. 19.)

It seems to me tolerably clear from this passage that Polo, who evidently regarded the Gulf as a continuation of the Tigris, places his Chisi on the mainland. That inference is confirmed by an incidental notice of its locality in his chapter on "Persia." Speaking of the horses reared in the provinces, he goes on to say that the people of those districts convey the horses "as far as Chisi and Cormos, two cities *near the shores of the Sea of India*, where the merchants are found who purchase them and transport them to India." (*Id.*, p. 26). Here it should be borne in mind that the Hormûz on the mainland was in existence in Polo's time, and for at least thirty-seven years after, for Ibn-Batûta visited it about A.D. 1330:—"From this place ['Omân] I went to Hormûz, which is a city built on the sea-shore; opposite to which, but within the sea, is New Hormûz." (Lee's Translation, p. 63).

Still, it is tolerably clear that in el-Kazwîny's time, A.D. 1268, about twenty-five years before Marco Polo's visit to the Persian Gulf, el-Kais was the island frequented by the China ships:—

"Kais [or Kîs] is an island in the Persian Sea, four parasangs in circumference, [that is, about fifteen miles; its real circumference is twenty-one miles]. Its town is fair and pleasant to look upon, having a wall and gates, gardens and buildings. It is a haven for Indian and Persian ships, and a market of trade and commerce to the Arabs and Persians. Water there is obtained from wells, but the rich have tanks. All the islands around it belong to the lord of Kais," [or Kîs]. *Kosmographie*, Wüstenfeld's edition, vol. i, p. 161.

The question now arises, how the apparently contradictory statements, namely, that of Polo, whose *Chisi* was on the mainland, and that of el-Kazwîny, who makes the *Island* of Kais the haven for ships trading from China and India, are to be reconciled. A passage in Ibn Batûta seems to afford a plausible solution of the difficulty. He tells us that, after leaving Lâristân, he "travelled on to the city of Kaisa, [or Kais, the final vowel being merely an inflection], *which is also called Sîrâf*.[1] It is situated on the shore of the Indian Ocean, and near to the Sea of Yemen." (Lee's Translation, p. 65; see also the footnote to p. iii, *ante*). The Moorish traveller was in the Persian Gulf about A.D. 1330, and in his time, as we see, there was a Kais on the mainland, which also bore the name of Sîrâf, from whence he embarked for el-Bahrein. That, therefore, in my opinion, is the port to which the eastern trade, of which the island had once before been the terminus, was removed in the interval between el-Kazwîny and Marco Polo.

But there can be no doubt that Sirâf was the original emporium of the eastern trade; that the trade was subsequently transferred to the island of el-Kais; that it again reverted to Sîrâf, or the mainland Kais, which was its terminus in Marco Polo's time; that it once more went back to the island, and was finally driven to Sîrâf, when the trade of both places was absorbed by the island of Hormûz.[2] I adduce the following in support of these statements:—

[1] The MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti in their annotations upon this passage remark that, "Ibn Batoutah s'est trompé en donnant à la ville de Siraf le nom de Kais, confondant ainsi deux localités bien différentes." (*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, tom. ii. p. 456.) In my opinion the misapprehension rests with the learned editors, since it is hardly conceivable that Ibn-Batûta, writing of a place which he had personally visited, and speaking the same language as the inhabitants of the surrounding locality, should fall into the error attributed to him of confounding Sîrâf on the mainland with the island of el-Kais.

[2] Reinaud, in the *Discours Préliminaire* to his *Rélation des Voyages*, etc., p. xliv. makes Sîrâf the first emporium, and then goes on to say: "Plus tard, Syraf fit place à l'isle de Kysch; plus tard encore, l'isle de Kysch fit place à Hormuz, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin les Portuguais arrivant, le commerce du monde suivit de nouvelles voies." But there is no reference here to the intermediate reversions of the trade from el-Kais to Siraf, and *vice-versâ*, which I am about to discuss.

Suleimân, who travelled from the Persian Gulf to China about the middle of the ninth century, speaking of Sîrâf, says :—

"With regard to the place which they [the ships] frequent and where they anchor, it is stated that most of the China ships load at Sîrâf, that the merchandize is carried from el-Bâsrah and 'Omân and other places to Sîrâf, and that it is embarked on board the China ships at Sîrâf, on account of the high waves in that sea, and because of the shallowness of the water in some parts of it. The distance between el-Bâsrah and Sîrâf is one hundred and twenty parasangs. When the goods are embarked at Sîrâf, they take in fresh water there, and then *weigh*—a term used by the mariners, meaning to sail—for a place called Maskat, at the extremity of the province of 'Omân, the distance to which from Sîrâf is about two hundred parasangs." (*Rélation des Voyages*, etc., vol. ii, pp. 14, 15, of the Arabic version).

Neither in Suleimân's narrative, nor in that of Abu-Zaid-el-Hâsan, es-Sîrâfy, appended to it, and which was written about seventy years later, is any mention made of the island of el-Kais.

In like manner, Ibn-Haukal, who appears to have travelled about the same period,—A.D. 943-976,—omits all notice of the island of el-Kais, but describes Sîrâf as a great commercial mart :—

"Then we come to *Sînîr*, which is larger than *Máhy-Ruyân*; and this *Sînîr* is the port of all Pars or Farsistân. From thence the shore winds on to *Bijiram*, [the Najîram of el-Idrîsy and Abulféda]. Between *Jannâbah* and *Bijiram* there are groves, and meadows, and villages, and the air becomes very warm here. From this you proceed to *Sîrâf*, one of the most ample harbours in all Pars. *Sîrâf* is a large town, one of the eyes of the towns of Fars. Here there is not any cultivation of ground, and they bring water from a distance. Passing by this along the shore, by places where there are hills and descents, you come to the Husn-Ibn-'Amârah. This is a very strong castle; in all Pars there is not one fort more strong and in better condition. From this place you proceed to Hormûz, which is the port of Kermân."[1] Again: "At Sîrâf they abound in marine productions and commodities brought by sea, such as aloes, ambergris, camphire, pearls, canes, ivory, and ebony; pepper, sandals, and various kinds of drugs and medicines are sent from that place to all quarters of the world; and in this city there are such wealthy merchants that several of them possess fortunes of 60,000 direms, and I have seen them."[2]

[1] *The Oriental Geography of Ibn-Haukal*, by Sir W. Ousely, p. 12.

[2] *Id*., p. 133.

Sîrâf maintained its preëminence up to el-Idrîsy's time, A.D. 1153-4:—

"Among the dependencies of the province of Ardeshir is also Sîrâf, a considerable town, situated on the shore of the Persian Sea, rich and commercial, the inhabitants of which are noted for their thirst after gain and for their activity in business.... This town is the great market of Fars. The houses are built of the trunks of palms, are well inhabited and very regular, for the inhabitants of Sîrâf take great pains and spend large sums of money in the construction of their houses. Water and vegetables are brought from the mountains of Kham, which command the city and extend in a chain along the shores of the Persian Sea, but where there is no cultivation. The climate of Sîrâf is very hot. On this town depend the following places where the *Khutbah* [the Friday exhortation] is made, namely, Najîram, a small town situated on the seacoast, and 'Eidjân, a strong place and the market of the territory called Dast-Barnic," (or, as in another MS., Dast-Jarîn).[1]

Nevertheless, it appears that during el-Idrîsy's time the eastern trade of Sîrâf, as well as that part of it which had been carried on at Sohâr on the coast of 'Omân, was in danger of being diverted into another channel, owing to the following circumstances:—

"In that island [Kîsh] is a town, also called Kîsh, which a certain ruler of Yemen [all the country on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf went by that name] captured. He fortified it and equipped a fleet there, by means of which he made himself master of the littoral of Yemen. This man did much damage to voyagers and merchants, despoiling them of their goods, and so weakened the country that the trade was turned from the route by 'Omân and reverted to Aden. With his fleet he ravaged the coasts of Zanj and those of Ghâmerân. The inhabitants of India feared him, and could not resist him, except by means of their vessels called *Mashegy'âât* ... some of which were as long as a galley, sixty cubits long, made of one piece of wood, and capable of carrying two hundred men. A cotemporary traveller informed me that the ruler of Kîsh possesses fifty of these ships made of one piece, without reckoning those constructed of pieces put together. This man continues his depredations still; he is very rich, and no one can resist him. At Kîsh there are cultivated fields, cattle, sheep, vines, and good pearl fisheries.... It belongs to Yemen and Máskat, from which it is one day's sail,"[2]

[1] *Geographie d'Édrisi*, Ed. M. Jaubert, tom. i. pp. 397-8.

[2] *Id.*, pp. 152-3. This passage is omitted in Gabriele Sionita's edition; it follows the description of the island of Kish, as translated by me from

[meaning, not Máskat, but the southern shore of the Persian Gulf].

Whether owing to political or other causes operating upon the mainland, it seems tolerably certain that the maritime trade was shortly after suddenly transferred to the island from Sîrâf. Benjamin of Tudela, who was in those parts fifteen years after el-Idrísy wrote, does not mention the latter place, but gives the following account of el-Kais :—

"From thence I returned to the country of Khuzistan, which lies on the Tigris; this runs down and falls into the Indian Sea [Persian Gulf] in the vicinity of an island called Kish. The extent of this island is six miles, and its inhabitants do not carry on any agriculture, principally because they have no rivers, nor more than one spring in the whole island, and are consequently obliged to drink rain water. It is, however, a considerable market, being the point to which the Indian merchants and those of the islands bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen, and Persia import all sort of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, *máish*, wheat, barley, millet, rye, and all sorts of comestibles and pulses, which articles form objects of barter. Those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers to both parties. The island contains about five hundred Jews."[1]

A century later, A.D. 1268, the island of el-Kais retained its position as the principal mart of the eastern trade, for el-Kazwîny describes it in a passage already quoted (see *ante*, p. 410) as "a haven for Indian and Persian ships, and a market of trade and commerce to the Arabs and Persians;" whereas this is all he says about Sîrâf:—"Sîrâf is a noble city, eligibly situated, occupying a large space, having many gardens, and also many springs which flow thereto from the mountains;"[2] but not a word about its being a maritime place of trade.

Abulféda, on the other hand, (A.D. 1273-1331), who was contemporary with Marco Polo, reverses the respective character of the two places, makes little of the island of el-Kais, but describes Sîrâf as the great mart in that quarter. This is what he writes of the former.—

his Arabic version, in the foot-note to p. iii, after the words in the fifteenth line, "twelve miles wide and twelve miles long."

[1] *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, by A. Asher, vol. i. pp, 136-7.

[2] *Kosmographie*, vol. ii. p. 136.

"The island of Kîs—in Arabic, Kais—is situated between India and el-Bâsrah. This island possesses pearl-fisheries, and upon it are exotic date trees and also native trees. Its inhabitants drink water from wells, and its circuit may be accomplished by a horseman, if he tries, in a day. One of the people of el-Bâsrah told me that he performed the circuit, riding on his mare, in a day, but not without fatiguing the mare. Ibn-Sa'îd says that it is twelve miles in circumference. Yakût, in the *el-Mushtârik*, states that the island of Kîsh [*sic*] is in the midst of the sea between 'Omân and Persia; that it is a fine island, of an agreeable aspect, full of gardens and date-groves. I have seen it [he says] several times, and have met there men of learning and refinement." (*Takwîm-el-Buldân*, p. 207.)

We have additional proof in this quotation against the identity between el-Kais and el-Kishm; but it gives no intimation whatever that the former was a place of trade, whereas this is what the same author says of Sîrâf, the Kais of Ibn-Batûta and the *Chisi*, as I believe, of Polo:—

"Sîrâf is the largest custom-house in Persia. It is destitute of cultivation and pasture, nevertheless, it is a town where ships discharge and load [cargoes]. It is a populous city, and the inhabitants spend large sums on their houses, insomuch that a merchant will lay out upwards of thirty thousand dînârs in building a residence for himself. There are no gardens, neither trees, and the houses are built of the trunks of palm-trees and other timber brought from the country of the Zanj. The climate of Sîrâf is very hot. The *el-Lubâb* states that Sîrâf appertains to the territory of Persia on the sea-coast adjoining Kermân." (*Id.*, p. 207).

In the absence of any authentic records of the causes which led to this transfer, the following notices appended by el-Kazwîny to his description of the island of el-Kais suggest that either political or commercial rivalry, or both combined, between the rulers of Hormûz and el-Kais, even during his time, had led the latter to invoke the aid of the Persians, and that for better security against the naval power of Hormûz they abandoned the island and returned to the main. This is what el-Kazwîny says:—

"The sovereignty [of el-Kais] belonged to a people who had inherited it, until a tyrant arose from among them whom they deposed. They then called in the lord of Hormûz, and the el-Hormûzy came and ruled over it; but he turned out to be more tyrannical than the el-Kaisy, so they deposed him also, and applied

to the lord of Shîrâz, who mustered soldiers and dispatched them in ships; whereupon the soldiers of the el-Hormûzy went forth in ships to fight them, and during the voyage disembarked on a cliff to rest. While they were on the cliff, the ships of the Persians set fire to the ships of the Hormûzeans, and then pursued their course to el-Kais, which they easily captured. Nevertheless, the Hormûzeans were stronger and more expert in sea warfare than the Persians; but in this instance their energy was not brought into play." (*Kosmographie*, vol. i, p. 161).

Nevertheless, there is good ground for believing that the trade had once more reverted to the island, and was again driven therefrom, during the interval of about thirty-seven years which elapsed between Polo's passage up the Gulf and Ibn-Batûta's visit to Sîrâf,[1] although from the circumstances which necessitated the transfer it is most probable that both places were now superseded as commercial marts by Hormûz. The causes which led to this last abandonment of el-Kais may be gathered from Texeira, who gives a detailed and interesting account of the hostilities, evoked by commercial rivalry, which commenced about A.D. 1311 between the "Kings of *Keys*," who had again called in the aid of the Persians, and the Hormúzeans, which resulted, about A.D. 1320, in the conquest of the island by "Shâh Kothb-o'ddîn," of Hormûz, who also "took Malek Ghayâzo'ddîn [of el-Kais] and some of his relations, whom he afterwards put to death. He left a strong garrison at Keys, and then departed, resolving before he returned to Hormûz to attack the island of Bahrayn, which accordingly he subdued."[2]

If the foregoing account of the several removals of the trade from Sîrâf to el-Kais, and *vice-versâ*, be correct, then D'Herbelot's summary description of the changes which actually took place, in which he is followed by Marsden, is, to say the least, very imperfect. After alluding to the extensive traffic formerly carried on at "Sîrâf," the learned lexicographer adds: "But since

[1] Marco Polo was in the Persian Gulf about A.D. 1293, and Ibn-Batûta about A.D. 1330.

[2] See the *Modern Universal History*, vol. v. pp. 231-212, for a comprehensive summary of these occurrences, and of the subsequent attempts made by the Arabs to regain possession of el-Kais, abridged from Texeira's *Relacion del Origen, Descendencia, y Succession de los Reyes de Persia y de Hormuz*, etc.

the removal of the trade to Kîs, an island in the Persian Gulf, "the place has been abandoned and gradually destroyed." The same fate has befallen el-Kais, the population of which, in 1835, was estimated at three hundred souls, belonging to the Âl-'Aly tribe, occupying three villages. On the north are the remains of a considerable town, "said to have been built by the Portuguese," who, by the way, get the credit for all the ancient architecture on the shores of the Persian Gulf.[1]

The question where Sirâf, Polo's *Chisi*, was situated is easily disposed of. Polo describes it as being two hundred miles farther from "Calatu" than Hormûz, "between north-west and west." Almost precisely at that distance from Hormûz, by sea, and in the given direction, there is a place called "Cheroo" in our modern English charts. According to Dean Vincent,[2] the name is spelt "Sherouw or Sherouve," in the old Dutch charts, but in N. Visscher's map (Amsterdam, 1651), I find it written "Siraf." It possesses a harbour far superior to that of the island of el-Kais, from which it is separated only by a few miles.—"Cheroo," writes Captain Brucks, I.N., "is situated at the bottom of a bay, formed by the *Rds* or Cape of the same name. It contains about one hundred and fifty men of the Abadaly tribe; the shaikh resides at another village inland.. .It is the best anchorage in a north-wester in the Gulf, and ' 'ords tolerable supplies, and water. It has a few trading-boats."[3] Another confirmatory coincidence is the existence of the small island of Hindrâby a short distance to the southward of Cheroo. This I take to be the Lâbeth (or Lâmeth) which el-Idrisy places in its vicinity:—"Among the islands of that sea [Fars] are the island of Kharak, the island of Lâbeth, which is opposite to and near Sirâf and the Cape es-Safân, and the island of Awâl."[4] The cape, as will be seen by a glance at the chart, is a remarkable feature in that part of the coast.

Corroborative proof might be adduced from the relative

[1] See *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. pp. 20, 45, 48, 596, for several accounts of el-Kais or Kean.

[2] *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. i. p. 381.

[3] *Bombay Government Selections*, No. xxiv. p. 596.

[4] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. Jaubert, tom. i. p. 361.

distances between localities east and west of Sîrâf, as given by old Arabian travellers and geographers. To do that satisfactorily would necessitate the identification of such places with those bearing modern names which now occupy the ancient sites,—a task beyond the scope of this paper, but one full of antiquarian interest, and deserving more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it. Dean Vincent merits the highest praise for his researches in this line, in connection with the Voyage of Nearchus, but with the superior charts of the coast and other materials which we possess, a much more complete work on the comparative geography of the northern shores of the Persian Gulf might be elaborated.

With regard to el-Kishm, it is obvious from the preceding inquiry that to confound that island with el-Kais is a mistake. I have now no hesitation in identifying it with the Ibn-Kâwân of the old Arabian geographers. Abulfédâ writes: "Ibn-Haukal says that the island of the Benu-Kâwân is the island of Laft, [still the name of the principal village on the island], and has a town. The Sherîf el-Idrîsy states that the island of Ibn-Kâwân is fifty-two miles long and nine miles wide, and that the inhabitants are schismatics. It has buildings, and cultivation, and date-trees, and so forth. The mountains of Yemen ['Omân] are visible therefrom."[1] The passage from el-Idrîsy here referred to is as follows: "... the island of Ibn-Kâwân is fifty-two miles from Kîsh, [el-Kais or Kenn], that is, half a day's run. The length of the island of Ibn-Kâwân is fifty-two miles, and its width nine miles, [the island is fifty-four miles long, thirty-two wide in the broadest part, and nine in the narrowest]. Its inhabitants are schismatics of the Ibâdhiyah sect."[2] In another place the same author writes: "The island of Ibn-Kâwân, the capital of which is dependent on the province of Ardeshîr, is in the Persian Sea, not far from the island of Awâl, where there is a town, a mosque, and markets. These two islands are both situated at a short distance from the continent."[3]

[1] *Takwîm-el-Buldân*, p. 208.
[2] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, vol. i. p. 158.
[3] *Id.*, p. 398.

Dean Vincent has shown unmistakeably that el-Kishm is the Ouroctha of Nearchus,—corresponding with the Woroctha of Ptolemy, the Oracla of Pliny, and the Doracta of Strabo,—and finds in Brock or Vroct, the name given to the island by Texeira, the more ancient native designation.[1] "Ibn-Kâwân," or, as Ibn-Haukal writes it, "the Island of the Benu-Kâwân," was probably the name given to it by the Arabs on their first settlement there. From a passage in el-Belâdzory it appears to have been the island where the Muslims from the province of el-Bahrein first landed when they contemplated the invasion of Fars.[2]

Among the more modern names of the island are Jezîrat-Dirâz and Jezîrat-et-Tawîlah, the Persian and Arabic respectively for Long Island. The designation "el-Kishm," as I have stated in note 3, p. iv, is vocalized "el-Kâsum" by the author of this work, and I take the vulgar "el-Kishm" to be a corruption of that word, which signifies Beauty. Some writers are of opinion that *Kishmish*, the Persian name for a small seedless raisin, owes its origin to el-Kishm. Persian scholars must decide whether the derivative, so formed and applied, is in accordance with the grammatical rules of that language.

It is a remarkable circumstance that so many of the ancient names of places in the Persian Gulf have been superseded by others, many of which are utterly unlike the original either in

[1] *Com. and Nav. of the Ancients*, vol. i. p. 351-2.

[2] The passage is as follows:—"When el-'Alâ-ibn-el Hádhramy was agent over el-Bahrein for [the Khalîfah] 'Omar-bin-el-Khattâb, he sent Hárthamah-bin-'Arfajah, el-Bárikhy, an Azdite, who took possession of an island in the sea near to Fâris. 'Omar then wrote to el-'Alâ, sending 'Utbah-bin-Fárkad, es-Salmy, to cooperate with him. Afterwards, when 'Omar made 'Othman-bin-Abi-'l-Âsy, eth-Thákafy, governor over el-Bahrein and 'Omân,—which places he subdued, reducing the inhabitants to obedience,—he sent his brother el-Hakm-bin-Abi-'l Âsy by sea to Fâris with a large army, composed of the 'Abd-el-Kais, the el-Azd, Temîm, the Benu-Nâjiyah, and others, and he captured the island of Abr-Kâwân." The historian then goes on to mention the names of the places upon the coast which were subsequently captured, among which is Sîrâf. The learned editor in a foot-note remarks that el-Yakût writes the word "Bar- [or Barr-] Kâwân," adding, "vulgo Beni-Kâwân;" and then "alterum nomen insula est Lâfit," the modern Laft. *Futûh-el-Buldân*, ed. De Goeje, pp. 386-391.

form or sound. As regards 'Omân,—probably among many other similar changes,—et-Tawwâm is now generally called el-Bereimy; es-Sirr, the designation formerly given to the littoral on the west of Cape Musándim and stretching southward and westward to the borders of the Benu-Yâs, appears to have gone into desuetude; while Julfâr and es-Sîr, both marked in Niebuhr's map, are now known respectively as Râs-el-Khaimah and Abu Zhâby, (see notes, pp. 138, 322).

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Bernhard de Breydenbach, 1483-84, A.D. Travels in the Holy Land.

Felix Fabri, 1483. Wanderings in the Holy Land, Egypt, etc.

El Edriſi's Geography.

Narrative of Giovanni da Verrazzano, a Florentine, concerning the land called New France, diſcovered by him in the name of his Majeſty: written at Dieppe, A.D. 1524.

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VII. The Council ſhall meet every month, excepting Auguſt, September, October, and November, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary, and the Chairman having a caſting vote.

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Title : History of the Imams and Seyids or Oman in Arabia. 1871,

Author : George Percy Badger

Page No. : 43 5pt 8p

Volume No. :

Publisher : Hakluyt Society, London

Year of Publication : 1871

Subject : History

Cover : Board

Size : Normal

Physical Condition : Brittle, worm eaten, yellow paper

Note : Acc. No. 569 Inside a big map.